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THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
Quarterly Review.



Πύλαι ἄδου οὗ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῆς.—*Matt. xvi. 18.*

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VOL. XV.

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LONDON:  
WILLIAM EDWARD PAINTER, STRAND;  
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.  
MDCCCXLIV.



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JANUARY, MDCCCXLIV.

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2. *Symbolism; or, Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants.* By J. A. MOEHLER, D.D. Translated from the German by J. B. ROBERTSON, Esq. Two vols. London: Dolman. 1843.

3. *Hierurgia.* By D. ROCK, D.D. London: Bentley. 1843.

ALL true Christians—all who have really at heart the glory of God and the coming of the kingdom of heaven—must look with earnest anxiety upon the progress of the Church; and will feel it to be their duty to exert themselves in every way to further that progress, and contribute likewise, so far as in them lies, towards the removal of whatever impediments may, from time to time, be interposed to turn her aside from the straightforward course, or stop her further advance. Onward must be the continual march of the Church, until she shall take possession of the promised inheritance; enlargement is the condition of its being, until the stone cut out without hands become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth.

As in natural, so also in spiritual things, wherever there is life there is growth and increase. The acorn becomes an oak, the oak a forest, by the very law of its being—but for depredators: defend it from vermin beneath, and from rude assaults of trespass for a time, and it will fulfil the law of its being—it will take possession of the soil, and go on increasing in strength

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century after century, only the more firmly rooted by the wintry blast which whistles through its branches. And so a true Christian, wherever he is planted, begins a household of faith—the household becomes a community, the community a Christian kingdom; and this kingdom spreads the region of faith according as the influence of its power and name extends; and distant lands, first regarding it only as a foe, and taught to fear its power, come at length to regard it as a friend, and a friend not for time only—learning a common lesson now, and holding common faith, to be realized and enjoyed hereafter, and that for ever and ever. “He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.”

The prosperity of the Church and the growth of the Church are correlative, if not synonymous terms; and those individuals who grow not with its growth must be regarded as branches of a tree, which, bearing no fruit, are to be suspected of being rotten at heart, though it may not appear in a cankered outside; and these, as at best useless, must be taken away, or will be cast off as a slough by the vital energy of the body, equally with the palpably withered and diseased branches. But as the growth of nature is not always the same, but more rapid at some times than others, and in the cold and wintry seasons can scarcely be perceived to go on at all; so is it likewise observable in the Church, that a long repose and a seeming torpor in religion is all at once succeeded by a burst of zeal, activity, and enterprise, pushing both ways—enlarging the sphere of the Church by external operations, and bringing new regions into true obedience to the faith of the Gospel, and enlarging and strengthening the Church itself, as to the things that are within—confirming faith, increasing wisdom, and knowledge, and power in an endless progression.

The principle of continual advancement and improvement, which we are asserting to be the law of the Church, is the truth which is aimed at and perverted by those who assert that all things, and that irrespective of the Church, and the more so as they are kept independent of the Church, are thus progressive; and that the human intellect, if left unfettered, would necessarily discover that which is true, and could not but approve, could not but adopt and follow the truth thus discovered. The single word *faith* marks the difference between the two, and the difference comes out in principles directly opposite: faith in the unseen and the future leads to self-denial as to things present and temporal with those in the Church; while those who are not looking to objects of faith must make visible and temporal

things their study, and model, and rule, and must make self-gratification, in some form or other, their object, aim, and end in all things.

It has long been a favourite idea among the speculators of Germany, and it has been eagerly caught up by the sciolists of other lands, that the human mind is constantly progressive, by a kind of necessity, and as if knowledge was an entail devolving entire, and with accumulation, from generation to generation. And the idea is often so held as if the accumulation were regarded to be irrespective of moral and religious culture; being an enlargement of capacity which would crave culture of any kind, as a wider field for exercising the enlarged faculties, rather than an enlargement derived from better knowledge of the truth, and a more early, sedulous, and extensive application, in each individual instance, of that which has been acquired by our predecessors. Each man—each single mind—from the beginning to the end of time, enters the world on the same footing—each singly responsible to God for the duties of that station where Providence has placed him. But God has so bound man to his fellows, that we cannot, in an isolated condition, either properly feel our responsibilities, or adequately fulfil our duties, and still less make those advances to which we are alluding, as the *truth* aimed at in the German speculations. The individual who is born in the bosom of the Church is of a community from his birth, is bred under all its responsibilities, and enters at once upon all its privileges—heightening and enhancing, while it alone effectually teaches all those duties which belong to him as an individual. And the personal and the Church responsibilities, subsisting entire, corroborate and illustrate each other; while each new comer enters a body wherein is found the rich accumulation of the treasured wisdom, human and divine, of all generations of the faithful from the beginning of the world: he entering at once upon results, for the attainment of which sages have toiled, saints have fasted and prayed, martyrs have suffered and died—others have laboured, and we enter into the fruits of their labour.

Yet even this side of truth has not been without some degree of perversion and abuse, and that chiefly also in Germany, and among the Roman Catholic controversialists. These, misunderstanding the true nature of the progress of the Church, and omitting entirely one half of the points for consideration, and those such as are the most material for arriving at a knowledge of the truth, make the principle of development a kind of necessity in the Church; according to which theory the *latest* form of Christianity would necessarily be the *most perfect*, the



early ages being regarded as Christianity only in the *germ*, and undeveloped. This notion is only the same idea, entertained *within* the Church, as that just spoken of as held by speculators *without* the Church; both resting on the supposed ability and sufficiency of man to discover truth for himself, unaided by divine revelation. For it is not pretended by these Roman controversialists, that these latest forms of Christianity are ascribable to a fuller outpouring of the Holy Spirit in these days, than in the day when he descended in cloven tongues and in a mighty wind upon the first disciples; nor is it pretended that the canon of Scripture has been continually enlarging, so as to develope the Gospel more fully than in the evangelists, or the doctrines more fully than in the apostolic epistles: such pretensions would be too monstrous to be hazarded. But the idea is, that the rulers of the Church, in the exercise of their wisdom and authority, have found means, without change in the faith or doctrine held at the beginning, to introduce rites and ceremonies which give greater scope for the exercise of the one faith of the Church, and by which also the doctrines, which have been always held, are now more fully developed. It is, therefore, after all, only another form of self-conceit—a supposition that human wisdom, profiting by long experience, has been able to order the Church better than, by the supernatural power of God, it was first ordered.

And this is an entire change of tactics on the part of the Roman controversialists: for they all formerly maintained the venerable antiquity of their practices—that every portion of the Roman ritual was to be traced to primitive times; that in the least, as in the greatest matters, the Roman Church had been unchangeable and infallible—the perfect model in all ages of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. But by this new theory of development the picture is reversed: a practice ought to be the better, ought to be the more perfect, not in proportion as it is an ancient, but in proportion as it is a modern practice; continual innovation becomes the perpetual law of the Church; and future generations will deviate as much from present practices, as the present Romanists deviate from primitive practices, and all in a *soi-disant* infallible Church. The truth seems to be, that the antagonists of the Roman claims were too strong to be beaten down by the old pretensions to antiquity, and as these claims could no longer be maintained on such grounds, pretensions the very opposite are now set up, yet with so little sincerity in either case, that men do not seem even to feel, much less to be ashamed of, the palpable inconsistency.

The progress of the Church is not in a course agreeing with

any such notions as these—not by enlargement of thought and power of reason, according to the German speculations; not by adaptation to a more refined and enlightened state of society, according to the theory of development; any approximation to which would leave much for man to glory in, as if he had wrought out for himself, and by his own power, the amelioration of the condition of things: but it will be in a course prescribed, prepared, and accomplished by God, and of which not man, but God, shall have the glory. The progress of the Church is not to be looked for in petty details, or individual facts and opinions, or in the state of religion in this or that land, and this or that age; but it is to be sought in principles old as the creation, broad as the world itself. It involves the purpose of God for his own self-manifestation, and has been going on ever since the fall, by more and more of his attributes being brought into manifestation, and more and more of conformity to his image appearing in the Church. It is not merely for the salvation of the souls of men that the Church is set, but also as a witness for God; and when, from the wickedness of an age, the work of salvation and of faithful witness becomes the most difficult, that may be the time when the Church is in spirit and in truth making the greatest progress: and however hard it may be for us to endure the evils, we have the assurance that God, who permits them, will sustain us, and that his long-suffering is the warrant for ours; and while he is unwearied with the world, we may well endure it.

The progress of faith among the people of God, from Abel to John the Baptist, is the best illustration of what we mean by the progress of the Church. In the long line of the faithful, the chief persons of which are briefly enumerated in the eleventh of Hebrews, we see a continual enlargement of the objects presented to their faith, in more and more preparation for the coming of Christ. Not such an enlargement of ritual and forms as the Romanists understand by development; for the last temple and all its accompaniments was far inferior to that of Solomon, and it was shorn of the glory of the Shekinah presence, and of the ark and the tables and the most sacred vessels; and none will be foolish enough to say that the scribes and pharisees of the latter temple were holier and better than the priests of David and Solomon's days. But the enlargement is seen in this, that idolatry was common before the Babylonish captivity, so that Solomon himself, though the wisest of men, fell into the snare; while nothing of the kind appears during the time of the last temple: and the doctrines of the resurrection of the dead, and regeneration, and a coming Messiah, and a whole class of

subjects connected therewith, unheard-of in the time of Solomon, had become quite familiar to the Jews of the last generation, had taken such root among them as to become continual means of approach for further—that is, Christian—instruction. In point of civilization, it would be ridiculous to compare the inhabitants of Athens and of Jerusalem; refinement and mental culture were carried to the highest pitch in Greece, and almost entirely neglected in Judea. Yet behold what a reception the polished Athenians gave to St. Paul's announcement of doctrines which were so familiar to the Jewish people! When he told them *who* their unknown God was, they mocked; when he preached the *resurrection* of the dead, they cried, "What will this babbler say?" And even when preaching at Jerusalem the difference appears in Festus—the Roman regarding him as a madman, while Agrippa, who knew something of the faith of the Jews, was almost persuaded to become a Christian. It is not in human science, but in knowledge of God, that this progress lies.

So in the Church, which dates its commencement from the ascension of Christ and the giving of the Holy Ghost, progress is not to be marked by intellectual acquirements, or the knowledge which man most esteems and applauds, but by advance in the knowledge of God and of divine things; which knowledge is often best attained, and most firmly implanted, under circumstances which appear, at the time, to be most adverse, and such as threaten to subvert and annihilate faith altogether—just as by the captivity in Babylon the Jews were weaned from idolatry, and rooted in the faith of the true God. The Nestorian heresy in the East, and the Arian heresy in the West, enlisted the majority of the learned and talented on their side; so that faith itself seemed in jeopardy, and truth appeared to have only a single champion, as when it was said "Athanasius against all the world, and all the world against Athanasius." Yet no one can now fail of perceiving how greatly the Church was benefited by the clear, accurate, full statements of the truth which the broaching of those heresies called forth, or doubt that the Church, as a whole, and in the doctrinal and theological sense, made very great progress under these severe exercises of her faith and patience.

The faith and doctrine of the Church has always been one and the same; evinced in this, that it is all contained in Scripture, the canon of which was completed at the beginning, and to which no addition can be made. And it is there contained, not as in germ to be subsequently developed, but fully, completely, entirely, as the positive declaration of that which is the absolute truth. Every heresy that has arisen was the negation

of some portion of this positive truth ; and in refuting the heresy and removing the negation, the truth has been made to appear in brighter lustre than before. Truth in the abstract is one, and would, to an all-comprehensive mind, ever present itself as one, in all its manifold bearings ; but the mind of man is not thus comprehensive, and each man, standing alone, sees only one aspect of truth, suited to his own capacity or temperament, and has therefore a natural tendency to some one or other of the various heresies which have arisen. In the refutation of these, therefore, each class of mind has had its doubts, its difficulties, its burdens removed ; and every man, by studying the history of the Church, may find his own spiritual experience written by anticipation there, and may learn all the wisdom without passing through the actual conflict—profiting by trials of others as though they had been his own, and learning, through the experience of the Church, the manifold wisdom of God. This is the very opposite of the theory of development—a theory which seems to have been devised in order to set at nought all former experience and practice in the Church, and to be meant principally to bolster up the decisions of the Council of Trent, and all the other innovations of modern Romanism. God gave the truth in all purity to the Church at the beginning, but as a treasure in earthen vessels : and, in the mind of fallen man, truth appears like gold or silver in the ore, not destroyed by the earthy mixture, but debased, dimmed, obscured ; yet capable of being extracted, separated from the dross, refined, and made to shine again in all its native lustre. The extraction and separation of the bullion from the mass is by the introduction of some other substance, which combines with one portion only of the mixture, and so enables the refiner to get at the precious metal by blowing away the worthless dross. And so it has been in the Church, where the precious has been separated from the vile : falsehood has come in, has gathered to itself all the kindred falsehoods which then existed in the Church ; it has become gross, palpable, obvious wickedness ; it has swollen into a mountain of iniquity ; and, in being swept away, has not only left the Church so much the purer, but has left the Church warned and put upon her guard against suffering, in time to come, the first approaches of errors similar to those discarded. But the theory of development assumes that the ore is all pure gold and silver—that there is no earthy mixture to be separated—no lead, and dross, and tin ; and further assumes, that all the extraneous matter which has come in, and all the amalgam which has since been formed, is pure gold also, and that the larger the mass has become, the greater is the amount of treasure.

And the false Church is saying—"I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing;" and knows not that, in the sight of God, she is "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

The simple truth, concerning God and salvation, was summed up at first in the twelve heads contained in the Apostles' Creed : a summary this, which, brief as it is, would suffice to express all the points of faith which are indispensable to salvation, and all the positive doctrines of the Church universal, throughout all ages. But although this short creed is, to the orthodox and well-instructed, sufficiently comprehensive to express all their faith, it is evident, from its comprehensiveness, many of its clauses are capable of being understood in more senses than one ; that is, capable of being distorted, more or less, from the truth. This distortion it was—this misunderstanding of the intention and meaning of those who framed the simple primitive creeds—that gave occasion to the following larger and fuller expositions of the orthodox faith—such as the Nicene and the Athanasian Creeds : and these latter should never be taken in the sense of having been intended to supersede the Apostles' Creed, but as fuller expositions of the same faith, and to be understood aright only as we have at the same time the Apostles' Creed fully in our mind, as the text to which these comments are addressed.

The worst heresies that have arisen were those which gave occasion for these additional creeds yet they were heresies which it was possible to hold while acknowledging the Apostles' Creed ; for they were heresies concerning the personal subsistence of Christ, and the mode in which the divine and human natures were united in him—questions which were not agitated at the beginning, nor contemplated or provided against when the Apostles' Creed was drawn up. But it is evident that when these questions came to be agitated, and *among those who entertained such questions*, a correct definition of the truth became necessary, and *necessary to their salvation* ; for not to believe aright on questions concerning the *person* of Christ, is not to believe on *Him*—is to believe on some other than He is ; and not to believe on Him, or to believe on any other, is to fail of salvation. This is clearly the intent of those clauses of the Athanasian Creed to which many object ; they touch not those who in simple faith receive the Apostles' Creed in the sense in which it was penned, and who have not yet turned their thoughts to the *mode* of the divine subsistence in the blessed Trinity or in the person of our Lord. But if they do think on these subjects, they must think correctly ; and that, not only for the truth's sake, but because such subjects cannot be trifled with ; they are

not speculations—they are revealed, they are realities, they determine our salvation. For it is God and our Saviour that we receive or reject, according as we receive or reject these doctrines.

It is most instructive to observe how error and heresy is shaken off and left behind in every stage of advance in the progress of the Church ; and that not only in casting off the men who are become incurable heretics and refuse to part with their errors, but in the purification which is at the same time going on in the Church itself, and by the men who are really faithful coming to perceive more clearly the distinctions between truth and error, and therefore abandoning many things, as tending to error, which they had before unconsciously, and therefore innocently, held ; or, in another point of view, and to meet another form of error, may have maintained. When the great Nestorian heresy arose and agitated the Church to its very foundations, Nestor and his immediate followers were cast out of the Church ; and the faithful, in contending against his errors, were taught to regard the truth with far greater clearness and precision than before the controversy began, and the whole Church made a great step of advance in theology. Against Nestorius, the two principal champions for the truth were Cyril and Eutyches, who for a long time fought side by side with equal zeal, equal ability, and, as it seemed, equal orthodoxy. But after a time it was found that these eminent men, in shunning Scylla, were in danger of Charybdis—in avoiding the error of Nestor, were actually falling into as dangerous an error on the other side. And then the difference between the two men appeared. Cyril, with that humility and deference to the Church which accompanies true faith, took the counsel, saw his error, and has stood—a father and a light of the Church. Eutyches persisted in his error, became worse and worse, and is branded for ever with the name of heretic and apostate.

In Cyril's person we may behold, and may trace in his writings at the different stages of his experience, an instance and a proof of the progress of the Church. And a similar progress has been going on through all ages, even those which have been called the dark ages of the Church : but sometimes it has been only in preparation of materials, accumulating slowly and without any apparent purpose ; till suddenly, light, as an electric spark, descends—the mass bursts into a blaze, the incubances of centuries are shaken off, and a place prepared for a new and more glorious fabric—the monument of the progress of the Church.

Among the benefactors of the Church—among those who have

contributed most largely towards our advance in theology, and in an accurate knowledge of the truth, we would decidedly place the schoolmen—the much abused schoolmen—and especially the master of sentences, and his follower, the angelic doctor, Thomas Aquinas. These schoolmen have long been butts for the small shafts of those who know them only by name; and few of those, who think they know them well, have gone beyond common-place extracts, or a random perusal of the *summa theologiæ* of Thomas. If they were better known, and looked at with due allowance for the Papal system under which they laboured, or rather under which they lay, like giants bound and fettered under *Ætna* or *Vesuvius*, then would they be regarded as among the most shrewd, and able, and accurate of the writers of the Church, and as having consequently forwarded, in a marked manner, its further progress. In acute perception of all the various bearings of a subject, and precision of statement and definition, the schoolmen were greatly in advance of all preceding theologians; and the wonder is, that truth so clearly stated and so powerfully urged, as it sometimes is by them, should not have told at an earlier period upon the fallacies and inconsistencies of the Papal system, and that mankind did not get the Reformation two centuries sooner. But the consideration serves to enhance our gratitude to the man of men, Martin Luther, but for whose courage—unprecedented perhaps, and, it may be, never since equalled—it might not then have come—might not have come even yet. For it may abate our wonder at the past to behold the present phenomenon, that even now, when the mind of universal Europe has taken the steps in advance for which we are mainly indebted to the schoolmen, those who are under the Papal yoke can read the schoolmen, can seem to have advanced with the rest of mankind, and yet be as really abject and prostrate in spirit as the schoolmen of the thirteenth century: they dare not think otherwise than as Rome has decreed; and if Rome has decreed things ever so inconsequent, inconsistent, nay, contradictory, they are bound to believe them.

The schoolmen had evidently one kind of work to do—Luther had as evidently work of another kind. Their work was all speculative—his was all practical; and neither could have done the work of the other if they had attempted both. Nor has it been by following the schoolmen implicitly, and taking them for masters, that those who have had the same kind of talent have benefited the Church; but by taking their methods, learning their acuteness, and examining subjects, as they did, in all possible bearings. It is by these methods that the English divines have so well succeeded in drawing out and distinguishing the

attributes and operations of the three Divine Persons of the blessed Trinity, and as necessarily subsisting in the same unity, yet distinctness, from all eternity. And in like manner they have shown the distinct offices ascribed to each in the divine economy, and in bringing the purpose of God into manifestation through the Church; that there has been one fixed purpose from the beginning, announced in prophecies, and prefigured in symbols, and prepared in all creation, which has been more and more fully revealed in each following age, until Christ came to make known the fulness of that purpose and to bring in the last dispensation—the earnest and commencement of the kingdom of heaven.

It would require a volume to verify these points, and we only run over them here in order to render intelligible that which we wish to say concerning the manner in which the Romanists have hampered themselves by their foolish attempts to retain all the dogmas of their Church, so as to have made a complete jumble of theology; and taken away the efficacy of every ordinance in endeavouring to give equal power to them all; and destroyed the distinctive peculiarity of each dispensation, by forcing all things of all dispensations into an unwarranted combination; and this in a worship which revolts from everything which is not Christian, whether it be Jewish, Patriarchal, or Pagan.

The door was opened to all this confusion, and it was, in fact, forced in and perpetuated upon the Roman Church, by the first new article added by the Council of Trent, or rather by Pius IV., which being added to the orthodox creed, reduced it to a mere nullity. *Apostolicas et ecclesiasticas traditiones, reliquasque ejusdem Ecclesiæ observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto, et amplector.* For no one knew what he was admitting and embracing; the Church itself did not know how much was comprehended in the vow; and it bound the individual not only to all past, but all future decisions, of whatever kind they may have been or shall be. Moehler, and all the other writers who have at any time endeavoured to reduce the Roman theology to a system, are continually foiled by the starting up of some newly-discovered decision of former Popes, which comes athwart them in questions which they had thought to be otherwise determined; and they find it to be their only safe course to state nothing so positively as not to leave room for a contradiction, if necessary, and to leave their readers in the not very satisfactory condition of being finally convinced that much is to be said on both sides.

It is a necessary consequence of this, that in the Romanist theology the Church occupies *the first place*; and in treating concerning GOD himself, the first question is, what has the



Church taught? rather than, what has God revealed? And concerning these revelations also, the question is not, what are they? but, what has the Church understood them to be? And this Church, set first in all things only a congeries of a greater number of such men as those who were thus constituting it a standard!—only a number of such councils as the Council of Trent!—which last has now become the most binding and authoritative of them all. And it was therefore men, constituting themselves into a standard, whereto the Church and Scripture, and even God himself, was to be subjected in matters of faith. The Reformers did not make light of the judgment of the Church, but they put it in its right place. They gave God the first place, who hath a witness for himself in the soul of every man, far more powerful, far more clear, far more direct than the Church, or any other external object whatsoever. Aye! and it is a witness by which every man shall be judged, according as he has heeded or neglected its admonitions. Aye! and it is a witness whose testimony shall endure when churches and councils, yea, all external things, shall pass away as a scroll, and God himself shall be known as the All in All. But the Reformers, conscious of this, the high dignity of man, looked with reverence to their fellow-men, giving them credit for the same consciousness; and as ennobled thereby to be, moreover, the better fitted to become, as members of the Church, depositaries and guardians of the word and truth of God. They knew that the truth of God cannot fail in the Church, and that faithful men shall be found in all generations to hand it down entire. But they knew also that man is frail, and the Church a special object of temptation and hostility to the enemies of God and man; therefore that continual vigilance is necessary, both on the part of the stewards of God's mysteries, and on the part of those who are expecting to receive these blessings uncontaminated at their hands. This constitutes the responsibility both of clergy and people—a responsibility which God will not allow either of them to shake off, any more than either can appear for the other, at the bar of Christ, in the day of judgment.

The Reformers, thus beginning their theology aright—with God *himself*, and with *themselves*, as owing him the first allegiance, and bound to consider this as their highest privilege and most imperative duty—obtained, in the knowledge of God, a clue to guide them through all the labyrinth of subtlety in the writings of the schoolmen—through all the contradictions of bulls, canons, and decretals—through all the inconsistencies which may be found even in the writings of the primitive Church. Yea, more; in the light and truth thus acquired from the know-

ledge of God himself, they could go with all boldness to the Scriptures, from whence that knowledge is derived, and purge them from all spurious additions and all false glosses, which superstition or folly might have coupled with those sacred deposits, which form the charter of the Church. In this heavenly light they could at once reject Bel and the Dragon, and all the other apocryphal books, as inconsistent with the character of God and all the rest of Scripture; and they scarcely needed the formal and critical proofs of the Greek and Latin origin of these books, which are found in the prefaces of Jerome and in the writings of every father who has mentioned them: a liberty this which no consistent Romanist can allow himself, since he openly professes to receive the apocryphal books as canonical, and entitled to the same reverence as the other books, though Jerome and the early fathers say they are not: and the usual effect of this duplicity is to destroy all reverence for both the one and the other.

In following the course of Church history, it is quite refreshing to come to the time of the Reformation; we seem to breathe an atmosphere of freedom, and to move amongst a nobler and a loftier race of men, who lift their heads to heaven and have their conversation there, and fear not to go to God as a reconciled Father through the Redeemer alone, not timidly waiting for the mediation of any other, be they priests on earth, or saints departed, or angels in heaven. And in such documents as the Augsburg Confession we read the mighty strides of advance which the Church made, and made, as it were, all at once, by a sudden bound at the Reformation. Not that we consider any one of these documents as adequately representing or correctly expressing all that we understand by the faith and doctrine of the Reformers; and still less will we allow that any single man is a competent exponent of the Reformed faith—not even Zuinglius, or Luther, or Calvin. The faith of a body is to be gathered from the writings of all: that of the primitive Church from all the fathers—that of the Romanists from all of Rome—that of the Reformed from all the Reformers; and this including, not only those of the sixteenth century, but all those who have professed the same faith down to the present time; and especially such men as Hooker, and the great lights of our own Church.

Guided by them, we hold that the knowledge of God is the foundation of all theology; and that the ascertainment, by means of revelation, of what he truly is, must be the first step towards the correct ascertainment of any other doctrine, whether concerning ourselves or concerning the Church. From revelation we gather, that whatsoever God is, that he always has been, and

the same he ever shall be. And reason teaches this truth, since it must assume God to be perfect; and immutability is a necessary consequence of perfection, for *any* change implies comparative *imperfection* in the past or present condition: absolute perfection cannot be other, at any time, than that which it now is.

Under the same guidance, we learn that God, though one, subsists in three persons—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and by revelation and reason are in like manner assured that this mode of subsistence is of the very being of God, and that the Triune subsistence, like the being of God, is from everlasting to everlasting—has always been, and ever shall be, unchangeably the same. And the distinctions of person in the Godhead are not distinctions of name only, but distinctions of attribute, the reality of which, as it has no parallel in the mode of subsistence of any *created* being, so, too servile an attention to the *names*, which necessarily suggest *creature relationships* to our thoughts, may obscure rather than clear our conceptions of the *uncreate* God. The special attribute of the Father is incomprehensibility, so that we cannot suitably speak of him, but can only silently wonder and adore. Yet we should guard against the thought, that God is thereby removed to a distance; he is only the nearer to each one of us; he is above all, but through all and in all; in him we live, and move, and have our being; and though heaven be his throne and earth be his footstool, yet the lowly and contrite heart is the place where he hath said that he delights to dwell

The Son is of the Father alone, and contradistinguished as being the revealer of the incomprehensible Father. “No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son that is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.” And as the Son is God equally with the Father, and must be so in all respects to reveal the Father; so of the Son the eternal completeness proper to God must be maintained, and his procession from the Father must not be so understood as to imply inferiority or sequence, as such human relationships would be understood. And so also of the Holy Ghost, as proceeding from the Father and the Son, and who is God equally with them, and who in this trinity of personality are but one God, we must maintain the same eternal procession. For the force and meaning of the doctrine of there being but one God is precisely this, that the very essence of the Divine Being is this triune subsistence—that the acknowledgment of God at all is the acknowledgment of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and withholding from any one, in any degree, the attributes of Deity, is tantamount, so

far as it is consciously and intelligently done, to a denial of the true God. And the being of the Holy Ghost, as proceeding from the Father and the Son, is the only possible way of conceiving the distinction between the third person of the Trinity and the second, who, as Son, proceeds from the Father alone; and *because* Sonship implies a Father, and this procession of the Holy Ghost implies the Father and the Son, *therefore* the attributes of eternity and self-subsistence, which belong to the Father, belong equally to the Son and the Holy Ghost; and from everlasting to everlasting the same form of adoration is due to the Triune God—"HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, LORD GOD OF SABAOth."

These deductions from revelation suffice to set at rest the question so long agitated between the Greek and Roman Churches, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the still more dangerous question, if in a question concerning God we may speak of more or less—the question concerning the Eternal Sonship. For clearer views on these points the Reformers are mainly indebted to the schoolmen; yet, not by taking the results at which the schoolmen had arrived, nor yet taking their instruments and using them as they had done, but by taking the instruments of the schoolmen and using them in a better way, so as both to test and correct their results, employing them when found to be correct, and to obtain further and higher results, in addition to those of the schoolmen. The first efforts of the Reformers were against practical abominations in the Papacy, which were palpable, undeniable, and unjustifiable. But it was soon found that these evils were systematic, and were the necessary consequences, the inevitable results of a system which had become one mass of corruption; and that the only way of stopping the practical abominations was by reforming the whole system, and by restoring primitive faith to the Church, reviving primitive discipline, and with it primitive holiness. Driven thus upon the system, the Reformers necessarily fell upon the schoolmen, who were by far the ablest defenders of the Roman system, but whose acuteness furnished also the very best weapons for refuting, first their own sophistries, and then turning the same weapons with redoubled force against that system which they were originally forged to defend. The root of all the Papal abominations the Reformers found to be idolatry—that is, in some form or other, a worshipping and serving the creature more than the Creator, who is alone to be worshipped. That the Reformers were right, is demonstrated even now by the same evils being found inherent in that system still; for, notwithstanding our increase of civilization and refinement during

the last three hundred years, and notwithstanding the increased means and actual possession of information, idolatry is still inseparable from the Roman system, and the most abominable crimes break out continually from the secret recesses of celibacy, which would even now pass with impunity, were it not that justice is compelled to draw the sword by the brute instinctive demands of outraged and indignant humanity. We take not the charge of idolatry from an enemy—not from one who has read of it in books, or heard of it at a distance; we make it on the testimony of one who went amongst them, abandoning his place as a minister of the Church of England, from a still greater admiration of the Church of Rome, and who expected to find all that was true and holy in that communion. And what is the humiliating experience of such a man, joining that Church under such expectations? He is incapable of remaining; he is constrained to return to the Church of England by the idolatry of the Church of Rome, and writes in these terms of the evils which repelled him: "I have come to the conclusion, after much deliberation, and the conviction I have is this—that the Church of Rome is the great harlot, the mother of abominations, an adulteress; and her worship is idolatry, chiefly Mariolatry." (Letter of Mr. Sibthorp to Mr. Bickersteth, Oct. 5, 1843). And for the practical evils which result from such a system, we need only refer to such cases as the priest Abbo, who was not long ago executed at Rome, for crimes, the discovery of which, with the attempts to screen them, gave the Pope himself a fit of illness which obliged him to keep his bed; and who was only executed at last because an insurrection of the populace could not be appeased by any other means.

When God is truly known, and given the first place in thought, and word, and deed, the Church, and all things pertaining to it, readily fall into their true places. It is then seen that the Church is the last and fullest declaration of the mind of God, and also the chief, we might almost say the only, instrument for accomplishing his present purpose; for without the Church all other instrumentality would fail. And we say, his *present* purpose, because the Church, with all its high endowments, and mighty influences, and important results on the earth, is but preparing subjects for a future and a higher dispensation—subjects for the kingdom of heaven. The vast, the immeasurable superiority of the Christian dispensation over every other, is seen in the fact, that the Son of God, the second person of the Trinity, came down from heaven to bring it in; and so to bring it in, as by taking flesh into union with his divine nature, to make the Son of Man, in fact and reality, as well as in

name, the Head of the Church; and to bring the Church into a closer union than that of covenant or compact, making it his body, of his flesh and bones. This is the mystery of mysteries, that God and the creature should be so united in Christ as to form but one person. This being the case—this being believed, being steadfastly held, everything else of Christian doctrine follows of course. That union must be indissoluble, for it is fixed in the being of God—is stable as God himself. Death could not dissolve it, for he was God; hades could not hold him, for God was there: he, the God-man, rose triumphant and ascended to heaven with that body which he had assumed of the seed of Abraham; David's son and David's Lord sits at the right hand of the Father; and the Church has therein an earnest and a pledge that she shall be one with him and like him in the kingdom of heaven, who first came down from heaven to become one with man, and like man in all respects, sin only excepted. And in the Church, the Holy Spirit, who is called the Spirit of adoption, and the earnest of the purchased possession, and the first-fruits of the kingdom of heaven, is the special characteristic of the Christian dispensation, raising it far above every other, in that it is the personal presence of the third person of the Trinity, the highest and last gift to man, because it is the consequence, and complement, and crown of all the other gifts of the Father.

No thoughtful person can seriously ponder the last discourse of our Lord, beginning in the fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, without being convinced that in the Comforter, then promised, a new, unprecedented, and indispensable gift would be vouchsafed unto men; a gift this which should not only exceed anything which had been done for man in former times, but was even more indispensably necessary for them than the continuance of Christ himself. "It is expedient for you (said he) that I go away, for if I go not away the Comforter will not come, but if I depart I will send him unto you." And there was, so to speak, still greater appearance of condescension in the Holy Spirit taking up his abode in the Church, than in the Son of God uniting himself to flesh: for the holy child Jesus never, in thought, word, or deed, grieved his heavenly Father, never offered resistance to the divine will; but we are by nature at enmity with God, and, even after we have received this heavenly guest, are continually grieving and quenching the Holy Spirit. Yet he, the Comforter, still ever abideth with the Church—not wholly repelled by the waywardness of us as individuals, not driven away by the corruptions of the Church, while any faith remains; and that some shall remain faithful,

and that the Spirit shall abide unto the coming of the Lord, we are sure, for we have his promise, which cannot fail, that so it shall be.

This exceeding great and glorious distinction of the Christian dispensation—this peculiar blessing, which has come to us solely in consequence of the incarnation, resurrection, and ascension of the Son of God, who is Head of his body the Church—is practically set aside, and ceases to be recognized, by the Romanists in two ways, and by the slipping in of two erroneous principles. The *specialty* of this distinction has been set aside by the questions which have been raised, whether or not, before the fall, man was in a state of supernatural grace. And the *pre-eminence* of this distinction is set aside—is no longer recognized where the attention is wholly directed to forms, and visible and sensible things, and the spirit of man is never brought into immediate communion with God through the Holy Spirit.

The first question discussed by Moehler, in examining the doctrinal differences between Romanists and Protestants, is the primeval state of man : and, notwithstanding the rationalist tendencies of every modern German, to whatever party he may nominally belong, there is no doubt that Moehler has correctly stated the Roman doctrine, in saying that Adam was in a state of supernatural grace ; or, in other words, that the Holy Spirit was given to him in the same sense as the Holy Spirit is now given to the Church. The arguments by which they endeavour to support this doctrine are these : Adam held communion with God, but there is no communion but by the Holy Spirit, therefore Adam had the Holy Spirit : and, on the other hand, that “regeneration consists in the re-establishment of our primeval condition ;” therefore the primeval condition is that which the Church attains by the Holy Ghost. The fallacy of these kinds of argument consists in assuming that the communion between Adam and God was the same as that which the Church now enjoys through Jesus Christ and by the Holy Ghost ; whereas they must needs be *toto cælo* different. What that of Adam was we know not—we can but guess at it ; and this is the inherent folly of all such speculations—they are but conjectures at the best, and can have no practical bearing upon ourselves, who are placed in circumstances so entirely different. But what the communion *was not* we can very readily say—we know that it was not the communion of sinners saved ; we know that he could not say, as we can, “Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing ;” and we know that he could not form the most distant conception of what we mean by the Gospel, as that

mystery of God which he hath purposed in himself—that “in the fulness of times he would gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth..... According to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.” And this with us is not a fine entertainment of the mind, or an objective matter of contemplation, such as it could only have been to Adam, were it even possible for him to conceive it; but we have a part in this glorious mystery, and are subjects of this stupendous grace; for “God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.” The question is, was this the state of Adam? The common sense of the merest child boldly answers, “No.”

But theological considerations of the gravest kind refute the Romanist doctrine; since the honour of God and the stability of the Church would be compromised thereby. If in the Church, and by the Holy Ghost, man is only brought back to that condition in which he was before the fall, then God is supposed to be only doing again, for the second time, a work which has once failed; and it implies that God could not, or would not, do the work perfectly at once, though the so doing would have saved six thousand years of suffering to mankind, and, above all, the death of the Son of God. And if Adam had supernatural grace before the fall, and the Church has no more than he had; how, since he fell, can we be assured that the Church shall not in like manner fail? To maintain that Adam, who came into being pure, as from the hands of the Creator, was upheld by supernatural grace, and yet, notwithstanding this, fell, is a doctrine which, pushed to its consequences, would leave no security for the Church, even in the kingdom of heaven—all might in like manner fall. And it is the loose way in which men speak of the Holy Spirit and of supernatural grace that alone prevents them from perceiving these consequences, and also saves them from being guilty of entertaining avowedly doctrines thus monstrous.

The mystery of God has been progressive, unfolding itself more and more at each stage of its progress. First, Adam, the perfection of creation, yet, as a natural man, unable to fulfil the high end of his being, as the image of God—unable even to keep the place which God had assigned him. Then judgments



coming to teach the holiness of God, and his vengeance against sin ; then the law imposing its restraints, and defining with the greatest exactness the line of duty—a law which is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. But all in vain ; for we know that the law is spiritual : but we are carnal, sold under sin ; so that we could but cry out with St. Paul, “ O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death ? ” Thus men were shut up, by the very necessity of impotency, unto Christ, and to the deliverance which he brought ; and he is called the second Adam by contrast, not by resemblance, as Head of a second race not at all resembling the first—a spiritual, not a fleshly race—a heavenly, not an earthly seed—born not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. Therefore St. Paul writes (1 Cor. xv. 45), “ The first Adam was made a living soul, the last a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural ; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy : the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy : and as is the heavenly, such are they that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.” So also St. Peter, writing to the Church concerning the same mystery, says, “ Of which salvation the prophets have enquired, and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you : searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the Gospel unto you, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven ; which things the angels desire to look into.” So that we are taught by Scripture that Adam had not this supernatural grace, and that the prophets and holy men of old had it not, as it is now ministered in the Church ; and that the Gospel, with the Holy Ghost, sent down from heaven, appeared for the first time in the Church ; for the angels had been looking for this manifestation of the grace and glory of God, and till the Church appeared their desire was frustrate, and they looked in vain.

The means by which this new, this spiritual, this heavenly work was wrought, we have already stated to be by the Holy Ghost ; but it was by his personal coming in consequence of the glorification of Christ, and was in this respect different from those influences of the Holy Spirit by which holy men of old had been guided, and from that inspiration by which prophets

had spoken as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Bishop Heber beautifully handled this subject in one of his Bampton Lectures, showing from the masculine and neuter combination *εκείνος το πνεύμα* that he, the Spirit, had a twofold form of operation, and that it is the personal agency which is especially seen in the Church. There has been an operation of the Holy Spirit accompanying all the works of God; for all the Godhead—that is, all the persons of the Trinity, concur in every act. Even at the creation of matter, ere this goodly frame appeared, the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; and in the highest appropriation of matter—the incarnation—and which would at first seem to be the special act of the Son, he being the person who took flesh—it was by the agency of the Holy Spirit that the divine mystery was accomplished. But the presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church is different from all other; it is for inhabitation, and therefore more than occasional influence; it is not for incorporation with us, so as to form one person, and therefore is not like incarnation.

All the mighty powers to overcome the evils of the fall, and all the peculiar privileges which characterize the Church, as the last and fullest manifestation of the grace of God, come through the personal presence of the Holy Spirit, received by persons who are members of the Church, and transmitted by them to other persons, in uninterrupted succession to the end of time. On the day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit was given to the Church—given to the persons then assembled; not given in like manner at any other time, save in the instance of Cornelius, to begin the Gentile Church; and those who thus had received the Holy Spirit became the channels for imparting this blessing to the whole Church. But it was not in ways of their own choosing that they could impart the blessing; it was through ordinances of divine appointment—through baptism for giving the Holy Spirit, for regeneration or spiritual life—through the Lord's supper for sustaining and strengthening the new life thus given to the Church. The paramount importance given to these two ordinances by our Lord himself, and their being beyond dispute the ordinances which give to the Church its peculiar standing as the body of Christ and the temple of the Holy Ghost, has led the Reformers to regard baptism and the supper of the Lord as the only Christian sacraments. And certain it is, that if these are called sacraments, no other ordinances should be called by the same name; and if other things are called sacraments, or even sacramental, these should be called by some higher name. The Romanists, by introducing their seven sacraments, and by giving to other and modern rites sacramental

reverence, have entirely lost sight of the meaning of the highest ordinances in the Church; which meaning is, to gather into unity the stupendous work of Christ, both as the revealer of the Father, and as making atonement for the sin of man, and to pour down the mighty blessing upon the Church through the Holy Ghost. After this blessing is received in faith, we may, with larger and fuller hearts, praise and magnify God, and use with safety a fuller ritual without being diverted thereby to things, and forgetting the living Being whom we profess to worship and serve. The higher church-standing may find expression in fuller worship as a secondary thing; but if the ritual be the only thing thought of, and this be so encumbered with forms as to occupy all the thought, so far from leading to a higher church-standing, or being fuller worship, it dwindles into a mere ceremonial and a repetition of empty forms. And such the Roman ritual has become.

In the early Church the ritual was simple; yet then spirituality, and the consciousness of the presence of the Holy Spirit, were at the highest. It was afterwards, and in proportion as the Church declined in faith from her high standing, and became less spiritual, that they endeavoured to supply the loss of the heavenly reality by pomp and splendour, addressing, not the spirit, but the sense of man.

And these innovations were introduced without professing to have a divine command, but merely by the will of man; and at first, no doubt, on no other ground than a sense of decency and propriety. Yet after a time innovations of the same kind, which had been mixed up with the ordinances of divine appointment such as baptism and the supper of the Lord, were regarded as having the same divine sanction as the ordinances themselves, and all the ceremonies of the mass were held as a part of the institution, and necessary to its due administration; and from these the transition was easy, and it may be said inevitable; and all other ceremonies came to be regarded as equally sacred.

The Church of England has distinguished between the ordinances of divine institution—namely, the sacraments—and rites and ceremonies for worship, and for decency and propriety in conducting the worship; not putting both on the same footing. And there is another point, even more important as regards the standing of the Church, in which the Church of Rome has fallen into error, and the Church of England bears witness for the truth, and so upholds the true nature of the sacraments—namely, that it is these, and these alone, that mark off the Church from the world; that the Church consists of laity as well as clergy; and that from any one who has been admitted

into the Church by the first sacrament of baptism, we have no right to withhold the second sacrament, the communion, when rightly instructed so as to receive it worthily; and still less to mutilate this holy ordinance by withholding the cup.

All these things we notice only as so many evidences that the Church of Rome misunderstands the real standing and true place and dignity of the Church; and that in seeking to become more gorgeous and attractive in external things, has been forgetful of the more important spiritual realities—the life of the Church. In the Reformed Churches this life has been cherished, the spiritual realities have been prized, the presence of the Holy Spirit and the invisible communion of faith are made the most prominent points of doctrine; and it may be, in some cases, with a tendency to undervalue forms and ceremonies, even in their proper places. We do not think that this has been the case in the Church of England, except in that small portion of it which would make an assumed spirituality an excuse for irregularities of every kind. Sure we are that the injunctions of the Church are no hindrance to spirituality, and yet preserve all those forms by which worship may be best expressed, without baldness or superstition.

Yet it is matter of history, that during a great part of the last century a spirit of drowsiness had come over the Church of England, from which she was aroused by the exertions of Wesley and Whitfield on the one hand, and by the shock of the French Revolution and the outbreak of infidelity on the other. The full effects of these things did not immediately appear; they seldom do appear in the same generation, but in that which succeeds, and enters into life, heirs of the experience both good and evil: and with the world around them also tutored by the experience, and willing to hear the admonitions and second the exertions of the Church, in turning their common experience to a good account. The present generation of the Church presents to the eye of faith a more hopeful aspect, and a promise of greater things than have ever been accomplished in England, or by her means, since the time of the Reformation. And it is well that we can think it so, for the perils which surround us are unquestionably many, and the difficulties to be surmounted unusual, if not unprecedented. And as, in order to fulfil these hopes, the Church must take the important station which belongs to her, and keep perfect discipline herself; so, many of the things around us which now seem most perilous, are rather the disorderly and ill-timed seeking after that which, in its proper time and place, may safely be granted, and turn out to be a legitimate object of desire.

In the religious world, as it is called, of the present day, three classes of minds distinctly appear—the spiritual, the intellectual, and the formal: and in the world around, who turn not their thoughts to religion, there are the same three classes remarkably distinct among men at the present time. It is by cherishing these feelings and combining them, and not by suppressing them, that the Church will become efficient, in laying hold of, and guiding and turning to good account, these same desires in the world, and of which she is given the fellow feeling for this very end. There is a very high tone of spirituality in one party in the Church—far higher, we believe, than at any preceding period, which is given them to lay hold of, and bring into the Church, all that class of men who are of a spiritual character in the world. There is a higher tone of intellectual acquirement in the Church now than at any former period, to meet the wants of this highly intellectual age. And there is a taste for form and order revived, in a very remarkable degree, and among very numerous classes, in the Church and in the world. These characteristics, now appearing separately, need to be combined in the Church: while they continue in separate operation, they not only work division and confusion in the Church, but the good qualities themselves have a tendency to degenerate and become positively evil. Spirituality, if cultivated exclusively, will soon become little better than Methodism or Dissent, if it do not dwindle down into the follies of Swedenborg and the Quakers. The mental acquirements of the Church need the root and vigour of spirituality to keep them from running into the rationalism and neology of Germany, or the baser form of sheer infidelity. And the love of antiquity and delight in ancient forms and practices, which as being old, must necessarily be for the most part Roman, requires all our care, and the ballast also of spirituality and theology, to keep it right; for in our admiration of ancient forms we are in continual risk of approving and adopting ancient errors and superstitions.

We believe the movements which are agitating the Church are for good—are signs of her progress—are not to be crushed by the strong arm of authority, but are to be watched, and regulated, and repressed in their excesses; yet treated with gentleness and kindness, mingled with the necessary firmness. The Oxford movement especially, in which the strongest of the opposing principles have been brought into antagonism in the highest quarters of the Church, could not but fill the minds of all thoughtful persons with apprehension; since any failure in wisdom or temper might have produced incalculable mischief. There cannot be a doubt that the thing aimed at by the party

we speak of, and *as it presented itself to them*, was good ; but they were looking at it in only one of its bearings ; and exaggerating this, and pursuing it exclusively and unwarily, had well nigh fallen into all the errors, and perversions, and superstitions with which it has been debased in the Church of Rome. The very gloryings of Rome, in anticipation of the results, afford ample proofs of the perils we ran, and how very narrow was the escape ; and the bitter disappointment expressed in the same quarter only serves to show, that it was not so much for truth's sake that they gloried in the anticipated results, as in the strength and credit which would accrue to them by the accession of such men to their party. Mr. Palmer, in his pamphlet, assigns the too near an approximation to Rome, within the last two years, as the cause of the alarm felt by him, and leading him and his friends to retrace their steps. "The laudatory terms in which Romanism has been spoken of—the depreciating manner in which the English Church has been mentioned, the abuse of her Reformers, the spirit of discontent with her offices, the desire to alter and assimilate her system to that of Rome." (p. 86).

The translator of Moehler is encouraged "to hope that now, when so happy and so remarkable a change has come over the Protestant mind of England" (Preface), the work, which the Romanists regard as the most able modern advocacy of their doctrines, will be well received. And Dr. Rock has published his "*Hierurgia*" expressly for the Protestants, to inform them concerning all the forms and ceremonies of the Romish Church, whose ritual he is in confident expectation that the English Church will soon be prepared to adopt. We rejoice in the conviction which we are now able to entertain, that these confident expectations will be disappointed, and that the Church of England may even derive increased stability and power from these movements, which seemed at one time almost to peril her very existence. Questions have been forced upon us ; we have been obliged to grapple with them, we have discovered their vast importance, we have mastered them ; we have found that the Church of England affords the truest solution of these difficulties, the best answer to these questions, the right place, and time, and way, for the satisfaction of those desires out of which the questions have arisen. Thus fortified, we may be able to change places with the Romanists, or rather to turn the tables, and really occupy that place which they had in imagination assigned to themselves—we may become their instructors, instead of they ours. Insulation, in every sense of the word, increased by our long total exclusion from the continent, had made the Church of England too English, too much self-con-

tained and self-sufficient, and consequently intolerant of any thing strange, without waiting to ascertain whether there might not be something good in it—something well worth knowing, though it might seem strange. A country like England, to which no land is now strange, should regard none of other lands as strangers, that she may the better improve in every way the advantages which Providence has given her, for her own benefit and also for theirs. And the Church, whose first commission was, “Go ye, teach all nations,” is especially bound to consider how she may best fulfil this commission—that is, how she may best prevail upon all nations *to hear* what she has to teach. This can obviously only be in proportion as we gain their good opinion, and acknowledge all the truth which they hold; and though that which they do hold may appear to them greater and more important than it really is, yet, on the other hand, we may be sure it will turn out to be far more important than we shall be disposed to consider it at first sight.

The Church, for this end, should not only be well grounded in the truth, but also aware of all the doubles and devices of error—should be able to detect shades of falsehood, and tendencies to error, where the broad face of that which is evil does not yet show itself. In this point of view we consider that the late controversies have been very advantageous to the Church—that she will be found to have made great progress under them—and that she will be far more able than at any former period to fulfil the far higher and more extensive sphere of operation which now lies before her, than at any former time in the history of the Church.

ART. II.—*A Charge, delivered in the Autumn of 1843, at the Visitation in Hampshire.* By W. DEALTRY, D.D., F.R.S., Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester. London: Hatchard and Son. 1843.

2. *A Charge, delivered at the Ordinary Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Surrey, November, 1843.* By SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, M.A., Chaplain to H. R. H. Prince Albert, and Archdeacon of Surrey. London: Burns. 1843.

TO the minds of those who are entering for the first time into the scenes of active life, and who have a choice to make of their part in its business, every occupation presents itself with more or less of delusive fascination. Situations are fancied which are not likely to have existence, principles of action are laid down

which are not likely to come into operation, and results expected which the experience of ages has already declared impracticable. To most young minds the future is a romance, every progressive step of which is to be developed in some poetic form, wherein no account is taken of the every-day accidents of human life, because they are too common-place to be dignified, and are not dreamed of as yielding opportunity for the manifestation of generous sentiments and noble actions.

It is well that it should be so; enthusiasm will bear abatement, and, being wholesomely abated, is profitable in all things. It is the mental provision proper to the young, and the things which are before them; and it is better to enter life over-stocked with joyous anticipations, than, through premature knowledge of the evil, to be paralyzed in its first rude shock. The cares and anxieties of manhood—the struggle of the good with the bad—the patient holding on to the end in the path of duty, amidst the adverse storms with which that path is darkened—all require energy of purpose; and they who enter life with the brightest views and the highest resolves, however much they may suffer in the breaking down of these views to the practical realities of human existence, are yet most likely to retain that strength, tempered by wisdom, which shall carry them usefully to the end.

These remarks, in part, apply as well to the pastoral office as to any other. The visions which the young form of the life and occupation of a country clergyman, though not altogether false, are yet very unlike the reality: they are views wherein all that poets have sung of peaceful pleasures, and all that sentimentalists have written of virtuous poverty, find a place—where tearful benevolence and patient suffering meet in reciprocal blessing, and not a single glimpse occurs of oppositions, contentings, ingritudes, and misrepresentations; yet that these make up much of the reality of a pastor's life, none who know aught of the matter will doubt. And the poetry—for poetry there is—which accompanies his occupation is soon found to be of a loftier and sterner character than that in which his earlier imaginings were clothed. Let any clergyman contrast his expectations and thoughts, as he emerged from college life in the anticipation of entering into holy orders, with the experience of some years spent in fulfilling the duties of a parish priest, and he will find the two widely different. The peaceful and the calm, though, through God's blessing and the grace of his Holy Spirit, they may possess his own soul, are in general no elements of the atmosphere in which he is called to live; there is no retreat into which rude vice does not penetrate, no lovely scene of Na-



ture's handiwork which bad passions do not defile; and with these, in the exercise of his sacred functions, he has become acquainted. He can tell much of ingratitude, but little of thankfulness; he has to be patient under misrepresentations, to bear with the froward, to maintain in unwearied conflict the truths of God against fierce sectaries and gainsayers; he has, in short, to deal with man, with his mind and with his heart, in all the phases of sin and ignorance, in all the sad realities of his condition as a wanderer from God; and in so doing he must have seen and learned, or he has learned nothing, somewhat of the spiritual perverseness that is in himself and in his brother. If his lot has been cast in a metropolitan or manufacturing district, he will have to labour amidst scenes, of which hitherto he has never dreamed, where vice in its worst forms, and poverty in its most squalid misery, continually meet his gaze. He will be depressed by the amount of suffering which he must witness, and cannot, but in small part, alleviate; and he will, day by day, return to his home with an aching heart, to ponder sadly over all the solemn responsibilities of his holy office, and to long for the time when the many-voiced cry of the "suffering and groaning creation" shall be answered in deliverance. Truly, in such scenes the faithful minister of God learns the utter insufficiency of all mere sentiment and intelligent philanthropy to sustain him in his arduous duties. Nothing but the grace of God, and the strength which he daily gives, can be found sufficient for it.

It will be perhaps objected, that there are few of the clergy to whom these remarks will at all apply; that they are in general an ease-loving class of men, who have no higher notion of the duties of their holy calling than that it imposes upon them a necessity for the observance of a few decent proprieties, and whose only object in the choice of their profession has been to receive a gentlemanly occupation, which, if it yields them no very great wealth, demands from them no extraordinary labour. There can be little doubt that this has been too extensively the case. The Church is reaping, on every hand, the bitter fruits of the past indolence and unfaithfulness of her servants; and it is not inconsistent with charity to suppose that there are still to be found too many careless and unthinking labourers in the vineyard of the Lord. But whilst this admission is made, it must not be forgotten that more than lawful advantage has been taken of the fact by the enemies of the Church; and what should have been mourned over and deprecated as a heavy calamity, and as, in its permission, a judgment, has been exaggerated, triumphed in, and converted into a party weapon. It must be remembered also, that the clergy, as a body, have been judged

amongst men by a very false standard, constituted often of private interpretations of Scripture, private views of the nature of their duties, and an utter contempt of their priestly standing. They have, moreover, been too often convicted in public opinion upon the testimony of very incompetent witnesses, who, having for their object to claim greater sanctity for themselves, and a more general acceptance of their system, have sought to attain these ends by the unholy and often untrue exhibition of the sins and failings of those to whom they were opposed. Thus, whilst an undue prominence has been given to such flagrant instances amongst the clergy, as good men must ever deeply deplore, no account has been taken of the many who have pursued the even tenor of their way, quietly fulfilling their duties, amidst privation and difficulty, with very much to struggle against, and with little beyond the sense of God's favour, and the approval of their own conscience, to uphold them. A man is often more truly judged by what he does not, than by what he does. The judgment of the world is not always right, for it chiefly deals with that which is on the surface; and whilst many virtues are exercised without observation, one vice sometimes acquires in its development an absorbing notoriety—the bad rather than the good attracts the notice of men; and though it is not meant that virtue is the general rule, and vice the exception, yet it commonly happens that where classes come into consideration, in the unholy blazoning, for party purposes, of the sins and failings of a few, the quiet virtues of the many are utterly overlooked. This has been the fate of the clergy more than of any other class; and whilst no extenuation ought to be attempted in the instances in which they have been unfaithful to their sacred trust, it is not too much to say that they have met with hard and unjust dealing. Of a number, ranging from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand, it is a matter of surprise, not that instances calling for the sorrow of all good men do occur, but that they are so few. As a body of men, the clergy of the Church of England may fairly challenge comparison with any other class throughout Christendom: for high education and acquirements, for general intelligence, for acquaintance with the truths which they profess to teach, and the fruit of those truths manifested in their own blameless and moral demeanour, they are not to be surpassed. So great, indeed, is their influence on society, that politicians, without caring much for their spiritual claims and character, cannot for one moment afford to leave them out in their calculations and management of the State machinery.

It is to be regretted that the accusers of the English clergy have of late been found in ranks and under colours where they

might least have been expected. In the more than harmless coquettings with the Romish Church, which are too much the fashion at present, it is not uncommon to find invidious comparisons drawn between the clergy of that communion and the clergy of our own : sometimes in the eulogy of a celibate priesthood, and a reference to the condition of the Romish clergy, it is left to be inferred that the English clergy must be far beneath them in their sense of duty and devotion to it ; sometimes it is directly asserted that such is the case. Without for one moment seeking to exaggerate evils, which are doubtless the effects of the iron and unnatural system in which the Romish priesthood is bound ; yet, as a means of repudiating so false a charge, they must be referred to ; it is a question altogether of fact, and must be decided by a reference to facts. Any one conversant in the slightest degree with the moral condition of the Romish clergy, especially in Italy and some parts of Germany, will see at once that the results of such comparisons, as being altogether unfavourable to the English clergy, are untrue. The details of that condition are distressing to the last degree, and there is, unhappily, no difficulty in their authentication. One very sad peculiarity attaching to them is, that the vicious habits which the younger portion of the priesthood, in the strength of their early enthusiasm, avoid, are fallen into as the ardour of youth subsides, and the greater delinquents are found amongst those whose years should be a guarantee for sobriety and moral demeanour. With the French clergy the case is somewhat different ; they have not, as a body, sufficiently recovered from the chastisement of the French Revolution, to assume the position which they once held ; they dare not sin after the fashion of their fathers. The demon, in whose name so many crimes were committed in France, is not dead—he merely sleeps ; and they who have seen or heard of him in the full exercise of his fierce and cruel energies, stand too much in awe to wake him into action. France does but tolerate the Church, which is on her trial, expressly understanding that she is in favour only on condition of good behaviour ; and though she is gradually winning her way again into her right place and influence, yet the hazard is too tremendous for her servants to trespass one inch beyond the limits of endurance which are from day to day assigned them. In Brittany and parts of the South the clergy, it is true, are still regarded with somewhat of the ancient homage ; but in the colder and more sceptical departments of the North their tenure on the minds and hearts of their people is yet very precarious. From one end of the land to the other, however, there is a watchful surveillance over the conduct of the priests, and such

a longing for the detection of delinquency, by which aggression might be justified, as compels them, in very regard to their own safety, to abstain from all excess. But it would be ungenerous and uncharitable to forget, in considering the state of the French clergy, the sanctified uses of affliction—wrong to deny that, in their amended condition, their own sense of duty and honest resolves have had no part; rather let us hope that in it are to be seen the fruits of God's merciful dealing, and the sanctification, to many of them, of the bitter trials through which they have passed. Still, for general understanding of their duties, devotion and faithfulness in the fulfilment of them, even the French clergy do not surpass the English.

It is very painful that such reasonings, which bear somewhat the character of recrimination, and are almost beneath the dignity of Christian charity, should be necessary; but it is the duty in these days of every faithful child of the Church to defend the Mother "at whose breast he was nourished" against all unholy or treacherous defamers, and, if reasonings of crimination have weight in attack, to show that they have in this case greater weight in defence. There are, doubtless, noble exceptions to what has been asserted of the clergy of Italy and Germany, and no one will lightly think of the French clergy, who, in times of public calamity, and especially during the revolution, have even carried into the exercise of their sacred functions the gallantry and chivalrous devotion for which all Frenchmen are so justly famed, and who, in the present day, are forward in perilling their lives in missionary efforts, which, if they tend to the propagation of error, are nevertheless motivated by a regard for the glory of God.

But not to give more weight to such comparisons than they are really worth, and to return to what more immediately concerns us, it is not too much to assert, that there is, on the part of the English clergy, a growing consciousness of solemn duties undertaken, and responsibilities incurred; and that, though this consciousness may exist in the minds of some with more or less of indefiniteness, there is also an increasing understanding of the nature of their office, and a more devoted and intelligent attention to its duties. The times, moreover, are such, that none can escape their influence—that none can remain in a negative character and situation, the clergy least of all; accordingly, we see them all taking up positions which are each assumed upon principle, and which, whilst they unhappily partake too much of the contentious spirit that characterizes the age, are nevertheless sure evidence, in their place, of reviving strength and energy in the whole body. No clergyman can now, if he would,

remain inactive the time has gone by when indolence might be tolerated in any one ; and there is a constant pressure of each class upon others, and of all upon the Church, which everywhere calls for and compels exertion. There is, beyond this reasoning, the sure confidence that the Lord, who has mercifully set his Church in the world to minister to man in all the necessities of his being, is, by his grace, fitting and arousing his servants to meet the fearful exigencies of the times which are evidently fast coming upon us.

It is very clear that the age in which we live has signs and portents peculiar to itself. An act in the great drama of the world's history is in progress of development, whose first scene was the French Revolution, the interest of which is so absorbing in its character as to force itself upon the observation of all, and which, we judge, must be seen in its *denouement* to be the consummation, the closing up of all that shall be permitted upon earth in this dispensation. To speak in plainer language, the signs of the times are such as to demand, and force themselves upon, the attention of all. No intelligent Englishman can look, for instance, at the condition of this land, without perceiving it to be one, both in politics and morals, which never before had existence ; many classes in society are fast disappearing, some being absorbed in others ; bonds of mutual obligation are being broken, great interests utterly changing their sources of strength and modes of development ; men, instead of agreeing to the necessity of a social compact, are ranging themselves in ranks of opposition ; confidence is everywhere destroyed ; and whatever may be the greater amount, if any, of personal religion, there is evidently an increased neglect of recognition, if not an actual repudiating of its authority and principles in public acts. The tale of "Merrie England," with its joyous hearts and stout courage, with its hearty landlords, its honest tradesmen, and its contented peasantry, is indeed as a dream, to which the men of this generation listen, with far more regard for its poetry than confidence in its reality. To win what he can, to retain what he has won, to maintain place and power and wealth, careless at whose expense, on the one hand—to resist oppression, to struggle for life itself, to compel, by acts of fierce aggression and insubordination, the justice which is refused, and the mercy which pity will not give, on the other—these are the characteristics of the contending parties in this once happy land. With the appliances of science to aid in the discovery and production of cheap luxuries, food and raiment are altogether beyond the reach of thousands ; enormous wealth and abject penury sit side by side ; and there seems no day's-man, as of yore, to stand

between the rich and the poor, and hold them together in the brotherhood of God's one family by the hands of sympathy and confidence. If we extend the sphere of our observation, and look abroad upon the nations of Christendom, we may plainly discern that a spirit has gone forth, whose commission is to break up and destroy all the political elements of stability to which men have hitherto trusted for defence and safety.

The times are certainly unparalleled, for nothing we can read of is like them—at least, in the extent of the evil which they are unfolding; and though doubtless convulsions, both moral and political—such as the religious struggles of the Reformation, the civil wars of our own and other lands—have been productive of scenes, which, in individual horrors, are not, and it is to be hoped cannot, now be enacted; yet, for the general contest of principle against principle, and the universal effect of that contest felt in every man's heart and home, they are unprecedented. No doubt, of such aggregated struggles and convulsions we are suffering the results; each woke up a dormant, or created a new, element of antagonism in society; and Christendom is now as a battle-field, where the last mighty conflict is to be fought out, with all the weapons and all the strength and resources which each preceding struggle has called into being. We do not forget the French revolution; but that, as an act, is not yet finished; its opening movement was as the first onslaught in this warfare, which, though it may not again be equalled in individual ferocity, has given to all, such a knowledge of the strength of the party that prevailed as will render the final struggle more universally deadly and decisive.

But, to speak more in the detail which belongs to the subject of this article, every one must see that society has reached a pass in evil which defies common remedies, and requires uncommon interference. The statesman has exhausted his art in order to meet the difficulty, and has failed: philosophers and political economists are full of theories, but they have not one which will avail; they are all, more or less, impracticable, because of the new and strange phenomena continually occurring in the development of men's views and feelings. It is clear that the Church alone can deal with the case, and sooner or later men will come to understand this. The condition at which we have arrived is the fruit of the wrong doing of many generations, and too much of the unfaithfulness and neglect of the Church herself. All have had their share in the contribution of that which has come down to us from our fathers—a miserable legacy of sin and suffering; and but one faint ray of hope remains: it is in this that they, who are made by God wise to understand

the evil, use the strength which he has given to contend against it; and such are, or ought to be, the ministers of Christ's Church.

From the Roman Catholic clergy little is to be expected: not that they have not eyes to see and hearts to feel for the burthen of suffering which is everywhere pressing men to the earth; but the system in which they are entangled compels, of very necessity, either an utter succumbing before the spirit which is abroad, or an useless provocation, by an assumption of authority which they have no real strength and power to maintain. They are paying, moreover, the tax, which is properly due, to the unholy alliances into which they have entered with Radicals and Infidels, for the furtherance of some end, by which they have fancied Protestantism might be destroyed and Romanism advanced. They have been thrown aside by the people as soon as their co-operation was no longer needed, and have met with the measure which they themselves would have meted—a contempt for their motives, and an open dishonouring of themselves when they ceased to be politically useful. Upon the clergy of the English Church, who do not stand in this position, more than upon any other class of men, depends, under God, the mitigation, if we may not say the successful resistance, at least as far as regards this land, of the evils which we dread. Such a task can only be undertaken by those, untrammelled by systems of man's invention, who depend the most implicitly on the strength given to them of God, who have the most intelligent understanding of the spiritual powers committed to them, and whose ministry is such as man needs through man—one of sympathy with his sufferings, experience of his social burdens, and wise and merciful appliance of the Church's remedies to his case.

There is one point of view in which we think the age should be considered, and which, if a true one, will show that the Church alone is fitted to deal with it: it is essentially *spiritual*. The last and highest stage in the development of man's nature seems to have been reached—the bringing into manifestation of all that belongs to the spiritual part of his being; and great powers, the true attributes of that condition, whether for good or evil, are coming into operation.

To those who are conversant with death-bed scenes it may have occurred to witness a phenomenon, which, whenever it happens, is the sure precursor of speedy dissolution—a condition of mind, or rather of spirit, wherein both the past and the future seem to be embraced; the same glance comprising the whole range of the scenes that have been passed through, and vividly discerning the objects that occupy those which are unfolding—

a power of remembering the minutest circumstances and actions of the past, and recalling events long since forgotten by others, and, at the same time, a quickened anticipation, an almost sensible realizing of that, which is unseen by, and intangible to, all others—as though the spirit, hindered from clear and wondrous vision by the gross materials of her dwelling-house, recovered the exercise of her proper powers as the frail tenement of flesh broke down around her. If it be not too fanciful, we would say, the world has reached this pass: she has come to the summing up of the history of this dispensation, and to a preparation for the manifestation of another; and the sure forerunner and token of this is the spiritual character and condition of society at large. Of this there are two remarkable proofs: the universal recurrence to the usages, habits, thoughts, opinions, and principles of antiquity, and the general prophetic tendency of men's minds—the bringing of the past and the future together. These cannot have escaped the observation of any reflecting man. In modes of dress, in pictorial representations, in the furnishing of houses, in architectural decorations, in amusements and recreations—nay, even in theology, our ancestors seem to live again in their descendants; whilst, on the other hand, the prophetic character of the day is equally evident. Independently of the treatises constantly issuing from the press, which directly treat upon the subject of prophecy, works, which do not profess to touch in any way upon it, are full of predictions, speculations, and conjectures, in one form or another, as to what the future may yield. Every man unconsciously assumes the office of a predictor; and beyond the looking forward, which is natural to us all, there are a foreboding and forecasting on the part of every one. The *real* of the present, in its importance and necessity, is overlooked, and men everywhere direct their gaze to the past and the future.

That the age *is* spiritual depends not for proof on these alone—the tastes of the day declare it; they are mostly spiritual. The productions of the press are far more imaginative than they ever were; and whilst it is asserted that a great advance has been made in moral attainments (which, alas! is very much to be doubted), the very particulars in which this is instanced do but show some gross vice substituted by another far more subtle and spiritual in its character, whose developments, though they be not so shocking, because they are not so palpable, are nevertheless eating deeper into the vitals of all that has been true amongst men, and contributing silently, but surely, to its final exclusion. The forms of thought in this day are mostly poetical, and visionary speculations abound. The whole question of



Mesmerism, and much that may be classified with it; the suppositions entertained that these may be mental associations of a nature hitherto unheard of—a region of the spiritual under the control of man's will, far more extensive than any yet discovered; to say nothing of the eager hunt after cabalistic works of other times; the direct pretensions to, and belief in the existence of, magical powers: these are all signs and proofs of the spiritual character of the age.

Now here is a sphere of action for spiritual agencies scarcely conceived of, and never before so fully developed: here are capacities awaiting spiritual direction, almost for the first time manifested—a wondrous preparation for good or for evil; and if the Church see not that it be for the one, the devil will take care that it shall be for the other. The Scriptures clearly point to such a condition as betokening and attending the days preceding our Lord's coming; and if it be true that Satan and his hosts shall then arise to the deceiving and ensnaring of men, surely the pastors of the Church need scarcely be urged to the solemn consideration of the magnitude of their present duties, and the peril both to themselves and their flocks of neglecting them. With a voice for every ear, an access to that secret part in every man's heart, which he fancies the most hidden and inaccessible—with a knowledge of the only temptation, it may be, which will make a man swerve from his duty, addressed to each according to his peculiar temperament and disposition—through the heart to the compassionate, through the head to the intellectual—thus will Satan come to every individual, leading men everywhere into spiritual wickedness and blasphemous assumptions, and deceiving, “if that were possible, the very elect.” And if the Church be not equally ready with wisdom for his detection, and the exercise of her spiritual powers for the protection of her children, whence may men look for help?

Political theorists will, of course, laugh at such an exposition as this; but if they do not admit the cause assigned, they must feel and recognize the effects; for they have to do with them at every step of their speculations. That they do not understand them is not surprising, for the Church alone has the key to their true explanation.

It is with the heart of man that the pastors of Christ's flock have mainly to do, and in his home that their duties are chiefly fulfilled. In this respect, no doubt, all claim the care and oversight of those who are spiritually over them; but the poor and labouring classes, more than all others, from their peculiar position and necessities. In every revolution and alteration of the conditions of social life, the poor are the greatest sufferers: from

them first comes the index of the change; in them its true effects are first visible. If any misgovernment exists, they, in the increase of their burthens, are the exponents of the evil. When laws are framed, they, from the very necessities of their condition, are the first to test their efficacy; and if any difficult political problem has to be solved, all eyes are turned upon them to observe the result. They are the most necessitous of sympathy, the most sensible to it, the most thankful for it; and they have claims which no true man, and the Church least of all, will repudiate. Wrong must be amended, and will be avenged. It is idle to say that the poor of this land have not their wrongs; and unless some one take pity upon them, and soften the bitter agony of their suffering by the language of mercy and pity, they will one day make themselves heard in accents at which the stoutest heart shall quail; and take into their own hands the work of avenging, which they should leave to God. It is counsel that the poor and labouring classes in these days especially need, and such counsel as only the Church can give. Beset on every hand by men ready to take advantage of their sense of wrong, cajoled by promises which can never be fulfilled, and taught to look for the cause of their grievances where they do not exist, they are at the mercy of every political adventurer, who, the moment they have served his purpose, rewards them with an increase of suffering, and proves the hardest taskmaster they have ever had. If any one will remember that the labouring classes of this land are men, husbands and fathers, and will allow them but the average amount of understanding and affection which falls to them in those relations; if he will also remember what a terrible struggle they have to earn a scanty and honest subsistence, he will see great cause to be thankful to God for the patient endurance with which they have hitherto borne their burdens. But endurance, like everything else, has its limits: a conviction of injustice suffered, and wrongs to be avenged, however falsely come at, add terrible force to an aggressive party; and if, in the final struggle of contending classes, the poor be goaded to take up this position (which may God avert!), many will learn too late the value of that sympathy and aid which they refused them in the hour of their need.

It may be said that these views are exaggerated and very gloomy: would that they were exaggerated! But if they be true, they cannot be gloomier than the truth. Let us not be deceived with the idea that there is such a reserve of power in the sound sense of Englishmen, and the moral influence which the laws yet possess, as shall suffice to meet any crisis, and avert

from us any ultimate convulsion. These will do much towards softening the character of any revolution in this country, but that is all. When once the elements of strife are introduced into a kingdom, it is not the intelligent and the peaceful who prove the strongest, but the violent and the reckless. There is, moreover, at all times, a large class of society who are selfishly indifferent, who will never move till they themselves are directly affected: and though, in numbers, the indifferent and the peaceable, if combined, are ever more than sufficient to coerce the lawless; yet, as they do not so combine, the latter, in any hand-to-hand struggle, commonly obtain the mastery: the indifferent stand aloof, and the peaceable, reluctant to begin the strife, come into the field too late, and are sure to be worsted. Any one will see that there is some truth in these remarks, who remembers with what a small numerical force the French Revolution was first commenced, and to what an extent of fanaticism and horror it was afterwards carried;—who will also recollect, that, as compared with the good sense, intelligence, and repugnance to cruelty and crime which must then have existed in the respectable classes of society, the party that perpetrated the crimes of that period was insignificant.

These things are here urged, both because it is believed that the period in which we live is most critical, and because it becomes us all, as men, to look it fairly in the face, and to seek for better means of averting it, than any which can be furnished by flimsy, political expedients or groundless dependencies upon qualities which will fail us in the day of trial. As we have said already the next general struggle throughout Europe will be more deadly and fierce than any which has yet been witnessed: it will not be a multitude ranging on this side or that, supporting this or that party, with but little real understanding of their respective claims; but a contest of principle against principle, wherein each man will contend for something which vitally affects himself and his own condition, and will band himself with others only, as their individual interests, being alike, form one powerful incentive to move them into unity of action: and again we say it, to *the Church and her clergy* must men look for help; and to *them*, not as politicians—not as arraying themselves under the banner of any party—not as contenders for political rights and ecclesiastical privileges; but as *patient listeners* to the tale of wrong which most men have in these days to tell, deep sympathizers with those who are enduring it where it exists, and wise and peaceful counsellors—*counsellors for God*, ministering ever the word of his grace and the consolations of his mercy. **THIS** is what the poor need; for lack of this they have turned to evil counsellors—

to Chartists, and demagogues of every description, who have professed to feel for and pity them, that they might use them for their own purposes. With the deep craving for sympathy which is ever in the human heart, they have spoken of their wrongs, and have met too often with cold neglect; they have told their tale of woe, and have been answered with the hard and barren theories of political economy: much has been taught them concerning the rights and privileges of those above them, in all which too little account has been taken of their own; they have felt that it is forgotten that they are men, and they have returned to their own homes to brood over their wrongs, and devise in what way they may best avenge themselves: and it is *there* the clergy must follow them as friends and Christian brethren, carrying to them the blessed words of the Gospel, ministering peace, and extracting the bitterness out of their hearts.

It is not for one moment supposed that the spirit of these remarks will be misunderstood, as implying any encouragement of insubordination, or forgetfulness of the just claims of every other class to the care of the clergy. The poor and labouring classes are merely spoken of as specially needing pastoral care, and as the most likely to withdraw themselves from it, through the principles which have of late been unhappily disseminated amongst them. The Church is most surely the teacher of all; there is as much need of her, and as true a place for her, in the palace as in the cottage. All truth and wisdom flow first from the sanctuary; and it is by the light that the Church holds to the world that men alone can properly learn to discern between right and wrong, and to give to every principle of human action its true place. It is because she has been unfaithful to her trust, and because that princes and statesmen would not learn of her, that so much misgovernment and consequent suffering have come into the world. Nor is it at all intended that it should be inferred that the clergy are not to teach the poor and labouring classes the duties of obedience and subordination; none knows better than they that "rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry."

It is, however, as catechists that the clergy may hope to effect the most in checking the progress of evil principles. Much has been done for the education of the poor, yet much remains to be done, to which the Church alone is competent, and to which we are glad to see that she is bending her best energies. The questions, as to whether there can be a national education irrespective of religious instruction, or irrespective of the office of the Established Church as the religious instructor, seem, so far

as regards the interference of the State, for the present, set at rest. Of course we speak only of this country. It is not needful here to trace the history of these questions, though it would prove exceedingly interesting; but in the course of it much has come out concerning the present moral, or rather immoral, state of the poor, which claims the serious attention of every philanthropic and thinking person. The reports, which have been made from time to time to Parliament on this subject, present a frightful picture of the condition of the youthful poor of the metropolitan and manufacturing districts. The means employed by Government to ascertain facts are a sufficient guarantee against exaggeration; yet, but for this assurance, some of the details contained in these reports would present more the air of a romance of terrors than of sad realities, in the midst of which so many of us are daily living. One thing is, however, certain, that there is a body of the young of the lower orders, great in numerical amount, growing up in the practice of the most degrading and brutalizing vices, to be at some future time turned loose on society, ready instruments for the execution of any desperate scheme, and prepared to take advantage of any political convulsion. If the prospects of the labouring classes be not bettered—if want of employment and hunger should hereafter add increased fierceness to the already abandoned minds of these unhappy beings, there is no calculating the amount of evil to be then developed, which, in their neglected and untutored condition, is now silently accumulating. Again we say, it is no sufficient answer, that such things have ever been—that such forebodings have ever been entertained—and that, forasmuch as society, nevertheless, still holds together, there is no doubt it will continue so to do. In the first place, no times have been like the present, in all their characteristic difficulties and impending exigencies; and in the second place, as in all things, so in the vices of this day, there are a quickening growth of premature maturity—an extent of evil strength which has never before been witnessed. The intelligence and the knowledge of the last century are not to be compared with those of the present; and the same spiritual condition of man's nature, which in its high developments renders him capable of all which we see him attempting and doing, is also yielding a more extensive field for Satanic agency. Now the schoolmaster may apply his training to these classes, if indeed they are at all accessible to him, but he will do nothing if the clergyman do not follow him as a catechist: for though knowledge be, as men say, power, it is a power for evil as well as for good; and to give it to the multitude without the understanding, on their part, of its true

and proper use, is to put, as it were, a deadly weapon into the hands of a fool, who uses it to the injury of himself and all around; or of a bad man, who applies it, not for lawful defence, but for cruel and wicked aggression. Religion must go along with knowledge—she alone can teach its right uses: and there is, therefore, a wide field open for the exertions of the clergy, not only in seeing that those who have no instruction be sought after, that they may be instructed, but in taking care that those nominally receiving instruction in their schools receive something better than the mere elements of simple knowledge, which it is the schoolmaster's office to give them. In many of our national schools the children have yet to be taught the meaning of the words learned by rote, which they utter with so much facility in answer to the questions that are asked them; and no clergyman, who has the least experience of such matters, but will have readily presented to his mind many instances in proof of this, which, whilst they are very ludicrous, are also as indicative of a degraded condition of mind, and great neglect somewhere, very distressing. It would be well if, in all our churches throughout the land, the wholesome and most necessary custom of catechizing, for which provision is made in the rubric, were revived; if it were wisely fulfilled, it would prove a source of great blessing both to parents and children; and whatever difference of opinion may exist, as to whether a time set apart for worship is the best for fulfilling such a duty, yet none can deny the importance of the duty itself, nor fail to see that it is likely to be more regularly performed, and to be more impressive and beneficial in its effects, if required to be done, as it were, in the sight of God, in the presence of his congregation, and so in the fellowship of the one faith, to which every baptized man is called.

Turn which way we will, there is a crying demand throughout the land for the exercise of all the powers which the Church possesses, and all the energies which her ministers are capable of: a demand, more than at any other time, for wisdom and pitifulness on the part of those who are set by the Lord in the midst of his flock to have the pastoral care of them. Well would it be if it were fully understood! Would that every slumbering servant of God's household could be shaken into a consciousness of his solemn duties, and the immediate exigencies that require their faithful fulfilment! If the clergy would lay aside the strifes which so unhappily divide them, and address themselves, in unity of heart and purpose, to the great and noble work of preparation which suffering humanity on all hands calls for, and the near coming of the Lord requires, what might be done!—what might be averted! It is not a time

for self-indulgences ; it is not a time for sentimental dreamings ; it is not a time for vindications of personal authority and personal privileges. Society is out of joint from beginning to end ; there is disease throughout the whole body, politic and ecclesiastic ; there is, at this moment, that warfare to be accomplished, of which St. Paul speaks in Ephesians vi. ; and there is need for the skilful and merciful physician, for the soldier of Christ, armed at all points with "the armour of God." If the clergy do not, forgetting their differences and private interests (which, alas ! we suppose, in a thousand ways, will be proved impossible), arise and address themselves, as men in Christ, to the task, we see not from whence help can come.

Amongst the many things which obtrude to darken the ray of hope which the proof of reviving life in the Church has created, is the manifest inefficiency of the clergy, in point of numbers, to their work. A priesthood, overmatched, in respect of numbers, to the wants and exigencies of their flocks, has been the source of many abuses, and has been proved to be a great evil : but the reverse of this, flocks so greatly disproportioned in amount to the pastors provided for them, that it becomes physically impossible they should be rightly cared for, is a still greater evil ; it is one prevailing to a great extent in this country, especially in its manufacturing districts, and exceedingly difficult of remedy. We are an aristocratic people ; the very poor are so—if not in that which they claim for themselves, in that which they look for in others ;—and though very much has been said of the necessity and efficacy of providing an accession to the priesthood from the ranks of the lower classes, as being likely to furnish a body of men whose physical wants will be few, and who will be better understood by, and more acceptable to, the poor ; it is, upon a fair calculation of all the probable results, very much to be doubted whether any such plan would answer. The hope of success in this scheme proceeds very much upon the assumption, that men of higher breeding and education cannot, or will not, submit to privations ; and that they are, of very necessity, less intelligible and acceptable to the poor. Neither of these propositions are very evident, but if both be true, the sooner they are amended the better, for they can be amended. Once stir up the clergy to understand fully what is required them, and we hope and affirm that they are not, as a body, though they be, many of them, highly bred and well educated, so utterly forgetful of the nature of their holy calling, as to refuse privation, if it be required, in the fulfilling of its duties. If there be but the Christian love proper to the vocation of a pastor, in the heart, no mere accident of better breed-

ing or cultivated habits will prove a hindrance to its expression in such forms as the poor man can understand and appreciate : on the contrary, it will rather be a guarantee, that what God has given to the pastor to minister, shall be well and wisely done. There is, moreover, a communication of the spirit of man with that of his fellow, which is above all the forms and modes of educated expression, wherein there is, so to speak, but one language to all ; and when it is from the spirit and the heart that the pastor speaks to his people, in the hour of their need, their suffering, and their sorrow, his better breeding and educated mind do not and cannot hinder him from reaching the spiritual comprehension of the poor. Where any such hindrance exists, it must be looked for elsewhere. If the spirit and the heart of a man be not right with God and with his brother, then, indeed, such accidents of birth and breeding may increase the hindrance, but they are not the primary cause of it. Nor are the arguments derived from the successful exertions of Methodist local preachers amongst the labourers of mining and rural districts, and elsewhere, fairly deduced ; they were successful because the clergy were negligent : but if, for every one of these preachers, a clergyman, educated, intelligent, and devoted, could have been substituted, then, and not till then, should we have been in a position to judge whether the poor have or have not, abstractedly, a greater preference for a ministry provided from their own class, than for one provided from the classes above them. There is a very great difficulty arising from the fact that we are an aristocratic people, in providing against the evil of a clergy numerically inadequate to the wants of the people. There is another difficulty, arising from the fact, that for an accession of numbers, either from the higher or lower classes, there are no funds.

As to any extended provision out of the means which the Church already possesses, so ramified into all the existing institutions of society, in every detail, is the whole question of Church property, that it is next to impossible, without disturbing them all, to meddle with it. It is also very much to be doubted whether the total amount of Church revenue would afford more than a better distribution amongst the existing clergy, supposing it could be meddled with at all. If the returns to Parliament be correct, and there is no reason to doubt it, it cannot certainly be applied to the maintenance of any fresh accession of numbers. A great proportion of the clergy are at this present moment receiving a very inadequate remuneration, if the term can properly be applied, for the exercise of ministerial duties ; they are either living upon means derived



independently of the Church, or they are content, in order that they may be of her ministry, to bring their wants within the limits of a curates' stipend—a sacrifice, on the part of many who have been used, in their fathers' houses, to the comforts, if not of high, at least of genteel life, which ought to be more remembered and appreciated. If anything whatever is attempted with the means which the Church already possesses, it might be, perhaps, a juster distribution of the funds to the clergy, and of the clergy to the population. There can be little doubt that the original endowers of particular districts had for their special object the spiritual care of the population of those districts which they endowed, and that to such an object they intended the proceeds of their endowment to be entirely applied. In many districts the population has enormously increased, and with it the proceeds of the endowments: in the same proportion, as a matter of course, the demand for spiritual oversight has also increased, but, too commonly, the number of spiritual curates remains the same as of old, and one or more (the number originally provided for the wants of a small parish) are receiving the increased income arising from an increased population, without taking care that an increased amount of spiritual ministry be forthcoming. In some of these districts, but little, from the nature of the case, could be done, but that little should be attempted. In the instances where the reverse of what is stated is seen—viz., where parishes originally large have become small, leaving the same amount of income and pastoral care—the matter would present greater difficulties. The whole of this question of better distribution is, however, a very large and delicate one, and we will not meddle with it any further.

It may not be altogether irrelevant to this point of our subject to remark, that, as regards the revenues of the Church of England, much wilful misrepresentation exists, and many unjust comparisons are made, especially between the English and the Romish clergy. The real evil, as we have remarked, is in the undue *distribution*, not in the *aggregate amount*; and this is often, and sometimes purposely, grossly overrated. There is, for example, in France, a translation of Cobbett's "History of the Reformation," published by ecclesiastical authority, in the statements of which, as regards England, the generality of the priests and their people place implicit confidence. In that work it is asserted that the revenue of the English Church is eight millions sterling per annum; and this statement is brought more emphatically before the reader by a note, wherein the sum expressed in francs presents an astounding array of figures, ciphers, and marks of admiration, to his wonderment and edification.

The fact is not very creditable to the publishers ; but is curious, as presenting the correct estimate which they have formed of the intelligence of the priests as a body, who know about as much of the English and the English Church, as they do of Kamschatka. These exaggerations are less excusable in our own country, where the Parliamentary returns, and other statistical data, are always at hand, to enable every man to come at the truth, and where exaggerations, therefore, prove a dishonest purpose in their statement. The comparisons that are made are also unjust, because no account is taken of the fact, that the continental nations are not so aristocratic as England, and that the peasantry do not look for educated men and gentlemen in priests ; and that there is no such general sense of religion, and desire to be employed in the service of God, as will lead men of good birth to enter into the priesthood and induce them to submit to its privations. Before the French Revolution, at least in France, when wealth and dignities were of easy attainment in the Church, she was filled with the nobility ; but now, with very few exceptions, in her very highest offices, and in Rome, where the whole polity is that of an Ecclesiastical State, the priesthood of the continent is taken from classes to whom the stipend allotted, small as it is, is an object. Those stipends are actually more, in relation to the different modes and expenses of living, than are those received by many of the English clergy. If reference be merely made to the Government allowance for the priesthood in France, this will not readily appear, as that allowance, though sufficient for their maintenance, is very small ; but it must be remembered, that the Government pay is by no means the extent of the priest's income, who, from the dues which fall to him in his office, has often a handsome competency. In this respect the truth is sometimes kept back ; and a Roman Catholic bishop in France once told the writer, when in a proud humility he was comparing his condition with that of the English bishops, that he had but four hundred pounds a year, wherewith to keep an equipage, maintain a table for constant guests, exercise hospitality and benevolence, and pay the expenses of his visitations. If he could do all this with four hundred pounds a year, he needed no more ; and happy, in the estimation of many a poor Englishman, would such a land be where it could be done. But though it was true that four hundred pounds a year was all that the Government allowed the bishop, he received from dues three times that sum, and was therefore, in his own land, as well off as the generality of bishops in this. That the provision of the priests is sufficient is evident from this, that we know of instances where large fortunes, for

France, were left by priests, who had no other means whatever than the Government allowance and their dues.

But we have been led somewhat astray from the question—in what way is pastoral care, adequate to the increased wants of the people, to be provided? It is a question of paramount and pressing importance, and must be heeded. The Church would do well seriously and authoritatively to consider it, not leaving it to the precarious and irregular efforts of private societies, however countenanced and however well-meant, to supply the deficiency; and the Government would do well to aid the Church: for the preservation of political order and peace is far more concerned in the issue than many judge. Higher motives to forbearance and patient endurance than any that can be drawn from political reasonings, need to be placed before the subordinate classes; the duties of obedience require to be enforced upon better grounds than the mere selfish consideration of the stake which every man has in the preservation of social order—an argument which has great weight, no doubt, with the happy man sitting in comfort by his well-appointed fireside, and to which he will most complacently assent, but which is totally inadequate to satisfy the man who is rendered fierce and reckless by privation and hunger. The clergy themselves should also aid, coming forward, as a body, with some sacrifice of especial interests—a sacrifice which would do far more than aught beside to regain them the estranged affections of many of the people. They must learn to yield up somewhat of their claims, that the Lord's household may everywhere be fed with the meat proper to this season; and laymen too, to whom God has given wealth, should not refuse to devote some portion of the same, that the Church may have the means of extending throughout the land the means of spiritual care and oversight. The proportion, if calculated in round numbers, of the clergy, to the population of the whole country, will at once show how utterly impossible it is that they can adequately meet the spiritual demands that are made upon them.

In all this reasoning it may be said, that no sufficient account is taken of the various Dissenting bodies, and of the exertions of their ministers; but it must be remembered, that the principles which many of them profess tend to aggravate the evils which have been deplored; that, as far as we are dealing with the present condition of society as a fact, the amount of good they may have wrought is taken into the account when a summary of that condition is presented; and that, as our remarks prospectively can only apply to the ministers of a Church duly authorized and empowered by the Lord to do his work in the world, it is

plain, that either, if their position be considered at all, it can only be considered to be deplored, or that it must be passed by altogether.

It may properly follow here to enquire, how far the "Oxford" or "Tractarian" movement may contribute to meet the spiritual necessities of the times, and supply the deficiency in spiritual care and instruction which at present exists. So much has been said and written on the whole system of the Tractarians, and so much temper has been lost, that it is very difficult to approach any consideration of it without wearying some, offending others, and perhaps forgetting oneself. As, however, the enquiry may be instituted sufficiently for our purpose, without trenching on the greater questions upon which two portions of the clergy are at this moment at issue, we venture upon it.

It must at once be conceded, that it is a movement which has originated from the burthened condition of the heart of the Church—from a clear perception of existing evil, and high and holy strivings after such a standing of truth, as should restore to the Church pristine vigour, and remedy the evil estate into which she has fallen. But it seems to us that a mistake has been made, both as regards the constitution of the Church, and the nature of the duties that presently devolve upon her; and that there is, moreover, a lack of understanding, both of the nature of the times, and the spiritual wants of men in them.

The "Tractarians," in that portion of the clergy which they represent, have manifested a participation in the spirit that characterizes the age, developing itself in so many different ways—we mean, in the love of the ancient; and whilst men are turning over the ashes of past ages for the various relics, which have a charm for them according to their several tastes, these estimable persons have, in their higher place, in obedience to the spiritual impulse which is upon all, given their talent and energies to the recovery from the dark ages of antiquity of all that has been written concerning the doctrines of the Church, and all that has been observed in the celebration of her worship. They have published much of the one as conclusive and authoritative, without considering whether there was any due preparation in the minds of men to receive them as such; and they have sought, in the expression of their desires, to re-dress the Church, in her services, after the manner of ancient times, without considering whether the nature of man does not now require something higher and better—whether what has been so good for the past, is equally so for the present.

The question as to the *degree* of authority that attaches to the writings of the fathers, apart from creeds and councils, has

been already fully discussed in this *Review*, and little has been left to say upon the subject; nor is it with this, but with the fitness, the spiritual fitness of this movement, and its probable results, that we have to do.

The scriptural representation of the constitution of the Church sets her before us as the mystical body of the Lord—the temple—the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost, wherein there is a perfection of ministries and memberships, and a complete endowment of spiritual power. She is declared as having a life, by reason of her oneness with her living Head, whose progress must be unto perfection by successive attainments of strength and knowledge, till the full stature of the man in Christ is reached. If this be so, she has an ample provision within herself for the changing necessities of the times and seasons which are appointed to her; she has, like the natural man, a strength proper to each, and must seek in the present, rather than in the past, the help which she needs; she must not look alone to what God has done for her in the days that are gone, but what he has promised to do in the days that are, and those that are to come.

Shall the Church, then, utterly forget the past? Shall she cease to venerate the fathers? Shall she despise creeds and councils, the fruit of the blood of martyrs, and the safeguard against deadly heresies? No, she cannot if she would; she can no more do this than a man can forget the lessons and guides of his youth; she can no more separate herself from the past—for she has been one and the same from the day of Pentecost—than the man can separate himself from his childhood, and fail instinctively to use and to apply all that he has been taught in his earlier days. But the man cannot return to boyhood; the boy cannot always be a boy: and the Church cannot live alone by the past; her bread of life is promised to her day by day; her “scribes” are to “bring forth things new” as well as “old;” her hope is in the coming of the Lord; her eye must be cast forward, and not backward; and there is a meat which she will need, as that day approaches, far stronger and better fitted for her spiritual age, than that with which, in earlier ages, she was fed. We neither speak nor dream here of any new revelation; we speak merely of the wondrous unfoldings of the truth she already holds, whose full and farther development she has yet to learn: neither do we speak of the blessed things taught by the apostles themselves, inspired for the same, as inadequate for the present times; for they taught the Church, then looking for the instant appearing of the Lord, from which hope she soon fell away, and to which, in its power and life-giving influence, she must be restored. They taught the Church with

many depths of spiritual wisdom, fitted to the time, the full knowledge of which, as the hope decayed, died out also; and to the understanding of which, as that hope revives, it should be her desire, as it is her privilege, to attain.

Truth is always the same. What was truth to the child is still truth to the man; though in the understanding, expansion, and application of it, it is more fitted to his increased powers and necessities, and to his enlarged sphere of action. Most certainly, therefore, the truth which was held by the Church in the earliest ages must be the same truth as that which she now holds; though it is most proper that, as all things hasten to the consummation of God's purposes in this dispensation, she should look for enlarged views, for a clearer perception, for deeper understanding, and for a more effective application of that truth. And this is all we mean in saying, that the Church will need a stronger meat than any she has been yet fed with.

To the living, and not to the dead, must the Church look and listen, if she would learn all that it befits her to know; and it seems that, in part, the Tractarians have forgotten this, in the excessive demand for veneration which they make for the writings of the past, and the little account they take, except as they favour their own views, of the counsels and teachings of their brethren and their bishops—by all of whom, doubtless, in their place and measure, God speaks. Much of what they have written is very beautiful, but it is often too poetic to be real, and too sentimental for the action which these stern times require. There is also, in this lingering among the tombs, a forgetting of the resurrection standing of the redeemed man; they are as one sorrowing without hope over the grave of some beloved object—a beautiful subject for the poet or the painter, but one exciting only the commiseration of the well-instructed Christian. The cross, rather than the crown; the passion, rather than the resurrection; the departing of the Lord, rather than his coming again, hold their thoughts; and though they speak much of the communion of the saints, as embracing the dead as well as the living, the dead they regard rather as guardian angels and intercessors, than as sleeping in Jesus—whom he shall bring with him, when he comes, a glorious company, the contemplation of whose present peace and future joy should make us eager to hasten, in ourselves, and for them, the coming of that day. Let us not be misunderstood as speaking lightly of the cross, the passion, or the departing of our blessed Lord: we merely mean, that these are not all to the contemplation of which the Christian man is called; that, as baptized into the body mystical of Christ, he is made to “sit with him in hea-

venly places ;" he is taken out of the fleshly into the spiritual ; he is made in spirit one with Him who is seated at the right hand of the Father, and who dieth no more. And it is in the fellowship of His risen life, and the strength of the hope of His coming, that he is to fulfil the duties that devolve upon him. If symbols, therefore, properly belong to the Christian dispensation, which they do not, the cross does not, as a symbol, fully express the whole standing and privilege of the baptized ; and the passion, though the contemplation of it is most holy and good for the heart, is not so to be held in thought as to exclude or obscure the resurrection.

As regards the question of symbolism, so intimately connected with this movement, in the close assimilation of the ceremonial of worship to that of the Romish Church, or rather the revival which is longed for of the form of ceremonial and the sacred costume of the Church of the third century, we will venture a word or two. We do not say *attempted*, because we are not aware that, except in some minor particulars, such has been the case ; and we may as well at once, in anticipation, remark that we are quite aware that lights at the altar were authorized by the rubric of Edward VI. ; and that, as regards vestments, the Church of England recognizes the use of the cope in cathedral churches by him who ministers the communion (Canon xxiv.) With particular vestments, and with other things in use in the Church, we only meddle as they are involved in the discussion of a general principle.

We presume that symbolism had its origin with the Egyptians, whose hieroglyphics are the written language by which those *μυθoί* are expressed, which were the dark traditional remnants of the divine revelation made to man in the patriarchal ages. Afterwards we know the whole Jewish economy became, by express command, symbolical—not of things which had been done, save as they existed in the purpose of God, but of things which were to be accomplished in the Christian dispensation ; but He having come, of whom the whole law and its ceremonial were a type and shadow, there was no longer a necessity for the symbol, the reality which it prefigured having been manifested. When "the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh," was made known to the Church, there was, therefore, no longer any legitimate use for symbols, because she was called to lay hold of a reality, and because her duty was in the fulness of the resurrection life of her Lord, to show forth to the world, in *forms of life*, and not by inanimate things, the heavenly realities into the possession of which she, with her risen Head, had entered. Hence, whilst the constitution of the Church is plainly set forth

in the Scriptures, together with her living ministers and her spiritual powers, as the body mystical of the Lord, in which he was to be manifested to the world as he had manifested the Father, there is no mention, that we can find, of the variety of vestments, the many symbols, which the Romish Church holds necessary, and for the adoption of which there is evidently so great a desire; because, as we take it, and have just said, it was in living man, and in forms of life, that the truth of God and the realities of the Christian dispensation were to be seen and looked for. "The writers of the Romish Church, Baronius, De Saus-say, and Bona, who will have every ceremony to be apostolical," do indeed assert "that the apostles themselves wore a distinct habit in all their sacred ministrations. Bona is very confident that St. Paul's cloak, which he left at Troas, was a sacerdotal vestment; and others speak of St. Peter's *planeta*, which is said to be sent from Antioch to Paris, and kept there as a sacred relic in the temple of St. Genouesa; and others mention St. John's, which is said to be sent to Gregory the Great. But Bona himself will not undertake to vouch for these, because of the silence of all ancient writers concerning them." And there is clearly a difficulty in ascertaining what, as regards vestments, was the practice of the Church till the beginning of the fourth century. If the account given by Dr. Rock, in his "*Hierurgia*," be taken as correct, then the origin of vestments in the Church was very simple; the chasuble, the cope, the dalmatic, the marium, the maniple, being nothing more, at the first, than various parts of the dress then ordinarily in use, adopted into the Church, and ultimately hallowed by use in her service. If this be true, it is somewhat fatal to the essentiality of character which is claimed for them; since, if they were not by direct command of the apostles, but by gradual adoption through the permission of the Church, and a perception of propriety, whatever claims they may have upon our reverence, as rendered sacred by the Church's use, they have not the character of essentiality possessed by every portion of the vestments of the Jewish priesthood, which had each the sanction of a divine ordinance and command. It is true, that in the same work a mystical meaning is attached to each of the vestments which have been mentioned; but it must be remembered that it was not the truth which created, as necessary for its symbolic expression, the vestment, but the vestment that, being adopted, suggested the truth. The truth of God asks only for men as its exponents; but it is not difficult, in the exercise of a pious fancy, to attach meanings innumerable, of spiritual import, to the use of any material and inanimate thing. Again, as regards lights by the



side of the altar, flowers upon the altar, incense,\* &c., it should be remembered that their use was of the growth of time; that they are each symbols of realities, and, as such, could have no true place where the reality existed; and that they gradually came to be part of the ceremonial of the worship of the Church, as the realities which they symbolized ceased to be manifested; the people, in like manner, becoming gradually accustomed to their use, as the higher things of life and power died out, and were reconciled to the loss of the reality itself by some gorgeous and external resemblance of its existence. To take one example—when the Church forgot, and ceased to stand in her true character as the intercessor for all men on earth, the reality was substituted and preserved in remembrance by the visible ascending of material incense. Lighted candles, incense, &c., are, therefore, so many testimonies which the Church unconsciously holds forth to men of her own unfaithfulness, and not the proper expression of mysteries and realities which she cannot otherwise show; for then would she fall into the position of the Jewish Church before the coming of our Lord.

Accordingly we find that it was in the middle ages, when men were more sensual and less spiritual, that symbolism became in everything a language, by which, through the medium of their senses and external signs, they were instructed, or intended to be instructed, in that which they could not otherwise spiritually apprehend. Men were spoken to, if the words may be so used, in the architectural structure and decoration of their churches—in all that was furnished for the service of the altar—in the customs of chivalry—in the bearings and blazoning of heraldry; and they are spoken to thus, because only by direct appeals to their senses could they be then instructed. There was little spiritual capacity amongst them; questions of right and wrong were settled by hard blows; the reasoning faculties were at a discount, and not often required; whilst the physical properties of strength and animal courage forced their way into high places, and won the admiration of all. It is just because the age was sensual that symbolism was then proper to it; it is just because the age in which we live is spiritual, that we need a higher and a better thing.

Why is it that the symbolism of the Roman Catholic Church

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\* Brett, in his "Dissertation on the Liturgies," says, that the use of incense commenced in the Eastern Church; that "there is no mention of it in the three first centuries, if there be in the fourth;" and that the third part of the canon contained in the Apostolical Constitutions, which relates to incense as used at the time of the oblation, is "wholly destitute of all contemporary evidence," and his reasoning is very clear and conclusive to this result. (p. 346, 347).

does not suit the French? Because they are essentially a spiritual people, though their spirituality is too often manifested in most infidel and wicked forms. Why is it that it will not suit the men of this land? Because they also are spiritual, and, though in many a lawless way, have attained to a perception of, and reaching after, something better than the Romish Church can give them.

It is by no means asserted in this reasoning that vestments are not necessary. It may, perhaps, be said in answer, that if vestments be admitted to be necessary, the whole question of symbolism in the affirmative is granted. If the man is to be forgotten and lost sight of in the vestment, this would be true; but if, as we believe, the man is never to be lost sight of in the Church, whose every service represents, in living men, to man, **THE Man Christ Jesus** at the right hand of the Father, then is the question of the vestment one of propriety, and not of symbolism; and to be reasoned out, *in its degree*, upon the same grounds which require that one man should pay respect to another by the appointments of his dress. We have been merely contending that vestments have not, in the detail, attempted the essentiality of character claimed for them; and that, as regards all symbolism, it is—to the extent, at least, to which it is sought to be carried—out of place in the Church of Christ, when the true nature of its constitution is rightly considered.

Of forms, we merely add this word, that they are necessary to the expression of life. If they be accumulated till they become burthensome, they will only prove, in proportion as they are multiplied, so many stiflings of the mighty spiritual life which is within the Church, which only asks so much of form as shall bring it into operation towards God and man.

Whilst, therefore, much, doubtless, that is very beautiful, has been written upon “unlighted altars” and “unstoled priests,” and much that is high in thought and holy in sentiment called forth in the reasonings over the present, and the regrets and longings for the past, which so eminently distinguish a great portion of the “Tractarian” school, it seems somewhat to have been forgotten that the Church is called, in these days, to action, and not to contemplation—to put forth her strength in preparing for the future, and not to waste it in sorrowing for the past. Men have, moreover, in general, gone by that stage of mind, wherein symbolism proves sufficient: they have attained a region which requires the Church to use her highest powers and holiest energies to keep ahead of them; and have cravings of a nature far too powerful to be satisfied with mere external forms and ceremonials, however venerable from their antiquity, and capti-

vating from their poetry. It is in man, in baptized man, as fellow with his Lord, as risen with him, as partaker of his resurrection, life, and power, that the blessed realities of God's truths must be looked for; and when he is chosen and set by the Lord in the priesthood, it is not by his dress, or by his observance of forms, that he shall declare God unto men, but by the living words of truth flowing from his lips, by the ministration of life and strength, through the grace that is given to him, to all over whom he is set.

The contest is one for spirit without form on the one hand, for form without spirit on the other: it resolves itself into this in too many of the minds that are engaged in it; and whilst the former is untenable, and it is to be hoped the latter is not seriously meant, yet there is well grounded apprehension that some, especially of the younger clergy, in their veneration, and almost idolatry, of the views which are adopted by the leaders of this movement, will either fall into complete monachism, or become so occupied with the externals of Church discipline and worship as to make them burthensome and distasteful to the flock, and lose in their absorbing interest the proper consideration of their pastoral duties. Continued preachings upon their claims to apostolical succession and the authority of the Church, hasty denunciations of all who think not with them, and assumptions of their alone containing, in their system, all Catholic truth, will not themselves convince or win men. These claims are far more surely, though silently, acceded to, when people see God in their pastor, and the force and virtue of apostolic ordination in the fruit of holy life, and gentle and loving ministrations. We have read lately of whole congregations exasperated by the persistence, on the part of their pastors, in what their people could not understand, or did not believe: no doubt there was sin on the part of the latter; but where that which is contended for, though it be positively God's truth, is above the comprehension of the people, surely it would be well to ask if charity can find no way to lead them, as children are led by a gentle nurse, step by step, without offence and smiting, till they are able to attain it.

But the main evil in this Oxford movement is its Popish tendency. It is not left to be inferred, in the eulogy of Rome, that everything in Protestantism must be wrong—it is positively asserted. The hard measure which the English Church meets with in its Protestant standing, compared with the gentle handling of the many abuses of the Romish Church, plainly shows such a longing after the communion of the latter, as needs only the circumstances of fitting time and opportunity to be gratified.

Catholicism is much spoken and written of by the Tractarians; but it is clear that what is essentially *Romanism* is the form of interpretation which this word takes in their thoughts. It seems to be forgotten that the word *Catholic*, in its truest sense, can only be applied to *the Church* universally—a far higher thing, in its fulness, than is shown by either the Greek, Roman, or Protestant portion of it. It may also be fairly asserted, that if what is understood by the word *Protestantism* be an evil, what is understood by the word *Romanism* is a still greater; because the latter, as a system, commenced in the most uncatholic work of asserting for itself what the rest of the Church could not allow; and, to maintain its supremacy, finished by professing to cut off those who opposed its innovations, or rather by isolating itself from them: whereas the former grew out of the positive sin and wickedness of the Roman Catholic Church, and was, in the first instance, an attempt, not to originate anything new, but to restore the Church to primitive truth and purity. Much is said of the lawlessness of Protestantism, and no doubt it is spoken with very great truth. No moral revolution can be effected without evil as well as good, and in this respect the Reformation was no exception; but if lamentable effects have flowed from it, their primary cause must be looked for in the necessity which existed for a Reformation, and the obstinate refusal of the Court of Rome to take such steps as might have averted it in the form it ultimately assumed. There is a lawlessness which proceeds from the abuse of authority quite as much to be dreaded as that which proceeds from insubordination; and in the history of the world the former has most often a precedency in the order of events, begetting the latter as its true fruit. Kings and priests are equally accountable to the Most High with the lowest of the human race; and whilst insubordination is not of itself to be defended, God often uses it as his sword, by a just retribution, punishing tyranny and oppression with their natural results—rebellion and resistance. To *protest* is not sinful—it is the right of all who have a knowledge of the truth, and are accountable for their participation in its abuse. Every wise and paternal government has a provision for its legitimate expression; and the Church, whose rule is essentially paternal, dare not, and cannot, with any regard to the preservation of Christian liberty, refuse to hear her children, when they have spiritual grievances to tell and oppression to complain of. If the servants “*of the household*” will not hear and heed, then is there the privilege of appeal, from the spirit and heart of every individual child of God, to their heavenly Father—an appeal which, though silently made, which the man cannot tell how it has been

borne up to heaven, is ever proved to have been heard in the terrible results that follow. As the English Church cannot regard the hosts of Dissenters that surround her without many a painful and penitent thought of her own past neglects, and the unfaithfulness of her servants; so neither can the Church of Rome point to the many diversities of error which shelter themselves under the name of Protestantism without being covered with shame for the greatness of the pride and sin which forced them into being. She, too, is not without her divisions—she has her Jesuits and Jansenists, her Nationals and Ultra-montanians; her unity is more in seeming than in fact, preserved by the suppression of spiritual life, rather than by the wholesome regulation of its outgoings.

Though much, therefore, that is said on the subject of Protestantism is unhappily too true, a great deal is groundless and vapid; and what is said of it in condemnation, where it is true, will never justify a love for Romanism. If the daughters have sinned, we must not forget the mother who provoked them and led them into sin: whilst, on the other hand, a great deal that is claimed by the Church of Rome is scripturally and evidently untrue. The Pope, in his place, at her head, is an usurper, and no other usurpation ever bore so fearful a character as his. Some of the most dangerous heresies are continually taught, and suffered to be taught, in her communion; and though she continually asserts that she is not responsible for such things as her ministers choose to promulgate; either, in consciously permitting them to do so, she is secretly and hypocritically abetting what she openly denies, or she is utterly powerless in discipline—an assertion which she would not for one moment allow. It is the principle of evasion and falsehood, which is so inextricably woven into her whole policy, which has brought upon her all her troubles—which renders it so dangerous to treat her with familiarity—and which, if this Oxford movement travel further Romeward, will prove the death-blow to all the good that might otherwise have been hoped for from it. The Church cannot meet Satan, and fight for her Lord, unless her “*loins be girded with truth* ;” and the want of this essential part of the armour of God is the reason why the Romish portion of it has listened to his temptations, and fallen. Schoolmen may defend her as they will, and clever men may subtilize and refine upon her errors till they seem true; but one simple application of the truthful perception that exists in honest hearts will ever suffice to break through her sophistries, and show her to be, as she really is, a fallen Church and an usurper of the glory which alone belongs to the Lord.

It is, therefore, to be feared that, *directly*, this movement will not contribute much to supply the lack of pastoral oversight which exists to so great an extent: it is more concerned with the past, than the present, or the future; it is rather contemplative than active; it has busied itself with things as essentials, which, however good and venerable in themselves, are not fitted for the special exigencies of these times. *Indirectly*, however, we rejoice in it as a sign of life invigorating the whole body, and as fraught with much blessing to be hereafter developed. It has aroused the whole clergy; it has compelled men to think; it has necessitated a search after principles, and an adherence to them, for their own sake; and if, unhappily, some be led by it so far that they must needs abjure the communion of that portion of Christ's Church in which they were bred and nourished, and join themselves to the Church of Rome—which we fear is too likely to be the case—we do hope a large portion of their brethren will be left who cannot follow them so far; and who, when once the fever of excitement is over, will settle down with greater knowledge of God's truth, and chastened spirits, to the mighty work which is lying at the door of every servant of the Lord, and ready to his hand. Let it not be forgotten that the leaders of this movement are holy men, whose devotion may well put to shame many of those who think not with them, and whose many prayers for the welfare of God's Zion have not been unheard, and will surely be answered; nor that, by their learning, the stores of ecclesiastical literature have been greatly enriched, and the thoughts and views of the fathers of the Church brought within the reach and comprehension of a class to whom they were before as a dead letter.

And herein, indeed, is truer ground of hope than any we have mentioned—that the prayers of many are daily ascending up on high for help and deliverance, with an increased intelligence, on the part of all God's servants, of the evils to be feared and deprecated, and the way in which deliverance is to be hoped for. If man will hear, God will never leave him ignorant; and by many voices is he declaring to men the condition of the times—voices which, though they be not spoken through the Church, are, nevertheless, spoken to those who will not hear aught else; and prepare the mind and the heart, where they are listened to, for the better hope which she alone can set before them. Let us learn a lesson from the indefatigable energy with which such men as Carlyle, in presenting to the sight of the various classes of society their own wretchedness and helplessness, do God's work, though haply all unconsciously to themselves; and arouse ourselves also, that the voice of mercy and of love may quickly

follow to heal the wound which wholesome but sarcastic truth has caused. When all Christendom is languishing for need of spiritual help—when men's minds are torn and distracted with contending views, and their hearts depressed with fears "because of the things which are coming upon them," there is need for the servants of the Lord to leave their studies and retirement, and address themselves to active labour—not wasting the hours which hasten on apace, because the coming of the Lord is so near, but "redeeming the time, because the days are evil," that they may minister to the spiritual necessities of God's many suffering children, and prepare a people, who shall be ready in the day of the revelation of Jesus Christ, to enter with him into his kingdom.

We have been led into these remarks by the many excellent charges which have been recently given to the clergy at episcopal and other visitations, and especially by those of the Chancellor of Winchester, Dr. Dealtry, and the Venerable Archdeacon S. Wilberforce. Both of these charges have appeared in the *Church and State Gazette*. All these charges have evidently received point and emphasis from a conviction of the very critical character of the times in which we live, and will, from the same causes, find a suitable response in the bosoms of a great majority of those to whom they were addressed. The times especially call for immediate and strenuous exertions, and we are confident that the clergy will most promptly respond to the call: and so they may not only fulfil their high and holy office of saving the souls of men, and preparing for the kingdom of heaven, but may also become instruments of present and temporal blessings to our land, and be regarded as the saviours of their country.

ART. III.—*Principia: a Series of Essays on the Principles of Evil manifesting themselves in these Last Times, in Religion, Philosophy, and Politics.* By S. R. BOSANQUET, Esq. London: Burns. 1843.

AS this work, or at least a great portion of it, first appeared in the columns of the *British Critic*, it will not be considered unreasonable if we look upon it as the text-book of Tractarians, with respect to their views of ancient and modern society. If it were not viewed in this light by the advocate of Puseyism who edits that journal, it is very improbable that he would have sanctioned its admission into the pages of a periodical devoted

to the support, encouragement, defence, and propagation of Tractarianism.

That "whatever is, is right," was once held to be a very good maxim; the poet so declared his sentiments on created and transitory things, and the people heard his measured lines with delighted and approving ears. The school of *Pangloss* did battle for the opinion of their master, that the world, and all contained therein, was in a condition of the purest optimism. But the Tractarian expositor of the progress, state, and degrees of society here on earth, tilts at both these recorded dicta, and boldly maintains that everything is at its very worst, and that a dark and terrible atmosphere of Pessimism overshadows and oppresses the terrestrial globe.

From him we are to learn, as from *Sir Oracle*, that the force of fashion works only for evil, whether it be in dress, morals, opinions, or in religious doctrines and observances; that in the pursuit of wealth, our present system is a failure; that in our search after happiness, it is a delusion; that with respect to political improvement, it is a dream; and that in our attempts to reach wisdom, it is a folly. He startles us by declaring that religion in England is on the decline. We wish we could ourselves maintain that the fairest daughter of heaven held mild and undisputed sway over the length and breadth of our native land; still, we do not believe her throne to be seated on a failing foundation, nor her sceptre to be extended over any but widening circles of followers, crowding around her to do homage, and to humble themselves, in acknowledgment and repentance, before the Father of the penitent and the lowly. If there be a decline of religion, or a carelessness for the interests of religion, in the Government, it is not merely because judges are not ecclesiastics, and that the Lord Chancellor is not also a Cardinal. We allow that all professing Christians stand in need of a more perfect Christianity; but it must not be supposed that that admission carries with it the confession, that in the legal and mercantile world, or in the habits of private life, religious influences are not now of more active efficacy than they have been in this country at any period antecedent to our own. Not one shall be found righteous even yet; nevertheless, are we drawing daily nearer to the sources of hope and the fountains of certainty, from which our ancestors departed: we have the way before us; the Church at our side to teach us, and Christ awaiting us; and let him who has set forward on this great race neither faint nor despair, but persevere with unfailing energy to the end; and let him remember too this universal truth, that failure in anything is almost always the result of a want of perseverance when on the



threshold of success. Like the pursuers of the false prophet Mahomet, after running from dawn to twilight, we care not to brush away the cobweb which has formed itself at the mouth of the cave in which lies the object of our pursuit.

There is so much contradiction in the earlier pages of "Principia," that it is no matter of facility to discover what the author's real opinions actually are. Thus, in his second page, he asserts that, among the rich, there is less swearing, *drinking*, and indecency of habits and conversation than existed thirty years ago; and to this assertion every reasonable person, who has been an observer of men and things during a few by-gone years, will readily subscribe: but then, like Anthony's *if*, he mars the fair precedent, by remarking, at the sixth page, that drunkenness is so increased, that thirty thousand persons are estimated to die annually from intemperance; and as this latter remark is applied generally, it is as relative to the rich as it is to the poor. Again, in his fourth page, he recommends all sober and serious thinking observers, to reflect on the decline of avowed infidelity; that scarcely such a person is to be found as a professed unbeliever; that the clergy are more active, and the attenders on religious worship more numerous, than they were wont to be; that there is increased liberality in administering to the wants and necessities of the Church, and a more generous extending of the hand generally, in all matters connected with charity; that the poor are visited in love, and the heathen watched, taught, and won for heaven, by missions which are extending and rooting themselves in all parts of the world. To the truth of each and every of these assertions do we also bear most willing testimony, but we are compelled to say to the maker of them, on reaching his seventh page, *Cœpisti melius quam desinis*, for there we are shown the reverse side of the medal, cast of a very dark material indeed; and we are told, that where once was sociable and merry England, we have now care and caution in the countenance of the rich man; in the working man, discontent; in the poor man, misery and depression. There, he who so lately lauded the increased liberality of man, now says that hospitality is well nigh forgotten. Three pages back, the poor were visited and cared for; but as we go forward with the author, we find that we had either misconceived his opinion, or that he himself had mistaken it, for now he writes down that classes are more separated and distinct from one another, and that men are more solitary, selfish, and individualized; and, finally, he who so lately called upon thinking observers to reflect on the decline of avowed infidelity, redisturbs the pleased and pacified sense by declaring that such arch-infidels as socialists and pantheists rise up to deny

the principles of society and humanity. We may add his remark, that contact between European and barbarous manners is not productive of civilization, but extermination. And so it may have been in Algiers and in India; but the onward and favourable progresses of distant societies must have been unheeded by the dull, cold, ear of that man who can affirm that such is the case generally; or that this extermination is, in most cases, anything more than the annihilation of savage life and its attendant horrors. But the author of "*Principia*" wanted a *pendant* to his assertion regarding the spreading benefits of civilization. In short, he paints his views of society after the fashion of the artist who executed Sir Roger de Coverley's portrait, which, though bearing some resemblance to the original, partook so much of the form and feature of the Old Saracen's Head at the inn door, that the baronet could only close the controversy which arose, as to which party the limner intended to represent, by courteously observing, that there was much to be said on both sides.

From the double-sided views of men and manners given by the author in his introductory essay, we are soon directed to contemplate society under one, and that a most melancholy aspect. Henceforward all is evil in England; virtue is but vice thinly veiled; prosperity is nothing better than a skeleton tricked out in the tinsel bravery of a stage troubadour; and honesty a knave, stalking abroad with the guise of probity on his back, and with the wise saws of morality on his lips. Formerly, we are told, people built chapels and altars, and founded churches and religious houses, on occasion of any signal deliverance, and both town and country were fully furnished with places of worship. We have, however, very much mistrusted the motives which impelled some of our forefathers to erect these sacred edifices, since once seeing, at Cologne, the tomb of a wealthy and a wicked merchant, who caused to be constructed a church, in which he lies buried; and so very correct an idea did this personage entertain of the means of acquiring grace, and of the path which leads to salvation, that he built his church of the largest and heaviest masses of stone he could procure, under the conviction that they would be allowed to weigh against his sins, and that, in such a case, the scale might kick the beam in his favour.

"The influence of the clergy in government (says Mr. Bosanquet) must have been greater when the judges and ministers of the crown were ecclesiastics; and the greater part of the House of Lords, at that time the branch of the legislature which had the chief influence, were bishops and elders. At the time of the Reformation, Henry VIII.

abolished and deposed twenty-eight priors and abbots who had seats in the House of Peers. The whole number of lay peers at that time was thirty-six ; of spiritual peers forty-nine ; so that the ecclesiastical bore to the lay powers, in that house, the proportion of four to three, without reckoning the comparative weight and preponderance of personal influence."\*

The influence of the clergy here alluded to must have been that of the Roman Catholic clergy ; and of the nature of that influence it will be only necessary to mention, by way of reply to a portion of the above paragraph, the names of Dunstan, with his lying miracles ; of Aldred of York, with his time-serving propensities ; of Lanfranc, with his ambition ; of Anselm, with his ostentatious humility ; of Longchamp, with his treason and his tyranny ; and of Thomas à Becket, to whom, however, we are disposed to attribute less of the vices with which he is charged by his adversaries, as well as less of the virtues which are ascribed to him by his friends. Whatever may have been his general faults, nothing could possibly be more disgraceful than the conduct of the Pope and the diplomacy of the Roman Government (a Government, be it remembered, of that quality which gains for it Mr. Bosanquet's unqualified approbation), throughout the continuation of the celebrated quarrel between Becket and the king. Double dealing, deceit of the worst sort, and an unblushing disregard of truth, mark every act of him who was regarded as the holiest of holies upon earth. In this quarrel, and in his character of an archbishop of Saxon lineage, Becket had a great portion of right on his side, although the Roman Church, and the Norman State, proved too powerful for him. He was a man, too, who entertained his fate with decency ; and who, in his moments of defeat and discouragement, never gave way to such impotent manifestations of rage as were shown by his royal antagonist, whom history reveals to us, casting his cap with violence to the ground, flinging off his belt, tearing his clothes from his body, and dragging the silk coverlet from his bed, on which, in the presence of his captains, he would roll himself like a maniac, grasping the mattress in his mouth, and gnawing the wool and the horse-hair, which he drew out with his teeth : in short, whatever may have been the urging impulse of the archbishop, whether ambition, or love of resistance, and obstinacy—whether it were the conviction of a religious duty, or a feeling of national hostility, his individual cause was

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\* This proportion did not always exist, for we find that in the last year of the reign of Edward I. eighty-six temporal barons, twenty bishops, and forty-eight abbots, were summoned to a Parliament convened at Carlisle ; the spiritual peers being here in a minority of eighteen.

connected with a general one, more worthy than his own—the cause of two distinct races of men, the Cambrians and the Saxons, who had been enslaved by the ancestors of that king, of whom he had declared himself the adversary. And it is this circumstance which, in history, elevates this great intrigue above the ordinary disputes between the crown and the crosier. This fact, however, does not cause us to feel greater predilection than we otherwise should, for other points in the character of Becket, who, in one day, was transmuted from a chartered libertine to an ordained priest, and at the same moment promoted to the see of Canterbury. Without further mentioning names, we will add, that we cannot trace any very healthy exercise of the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy during the following reign, that of Richard Cœur de Lion—a man whom romance has attired in a spangled garment of lies—a man who had no virtue but courage—who was an ungrateful and rebellious son; an imperious and heartless brother; faithless to his followers; cruel where any advantage was to be gained by his cruelty; a very copper king, with much of the jingle of false honour about him, but none of the more valuable commodity of sterling honesty. The ecclesiastical influence visible during the reign of his still more despicable brother, John, we need hardly allude to. That of the Poictierian Bishop of Winchester, under Henry III., deprived that king for a time of his crown. And we may remind those, who call our Protestant clergy a grasping clergy, that the Roman Catholic chaplain of this sovereign, one Mansel, held no less than seven hundred livings. The clergy of Edward I. alternately interfered, mischievously, in his civil government, or refused to support it; but that bold and sagacious prince, like many a man of sense in his own time, and since, saw enough in the Popedom and its followers to make him repel and scorn their interference in his own affairs. This he particularly showed in his answer to the Papal mandate against his invasion of Scotland: “Let me hear no more of this (was the reply of the indignant soldier), or I will destroy Scotland from sea to sea.” His successor, Edward II., would probably have escaped assassination, but for the declaring of the Archbishop De Reynel, and several other prelates, against his authority. The subjects of Edward III. could discern so little utility in the nature of the influence exercised by Papist priests, that they petitioned the king to employ no Churchman in any office of state; and they even plainly threatened to expel the Papal authority by force, that they might provide a remedy against oppressions, the further endurance of which was alike beyond both their will, and their power. The decay of an ecclesiastical authority, which

was but rarely employed by the priests of Rome for the advantage of the people, was felt still more sensibly during the period of Richard II.

The reign of superstition was drawing to a close; there was not a single ecclesiastic among the deputies to whom Richard's last Parliament transferred their power; and the people were aroused, for the voice of John Wickliffe had gone abroad over the land. From this period to that of the Reformation, the influence of Popish ecclesiastics in secular affairs, which had hitherto been revered and obeyed, was seldom exercised without opposition or protest on the part of the people, or their representatives. The Commons, still Roman Catholics, compelled Henry IV. to dismiss his own confessor; and indeed the monarchy, as well as the civil aristocracy, soon began to be opposed to the power of the ecclesiastical body. Pope Martin energetically attacked Henry VI. on the subject of the statute of provisors, styling it an abominable law, that would infallibly damn every one who observed it; while, on the other hand, the Cardinal of Winchester became such an object of jealousy to the Commons, lest he should extend the Papal power in England, that they insisted on his absenting himself from all affairs and councils of the King whenever the Pope, or the see of Rome, formed the subject of deliberation. During the succeeding reigns, when might was arrayed against right, the sound of the war-claxon awoke more echoes in England than the thunders of the Church; and when we remark that the great influences of that Church in England died with Cardinal Wolsey, it is due also to that man of mixed character to add, that his interference in secular affairs was often for good, and that the nature of the influence which he maintained over his royal master is best illustrated by the fact, that it was not until after the death of the cardinal, that the evil passions of the king broke unrestrainedly forth, and that the elegant and accomplished prince was lost in the slothful and licentious monster.

Now, if statistics are worth anything, they are peculiarly valuable here, when by their aid we can prove, that when the influence of Roman Catholic priests was no longer permitted in affairs of government, from that moment the moral condition of the people began to improve. We are willing to acknowledge the merits, the learning, and the wisdom of many of the members of the Romish priesthood; but, as secular governors of a people, they were generally the destroyers of liberty and the abettors of oppression. The advantages which immediately followed the extinction of their power are very visible in this incontrovertible fact, that while, during the reign of Henry VIII.,

the last Roman Catholic king who *ascended* the throne of England (if we may except James II.) seventy-two thousand criminals were executed for theft and robbery, attended with violence, making nearly two thousand executions annually; in the latter part of the reign of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, the capital punishments did not amount to four hundred in the year. So many crimes, which were the met by the penalty of death, are now exposed to less rigorous inflictions of the violated law, that it would be unfair to compare the morality of the two periods by contrasting the capital punishments of each; it will be more just, and with results equally to our credit and favourable to ourselves, to take the amount of accusations: and though these are many, and often of a very grave nature, yet when we state, that out of the entire population of the kingdom the proportion of persons publicly *charged* with crime is only as *one in a hundred*, or rather less, we state a fact that is creditable alike to the people and to their instructors. Nor need we entertain any alarm lest those instructors should forget that the sum of those units forms an awful totality of vice and of crime; and that immorality is a hydra, which requires more eyes to watch, and more hearts to control, than it has heads to raise in rebellion against all that dignifies society or ennobles man.

Among the Anglo-Saxons, theft and robbery were matters of very frequent occurrence; for which crimes, though there were many punishments, none of them were capital; and, at this period, the influential humility of the Romish Church is seen in the laws of Kent respecting murders, where, in the catalogue of guilt which money could expiate, the price of an archbishop's head is placed higher than that of the king's. The greatest criminals were taught, under the reign of Rufus, that the service of the crusades was a propitiation for every degree of wickedness; and the monarch himself, with his attendant depraved court, carried their orgies to such an excess, that they were accustomed to extinguish the lights, that their own eyes might not be witnesses of their own disgusting brutalities. What influence slew this monarch, who swore by St. Luke's face, while he dared not meet that of man, let the unobjectionable testimony of Dr. Lingard prove. He has rescued the memory of Sir Walter Tyrrel from the accusation under which it had long been oppressed, and fixed it, unchangeably, upon the heads of the priests, who were the real authors, if not the actors, of the crime. Over the fate of Prince William, the accomplished pupil of these very priests, romance has thrown so much interest, and the heart is so readily touched at the grief of the royal father, who was never seen to smile, after he had received certain intelligence

of his son's death, that posterity has been fain to weep too. But this priest-trained heir to the crown had been heard, when a child, to declare, that if ever he ascended the throne he would yoke the Saxons to the plough like oxen; like Rehoboam, he would make his little finger thicker than his father's loins. The drowning of the young serpent who began to hiss thus early was a source of joy to a people whom he hated, and among whom he and his brutish followers introduced the most horrible vice which stains the annals of crime, and which would blast our page to name.

And let us now very briefly glance at the habits and manners of the people during those halcyon days, when they were ruled by the dominant influence of the then established priesthood. It is still the custom of the modern members of that priesthood to attribute the merit of all discoveries in science, the execution of all that was wonderful in art, the triumphs of stricken fields, and the blessings that follow in the train of peace, to the working of the Roman Catholic religion on the minds and imaginations of men; forgetting that it was that religion which persecuted the noble Galileo; which encouraged art by levying a tax upon paintings; which, with all the *prestige* lent it by the presence of the Bishop of Rome himself, was too powerless to rescue the capital from the visitation of the Saracens, or to protect it from the destroying thunder of the Great Constable; and which displayed its love for the blessings of peace, by absolving kings from their vows to maintain it, and by letting loose upon the world the spirit of slaughter, through the permission and the encouragement which, at various times, it lent to the practice of duelling.

Its influence, then, being so universal that it extended over every class of people, let us passingly contemplate in what condition society actually was during the period which the Tractarians appear to look back upon with a sigh of regret that it has passed for ever; and to which, had not Virgil probably fallen into disuse with them, since they have learnt that it was one of the two Latin authors which Luther took with him to Erfurth, they would perhaps apply the celebrated exclamation—

“O mihi præteritos si referat Jupiter annos!”

This period extends from St. Dunstan to the much-abused Reformation. And what, during that long interval, does history reveal to us of the virtues of a people governed by the ecclesiastical influence of a priesthood, of which that priesthood may boast, or which the opponents of that priesthood cannot condemn?

Superstition, mental debasement, and violence, never reigned more uncontrolled than during the period of the Norman kings, when the Roman Catholic Church could drag monarchs to its feet, strip them of their purple, cast them naked to the ground, and, placing its scourge in the hands of its prelates, its abbots, and even its humblest monks, could exult in the bloody stripes *under* which the sovereign writhed, and *in* which that Church marked the nature of its influence and the tenderness of its powers. During the same period, the metropolis was at the mercy of thieves and assassins. Men of good family enrolled themselves into bands, attacked the houses of wealthy citizens by night, and murdered the inmates, whose courage, or despair, prompted them to resistance. If we are told that the Romish Church cannot be held accountable for such things, or that they occurred because the influence of the Church had not yet reached those lawless men, we answer, that the Romish Church must be considered thus far responsible, that, by introducing a sliding money-scale for the expiation of crime, it extended a species of impunity to every man inclined to violence and wrong; and when the members of that community transfer the *onus* of the charge from their own heads to that of the executive government, we reply, that executive governments, of the times to which we refer, were either for the most part composed of ecclesiastics, or altogether influenced by them. Of the spirit which ruled these men, Hume relates an illustrative incident, which, as he truly observes, shows the genius of the age. We allude to the celebrated quarrel which took place between Roger, Archbishop of York, and Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, touching the privilege of sitting on the right hand of the Papal legate, and in which quarrel the monks and retainers of "Richard fell upon Roger, in the presence of the cardinal of the synod, threw him to the ground, trampled him under foot, and so bruised him with blows, that he was taken up half dead, and his life was with difficulty saved from their violence."

In short, nothing but factions, revolutions, and convulsions abounded during the two centuries which elapsed between the Conquest and the closing years of the reign of Henry III. The condition of the people was in some degree improved by the charters, which, after protracted but successful struggles, promised to secure them in the possession of their privileges. And this improvement would doubtless have continued, had not the Court of Rome absolved Edward I., for a "consideration," from all the oaths and engagements which he had repeatedly made, to maintain the integrity of the two great charters of the people. And what do we find as the result of the blow dealt by the



Vatican against the person of Liberty? A reduced population, increase of imposts, decay of commerce and industry, and such unbridled course given to murder, robbery, and every kind of disorder, that there was neither safety nor respect for age, sex, or condition. The King of Cyprus himself, when on a visit to this country, was robbed and stripped on the public highway; his whole retinue sharing the fate of their royal master.

The abject condition which had thus fallen on the people of England, under the double yoke of papacy and feudalism, cannot be ascribed to any barbarism peculiar to them. At this period there were thirty thousand students in the university of Oxford alone; and though we are told that the occupation of all these young men, was the study of bad Latin, and still worse Logic, the fact bespeaks a condition of society struggling towards intelligence, and consequent improvement. The universities abroad were even more crowded, and principally with students for the Church. What species of ecclesiastics and what kind of influence were likely to result from such men and such places, may be best judged from the fact of the students of the university of Paris modestly claiming to stand alone in the defence of religion, honour, and the public welfare, at a time when they who put forward this humble assertion, nightly exercised the creditable occupation of robbers and murderers on the highway. The law was entirely powerless in presence of the ecclesiastical influence which protected these men and gave sanction to their deeds. The Provost of Paris, determined to enforce respect for the laws of which he was an officer, and submission to the wishes of his master, Charles VI., seized two of the students of the powerful university, whom he had detected in a murder, and, regardless of the maxim they might have recommended to his notice from the satirical poet of Aquinum—

“Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est,”

he bestowed on them more length of rope than of ceremony, and put them to death forthwith. But small meed of praise was awarded him in return for his vigilance and energy. The priests at the head of the college interfered in behalf of their privileges, and the unlucky provost was not only compelled to take the bodies down with his own hands, but to kiss them on the mouth, and bury them with great pomp at his own expense. He had also to humbly crave pardon of the university, and to thank them that they had not exercised their right of inflicting penalties so far as to *compel him to marry!* “Je suis bien certain (says the frightened provost), que si une fois vous eussiez mis cette conclusion en avant, il m’aurait fallu, bon gré, mal gré, me marier. Par votre grace vous avez bien voulu m’exempter de cette rig-

neur!"\* Here is a horror of matrimony that would charm that gentleman with name unmusical to Volscian ears, whose pen is employed to exalt Tractarianism and depreciate the rite of marriage.

Such were the influences of men whose power no righteous minister of our own hallowed Church will envy, and whose example none will emulate. There existed no state of society in any portion of Christendom, previous to the Reformation, that was not a prey to disorder and disorganization. The Saint Vitus's dancers thronged the Rhine banks, in spite of district decrees fulminated against them. They took possession of the high roads, ranging themselves on each side; or assembled tumultuously in the towns; and while going through a series of extraordinary leaps, postures, and contortions, accompanied by a running commentary of grimaces, supposed to be particularly acceptable to the saint in whose honour they were made, they contrived to empty the purses, by force or by fraud, of all who came within their reach. It was a favourite manoeuvre with them to stand at church doors, and strip the pious and the timid "in the name of God." There were three hundred of them residing at one time in Cologne, under the protection of the archbishop and priesthood of that northern Rome; and this triple century of innocent brethren were attended by the same number of women, whose morality, virtue, and liberality would have been after the very heart of Lord Melbourne's Social friend, Harmony Owen. Whilst these merry fellows were dancing honest townsfolk out of their money, the Flagellants were horsewhipping the country people with equal earnestness. The sect of that name in Italy consisted principally of men who were the mere slaves of superstition, and nothing more; but the German Flagellants had in them much more of the knave than the fool; and while they brandished the whip vigorously over their own heads, took especial care that the lash should fall on other people's shoulders. They were, in fact, a roving band of brigands, only exceeded in rascality by the fraternity entitling themselves the "Hopping Holy Ones," who, while going about on one leg themselves, very often left their victims without any at all. While these hypocrites were thus improving their estate after their own peculiar fashion, the emperor, or king, was oppressing the feudal lords; and the lords in armour, in no degree less robbers than the emperors in purple, were victimizing their tenants; while the deep-drinking and hard-fighting bishops were plundering all, and anathematizing those who would not submit, like good Christians, to be plundered with impunity.

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\* Baranti: *Hist. Dues de Bourgoyne.*

Tractarianism, while it desperately closes its eyes to these conditions of society, endeavours, by its depreciation of modern times, to do for Romanism what romance has done for feudality—falsifying, or, to speak more courteously, concealing facts. The heroes of feudalism objected to the tyranny of all above them, while they pitilessly crushed all beneath. The poor son of an impoverished baron dared not follow an honest occupation, nor repair his dilapidated fortunes, by marriage with the rich daughter of one who was not noble. They would cheat the plebeians out of their money, but they would not marry with them; and the latter were seldom able to boast of a Caius Camilius hardy enough to speak out against the haughty despoilers of the poor; men who, too proud to walk the smallest distance, went mounted abroad, with condescension enough to rob the helpless wayfarer, or to destroy the crop of the poor farmer; while in their filthy and riot-stained halls at home they administered a sort of drunken justice, by hanging the necessitous thief and decapitating the mere trespasser on a preserve; for, in their sight, the half-starved peasant who tilled the earth was a much less noble animal than the brute who fed upon it. And yet it is round these feudal lords and their slaughter-house dens that romance has flung her brightest glories. Truth turns pale as she thinks of them; while fiction, that agreeable liar, has dressed them up in a masquerade suit, and scattered their ghosts over the land; there they still walk, and—

“ Like Pagan spirits by the Pope unlaid,  
Haunt every stream, and sing through every shade.”

We are far from being desirous to assert that either religion or morals owe their birth to the Reformation; but we will assert that both have been purer since that period. Neither will we deny the existence of religion among the old priesthood, nor of honour among our ancient chivalry; but we will maintain that both religion and honour existed in spite of Popery, and the influences of her priests in secular affairs, and not in consequence of them. Since the reign of Henry VIII. the history of Protestant England affords no parallel to what we can find in our earlier annals, whether as regarding the frauds and forgeries of the clergy, the confederacy of the ministers of justice with robbers and felons of every degree, the crimes of those attached to the households of kings, and the guilt and violence of the very mirrors of knighthood themselves, the possibility of whom being at the same time robbers by profession was publicly recognized, and provided against, by law.

We must now turn from this portion of our subject, briefly remarking—in reply to Mr. Bosanquet's assertion, that this coun-

try was better governed, and in a more enviable condition, when the chief places in the government were occupied by ecclesiastics; or when, in other words, the true office of the priest, as we see it exercised in the Protestant Church, was lost in the assumed and ill-borne dignity of the secular governors—that when this custom was so honoured in the observance, and the chief offices of the crown were bestowed on prelates and other ecclesiastical persons, we see them placing themselves above the laws which they made to coerce others; claiming privileges which should exempt them from all civil penalties; stripping treason of its guilt, when the traitors who hatched it were of their own order; destroying the confidence and the affection which sometimes existed between the people and the sovereign; and declaring that of the two powers by which the world was governed, the royal authority was subordinate to the holy pontifical apostolic dignity; and that the wills and actions of all men, even of sovereign kings and princes, were subjected, by a heavenly charter, to the direction of that clergy who were the spiritual fathers of all the faithful. Well; they framed the laws, they enjoyed their privileges, and they ruled the wills and the actions of men; but what did they do for the Gospel in public affairs, in a national point of view? What did they effect for religion, in private, by those hearth altars where they were retained as guides and confessors? “By their fruits ye shall know them.” In France, where the influence of priests in the government was always very great, a law was enacted *forbidding Jews from becoming Christians*; the threatened penalty on every Jew who should embrace the religion of the Saviour was the confiscation of all his goods to the sovereign, or to the criminal’s superior lord, *that lord being, perhaps, a dignified prelate*.\* Avarice was the impelling motive which produced this law. When a Jew became converted to Christianity, there no longer existed an excuse for subjecting him to plunder and forfeiture. He was thus punished in his character of Jew, and doubly punished for wishing to escape the crime and its penalty. Such is a public instance of the anxious care exhibited, by some of these so-called stewards of the mysteries of God, to increase the number of the followers of Christ and of his Gospel. An instance, showing how zealously effective they were in private life and family worship, may be cited from the household book of the Earl of Northum-

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\* We will add to this, that in the old days of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical rule, the desecration of the Sabbath, by pastimes of every sort, was a common occurrence, exciting neither surprise nor remark. Nor are many of our Protestant readers probably aware, that cricket may still be *legally* played on Sundays, providing the players be all of one parish, and keep within the bounds of it,

berland. This feudal chieftain, who paid an annual pension of a groat a year to our Lady of Walsingham, *for her interest in heaven*, and the same sum to the holy blood at Hales, maintained eleven priests in his house to administer to his large family of two hundred and twenty-three persons. These chaplains, if we may so call them, performed mass every morning at six o'clock, the service being commanded at that early hour, not as family worship is ordered in all well-regulated families now, for the purpose of prayer, and praise, and thanksgiving to God; but, as it is expressed in the household book itself, "in order that all my lord's servants may rise early." The household were rung to prayers, not so much that they might pray, as that they might rise betimes. A different spirit now hovers round the tomb of the great duchess in the chapel of Alnwick Castle; and the ruins of Hulne, and of her sister abbey, in the park, attest that religion abides there in a purer and more intelligible form, than when the titular patriarch of Jerusalem held the right of proprietary over this princely domain; or Fresborne, the Northumbrian monk, founded at Hulne the first Carmelite monastery that was established in these kingdoms.

There was neither liberty nor knowledge to be found then, among the human family, when Popish priests directed the secular government; both now exist, and more flourishingly, where, as in our own favoured country, the Protestant minister is the vicar and servant of Christ, and sees his office in that labour of love—teaching obedience to the laws of God, and not himself creating laws for man. We hold the liberty that degenerates into licentiousness, even as the author of "*Principia*" does, in our "heart's extremest hate;" but his hatred of every degree of liberty reminds us of the spirit of the half-fierce, half-torpid Cappadocians, who, when they were offered their freedom by the Romans, replied, that they were conscious of no boon in such an offer, and that the Cappadocians neither understood liberty, nor would endure it. In his tilting against knowledge, he publishes the doubtful statement, that more crimes are committed by the educated, than by the uneducated—a statement which we could easily disprove; but we must first understand what is meant by education, and that is a question of such breadth and importance that we cannot now pause upon it. In the abstract, Mr. Bosanquet appears to consider that education is as useless a boon to the public, as though we were all like the glorified monks of the Kölnischer Dom, who, the more they read, the less they remembered.

Let no man, however, be too vain either of his wisdom or his knowledge. We know their worth; but let no man fancy that

the wisdom or the knowledge can avail aught, unless it be from above, and comes to us stamped with God's blessing. We write in defence of the more enlightened humanity and the superior intelligence of the present refined age, as compared with the past; but let him who would plume himself self-complacently upon this fact take heed lest he fall. Let him look to the nation which claims to be the most elegant and civilized in the world, and see there murder most unnatural cruelly practised by men of learning and women of wit. Let him contemplate the accomplished young wife holding the cup of poison to the lips of an unsuspecting husband. Let him view a man, elegant in person, refined in manners, and irreproachable in conduct—one possessed of extensive knowledge, and richly imbued with wisdom, premeditatedly rise from writing the history of the birth and progress of Christianity, and having basely slain his adopted children and their mother, coolly return to his study, and resume the story of Christ and his virtues! Let him gaze on this and shudder. Let him think what legends our successors may have to narrate of a period when instruction is to be met with at every corner, and then let him cease to be proud. Let humility touch him; and when his lips utter those supplicating and all-important words to the great and incomprehensible God—"LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION!" let his entire heart melt with the fervency of his *Amen!*

One of the objects most vigorously attacked by the author of "*Principia*" is the study of the classics; he appears to think that many of the vices and errors of society may be traced to a knowledge of Greek and Latin authors. The good Vicissimus Knox thought otherwise, and so do we. That there are many authors placed in the hands of young people, to the exceeding injury of their morals, is a fact which cannot be disputed; and, for the sake of that youthful morality, we would inveigh as earnestly against the Westminster Plays, as, for the sake of the gods, Plato discouraged the study of Homer. But we would go no further than this; we would subscribe to an *Index Expurgatorius*, but not to a general prohibition. If there be some truth in what is advanced by Mr. Bosanquet, and those who agree with him, concerning the results of classical study, there is also a preponderating mixture of error; but were we disposed to defend the system even as it stands, with all its faults, we would cite the cases of Eton, where the study of the eloquent and tuneful men of old is serious and uninterrupted; with Sandhurst, where Vauban, Scheiter, and Cohorn rank of far greater importance than any of the melodious poets and graphic historians of antiquity. These two public establishments send into the world

young men, equal in rank, but (in many instances) differing in manners and in conduct. Whether this difference be caused from the study or the neglect of the classics; from the presence of *fagging*, as at Eton; or the terrific evils of *Johnning*, as at Sandhurst, let others decide: we rest satisfied with the assertion of the facts; and if we do no say more of Sandhurst, our silence does not arise from lack of well-founded charges to bring against the system prevailing there, rather than against the honourable and gallant gentlemen who preside over it; but that the law of libel, with respect to truth being sometimes a crime, has been so additionally confused by its late simplifications, that we really are ignorant at what defining point even our good intentions might not put in peril either our purses or our persons.

We must not be surprised if, after condemning the perusal of heathen writers, Mr. Bosanquet should glance sneeringly at heathen philosophy. In the general, we are more than disposed to do as much ourselves; but, unfortunately, the sarcasm here is flung at one of the old philosophers—the least understood till Gassendi explained him to posterity, and the least worthy of being depreciated of all the men who threw what little light they had over the darkness and blindness of Pagan times and systems: we allude to Epicurus, the calumniated sage of Gargetus.

It will hardly be necessary to suppose that we shall be suspected of touching our adversary's shield in support of the ideas which Epicurus entertained of the Divinity; but even of those ideas we will say thus much, that, absurd as they were with respect to the truth, they were not so absurd with respect to the times, to the men who lived in them, and to the social crimes which made them infamous. His creed was, that, enthroned above Olympus, the gods led a life of absolute quiet and enjoyment, undisturbed by any interference in the government of the nether world. Of the full and utter absurdity of this we are as satisfactorily convinced as any antagonist of Epicurism can desire. We simply say, that gross as the absurdity undoubtedly was, it was scarcely unnatural in the brain of a thinking man, who himself believed in the existence of the dazzling unintelligibilities of the mythologic divinity, and yet who saw the universal reign of vice upon earth—crime committed with impunity, fraud and violence indulged in without restraint, and death met, not only with fearlessness, but with welcome. Was it wonderful that a contemplative man, with little but self-guidance to trust to, should hold the opinion, that over a state of society so shattered the gods would not condescend to fling a glance, either of sympathy or protection?

In all other views, the life and the system of Epicurus are at least entitled to respect. Great by birth, as the descendant of Ajax, he was one of the men who achieved a still superior quality of greatness, through lending an attentive ear to the teaching of an excellent mother. Had the illustrious pair lived in times more enlightened and less remote, they would have been visited with the spirit of missions; and their purer devotion would have been better employed than in freeing haunted houses from the presence of demons. His mother, however, gave to his mind an enquiring bias—an inclination which he very early exemplified, when, at the age of fourteen, we find him seeking the great First Cause, and asking his instructor by whose hand Chaos was reduced to order and beauty. His master could only refer him to the philosophers; and, in the whole range of philosophy, he was enabled but to bring away a few blocks, out of which he raised an imperfect system and a new school of his own.

We have said in what view this system of Epicurus is entitled to respect. If truth be not there, there is at least a struggling towards it. His doctrine of *atoms* may be consigned to contempt or oblivion; but in his idea of so many *whirls* of worlds we see the first blow of the axe which has cleared the obstructions that impeded our view, and revealed to our sight that awful and inexpressible number of distinct solar systems which the visual or the mental eye can now distinguish in the architecture of the heavens. If it be alleged that Epicurus was nearly entirely in error, we answer, neither was Ptolemy, nor Copernicus, nor Tycho Brahe, nor Lanspergius, nor Kepler, nor Derham,\* altogether right; and that while all these astronomers pretended to prove their opinion by mathematical observation, Epicurus simply supports his by the modest assertion, that "it may be so." Whether the sun were one hundred times larger than the earth, as some have contended, or three thousand times, as others have advanced with equal confidence, modern astronomers have ever been at issue. Epicurus was to the full as correct as any of them, when he said of that luminary, that it was very large *καθ' αὐτόν*, in itself; and very little in respect to us *κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς*, on account of its remoteness.

Returning for a moment to his opinion of the non-interference

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\* The reputation of the scientific Canon of Windsor can hardly be said to have survived our times. He was, however, of sufficient importance in his own to be honoured by the ridicule of Voltaire ("Michromegas," chap. i.), for asserting, in the first chapter of the second book of his "Astro-Theology," ideas of the numbers of the heavenly bodies, which time and experience have since confirmed,



of the gods in human affairs, this must be understood, even in addition to what we have already said, with a very extensive measure of reserve. He is represented to us as worshipping in the temples with great solemnity and seriousness; thanking the Divinity for benefits vouchsafed to himself, for the prosperity of his friends, and for the welfare of his native country. These circumstances show his conviction that there was a Supreme Power somewhere enthroned, which considered man with benevolence, and to whom the expression of gratitude was a duty. His non-intrusive opinion probably only referred to the physical relations of the world, to which he supposed the Creator, or the impeller of his fortuitous atoms, to have given certain laws, and left it, without further care, to be ruled by them for ever.

"Pleasure!" There is the word which has been used as the constant reproach against the Grecian Reformer, and with as little foundation in truth as distinguishes many of the other terms of rebuke which have been so plentifully applied to him. Even Seneca, the stoic, acknowledges that the greatest frugality was observed in the gardens of Epicurus. We trust that it would be a work of supererogation to inform our readers *where* the descendant of the fiery Ajax taught his followers to find what he told them was the chief good. The man, whose common diet was bread and water, and whose excesses only amounted to indulging himself in a modicum of Cytharean cheese, accompanied by a very modest measure of smoky Icarian, or the hard wine of Corinth, must not be too hastily accused of indulging in sensual pleasure. His maxims enjoin and his life proves the contrary. Notwithstanding this, the stoics accused him of voluptuousness, in order to expose him to the enmity of the few who were virtuous. Though his piety was, in many instances, more reasonable than their own, they sought his destruction, by accusing him to the priesthood of impiety; and, in spite of his being remarkable for living in subjection to the powers that be, they exposed him to death, by charging him before the magistracy, of reserve, and being ill-affected towards the government. But by all these charges he was, in truth, as little moved as is the rock which abides the pelting of the pitiless storm, and tranquilly survives it. He was religious, as far as his state of darkness allowed him to be; charitable, when he met with worthy and suffering objects; patriotic, in clinging to his country in her distress, while others abandoned her; and, what we have intense pleasure in adding as critics, original in his writings—seeing that he composed *three hundred volumes without taking a line from a single author!* Oh! you who write, and rashly ask *us* to read—to you who call Epicurus mad,

we would say, as our Teutonic sovereign said to the envious officers who charged the heroic Wolfe with the same misfortune—"Mad is he? Would that he could bite some of you!"\*

It had been our intention to have spoken somewhat in detail of the fragments which have come down to us of the stupendous fabric which Epicurus raised; but we meet with the double impediment of contraction of space, and fear of intruding on our readers' patience. To those who know his book of "*Moral Maxims*," it will be unnecessary to say, that with some of minor importance we disagree. To those who are unacquainted with them, we may be permitted to intimate, that they inculcate resignation in suffering and sorrow; enduring fidelity in friendship; a strict observance of chastity; an undeviating regard for truth; to esteem justice much in itself, but more when allied with mercy; to care not for the disposal of the body after death; to be modest and candid; to avoid every sinful excess, including that of an ill-regulated ambition; to preserve self-respect; to expect being assailed by calumny, but to be prepared to answer it; and to account health the *second* happiness of life. The author of these "*Maxims*" held God to be eternal, and of human shape; while the more highly-praised Plato more absurdly conjectured, that because the world was round, the Deity was of that form also. Epicurus, moreover, disbelieved in augury; would not allow, as some philosophers did, that the stars and planets were divinities; and, finally, opposed the *deification of mortals*. He who held these maxims, and entertained these thoughts (setting aside the errors with which they were associated), does not deserve to be sneered at; he needed but one thing to make him that which many of us have not attained to, even with the means placed at our disposal. Had he but lived now, and been blessed with a knowledge of revealed religion, he would have joined the triad of philosophers mentioned by the poet of "*The Task*," as men who—

"———would sit content  
And humble hearers of a Saviour's worth,  
Preach it who might. Such was their love of truth,  
Their thirst of knowledge, and their candour too."

But to return to Mr. Bosanquet. Among the good old forms no longer observed, he grieves over the omission of the pious expressions that used to be introduced into bottomry-bonds—expressions which were, generally, as much a taking the Lord's

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\* We know of no other modern commander, except perhaps the youthful Hoche, to whom Tulley's description of Pompey applies more aptly than it does to the young hero of Quebec. "*Extremâ pueritiâ miles fuit summi imperatoris; incunte adolescentiâ maximi ipse exercitus imperator.*"

name in vain as was that of the mad butcher Suwarrow, when he penned that too celebrated despatch, which said, "Glory to God and to the empress ! Ismail is ours !" On the other hand, he finds matter for approval in Mahometans praying five times a day ; "*doing it*, moreover (as he says), at the stated times, wherever they may be, in public or in private." By which we perceive that the lover of forms would also approve of the piety of an Italian bandit, who stops his hand at a murder, while he mutters an *Ave-Maria* ! and shows the effect of his prayer by slaying his victim when it is done ; or that he would applaud the religious observances of a Thug, who, though he be the greatest and the most cowardly assassin in the world, never falters in his prayer, or in his form of praying, to his auspicious Deeva. When our author calls the ancient Egyptians, as compared with ourselves, a religious people, we must again beg to differ from him. Wise they assuredly were, but religious certainly not ; unless, perhaps, Mr. Bosanquet considers that because Egyptian priests ranked next to kings, and were exempted from imposts, the people were *consequently* religious. Was their doctrine of Metempsychosis a religious doctrine ? Did their animal worship partake more of religion than of superstition ? And was it religion that influenced the inhabitants of two cities to fight on the question of worshipping particular animals ? If their brute worship had been religion, would the Jews have been punished for setting up the golden calf, which was a mere imitation of the bull-god Apis ? Is honouring leeks and onions religion ? No. Zeal for their false gods may be conceded to the Egyptians ; but there was more religion in Epicurus worshipping an unseen Divinity in the temples of Greece, than in a whole nation lying prostrate before a brute or a vegetable. But perhaps Mr. Bosanquet, with his Tractarian notions, sees the religion of the ancient Egyptians in the twenty thousand virgins and the ten thousand monks of the city of Osyrinchus.

And again : notwithstanding he inveighs largely against the morals and the learning of Greece and Rome, he sees much religion in the people. He is pleased with the religious observances and ceremonies of both Attica and Italy ; and when we consider how *Romish* the external forms of worship at Athens were, with what prostrations and genuflexions men approached the consecrated statues, we are not surprised at this. But at Athens, as at Sais and at Rome, for *religion*, we would, in most cases, read *superstition*. Even St. Augustine said, "that God would not give heaven to the Romans, because they were heathens ; but he gave them the empire of the world, because they were virtuous." What religion, indeed, could that have been, the ministers of which were nothing more than men of wealth

and rank, appointed, without any previous study or course of training, to the office of priest—an appointment which comprised the care of a temple, and the pecuniary advantages arising therefrom, and granted as an honorary distinction, which did not prevent them from being engaged in the ordinary occupations of life? Gibbon himself never said half so much in favour of the worship of heathen Rome, as the author of these “Essays” has done.

But of the confusion which appears to prevail in the mind of the essayist on the subject of religion, we cannot cite a better proof than is contained in the following extract, in which our readers will find a distinct approval of pious frauds:—

“When a public calamity takes place in China, the emperor himself sets the first example, and mortifies, and fasts, and exercises acts of clemency, as considering that the scourge may be on account of his own sins and maladministration; and *if this be not actually done, but be only an official report*, yet it has the effect of turning the minds of the people to serious reflection, and *sets them an example of religious reverence*; the most weighty and influential, such as is always in the hands of every government and crowned head, if they should choose to exercise it.”

And from this extract we learn that the author not merely approves of *form*, but he is satisfied if the form be said to have been observed, although there be no truth in the assertion! If this be his religion, as we hope it is not, we need scarcely feel astonishment at his ideas on art, concerning which he declares, that the use of naked figures in sculpture and painting is merely *a low and sensual taste*, borrowed by us from the Greeks. It was, without doubt, to a person so obliquely fastidious that the Dean of St. Patrick applied his apothegm which pronounces a “nice man” to be a man of very nasty ideas.

We will now claim the attention of our readers to the views entertained by our author respecting the political relations of society in Eastern nations:—

“The greatest perfection of monarchical rule (he says) has been in China, where it is patriarchal, and has been established and carried out in all its branches upon the principle of filial reverence and obedience; which disposes, by essential and necessary consequence, to obedience to God, and the performance of brotherly duties to one another. They enjoy the fulfilment of the promise, to those who honour and obey parents, in the almost eternal duration of their empire.....The principle of Asiatic governments, is reverence and obedience; the effect is, that they have permanence (!)—the operation is, that they are peaceable and stationary (!!).....The Eastern nations know that governments are for use, and for the good of the people; and not for the purpose of being rebelled against and made an enemy of (!!!).....The Asiatic nations have, for their principles of government,

obedience and imitation. They labour to enforce and observe the social duties upon the foundation of brotherly love and attention; and they honour and obey, with filial admiration and observance, their parents, their ancestors, their emperors, and their founders. Their minds are disposed and ready prepared for reverence to God upon the same principle. Religion, therefore, is an essential motive in all their thoughts and designs; piety is their passion, and an essential power in their government. The fruit, and their reward, is permanence; and, therefore, notwithstanding their degeneracy and corruption, their lives are prolonged for a time and a season.....Our growing principle is irreverence for our ancestors; disrespect for governments; disrespect for our parents; and disrespect also towards God. Infidelity is indigenous here—it is the growth of Europe. It can be transplanted from one end of Europe to another; from Greece to Rome; from Rome to France, and Germany, and England; *but it cannot take root in any other less favoured soil—it is peculiar to Christendom*" (!!!).

Now all this is mere assertion—a sort of moral aërial machine, wanting the great sustaining power of truth. But assertion, though as resplendent as the panoply of the son of Kish, is far less effectual than modest proof, which we may liken to the simple sling and stone of the youthful David. If the people of Asia be all that Mr. Bosanquet would have us believe them to be, and all Europe so inferior to them, as he intimates, in the cultivation of the social virtues, in the observance of religion, and in fidelity to their sovereigns and their God—he would compel his readers necessarily to infer, that Christianity possesses less influence to refine and purify man than the idolatry or the Islamism of the Eastern world. To meet assertion by assertion, we might be satisfied by replying, that infidelity, however it may unhappily abound in Europe, is neither indigenous to it, nor in a more flourishing condition there than it is in Asia. We believe the reverse of this to be the fact. The crimes, the vices, the unnatural horrors which may stain some individual portions of European society, are not indulged in openly, unblushingly, and boastingly, as they are by the many in Asia. Sufficiently slaves to luxury and sensuality, we are, nevertheless, less sensual and less luxurious than they. An unhappy maniac *here* may slay his father; *there*, educated and pious princes will slaughter their own brothers: and as for the morals they teach their children, or the affection they display towards their aged parents, when we direct our eyes towards that quarter of the world which, we are told, is distinguished for the exercise of these virtues, we see infanticide dropping gore over the fields of the distant East, and parricide washing his blood-stained hands in the sacred waters of the Ganges. The nature of man is corrupt everywhere; and if it be objected to us, that the apparently superior condition of society here is only the result of the protective, or

the forbidding influences of law, we are content to subscribe to the objection, merely adding, that the foundations of our law are fixed immovably on Christianity.

The religion of the Asiatic nations appears to be an object of as much admiration to the author of "*Principia*" as the permanency of their empires, which seems to result from it. China is particularly distinguished by him on this account; but to us there is no religion in the incarnations of the deified mortal, Gandama, and even as little in the more revered deity named Füh—an atheistical impostor, who, after deluding his disciples half a century, bequeathed to them, as a precious legacy, the assurance, that "there is no other principle of all things, but nothing. From nothing all things have sprung, and to nothing all must return. There all our hopes must end." The priests of this blessed belief *practice celibacy, fast, pray for the souls of the dead, use holy water, worship relics, and pray in a strange tongue*—practices which were strictly observed by those priests in Europe, whose influence in secular affairs, to the declared regret of our author, no longer exists. And with regard to the permanency of empire granted to the virtuous sovereign families which have ruled from Tai Tong to Lint Choo, we have to observe, that the present reigning family is *not* Chinese; and also, that of the twenty-two dynasties which have been permitted to govern China, each one, without exception, since the first, has succeeded by rebellion, assassination, deposition, or the suicide of the last king of the preceding dynasty. None of these circumstances are characteristic of permanency, or proofs of the love and obedience of subjects towards their sovereign. It was the want of affection and duty in his people that drove the very last Emperor of the Chinese race, Whay Tsong, to hang himself in despair, and leave his throne to the Mongul line of traitors by whom it is still usurped.

Indeed, nowhere can we find that the effect of Asiatic government was to have permanence. Why, the Caliphate, the most religious of them all, and by far the most glorious and enlightened—the most powerful and widely extended; even that gorgeous succession of monarch priests endured in its splendid unity, but from Abu Beker, in 632, to Al Mostasem Billah, in 1258. In the latter year, the house of Al Abbàs ceased to reign in Bagdad, that city having then fallen before the forces of the bold Holagou Khan, who, with his Tartar mace, shattered the Caliphate into glittering fragments, one of which the sons of Sarah reverently enshrined on the banks of the Nile, where its diminished lustre was finally trodden out by the Osmanli conqueror, Selim.

Again, if we cast a glance on Persia, we are still at a loss to find permanence as the rule, either of individuals or of dynasties. In the Pashdadian race we find recorded, it is true, that a certain Feridoon reigned five hundred years; that Menucheher (the Mandaces of the Greeks) held sovereign power during a century and a quarter; and that, in short, the eleven kings of this dynasty enjoyed each an average rule of upwards of two hundred years. But this is a fabulous permanency, in which we have as little faith as that Kaiomurs fought with demons; that Jemshud invented the "delightful poison," the *zohu a hoosh*, which a less poetical posterity has condescended to drink under the ordinary appellation of wine; or that serpents grew on the shoulders of Zohauk; and that that monarch himself fed on human brains. Mr. Bosanquet will certainly not be so unreasonable as to require that his assertions touching permanency should be tested by such a mythic period as that of the Pashdadian dynasty; we will rather look to those which have been established since the young imperial libertine, the *great Alexander*, was stricken dead by the demon of intemperance at Babylon. The result of this view presents to us the fact, that if some one of these dynasties endured for a rather lengthened period, the individual sovereigns, even then, succeeded and fell by violence; no proof either of permanence on the one hand, or of obedience on the other. And, in the general view, we discover, that since the period of the mad Macedonian, nine established dynasties have held sway over Persia. Had these legally and naturally succeeded each other, Persia might have been cited as a country where were to be found permanence of power and examples of obedience. The truth, however, lies exactly in the opposite direction. The descendants of Seleucus were exterminated by the rebellion of the Arsacidæ; the latter fell, in its turn, before the unjust invasion of the Tartars, under Timour; the voluptuous Suffavean house, which succeeded, was destroyed by the rebel pewterer of Seistan; and the Suffaree dynasty, of which he was the founder, lasted but for a brief and bloody period. The nation then fell a prey to the irresistible might of him of Ghizni, from whose successors it passed, amid violence and evil, to the robber Seljuks; and anarchy reigned unrestrained over the length and breadth of the land, till the Affghans swept across it, with the swiftness and destroying power of the hurricane. Of the two monarchs of the Affghan race, both were murdered. Nadir Shah, who succeeded to the vacant throne, was himself slain; and the four monarchs, who came after him, were visited by the same fate. The Zend dynasty next attempted to establish a claim for permanence of power and the

love of the people; but "the principles of Asiatic governments" again failed. In thirty-seven years, eight monarchs seized, held, and fell from the unsteady throne. Upon the assassination of their last king, Lootf Ali Khan, the present Kurger dynasty rose to sovereignty. Of the three monarchs belonging to it, the first, Aga Mahomed, the ablest and most execrable tyrant that ever lived, was murdered by his own servants; the second was a mere phantom of power; and the third, surrounded, like the tomb of the three kings at Cologne, by tinsel, glass drops, and paste jewellery, gains as little reverence from those who stand before him; is the servant of three masters, fearing each, and hating all; menaced by Russia, cajoled by France, and not treated with an over-candied deal of courtesy by England.

But, again, we find ourselves reluctantly compelled to pause, otherwise we had intended to have shown that the assertion, declaring that Asiatic subjects have always manifested a disinclination to rebel, was a fallacy as great as any other contained in this book. We will only briefly remark, that if we may not cite the Ghiznian dynasty of Hindostan in proof of this, the history of the Ghourian, the Patan, and the Mogul dynasties would amply suit our purpose. Each king of the short-lived Ghourian race was massacred. Eighteen of the thirty-three Patan rulers of India were slain or deposed (among them was the celebrated female sovereign, the beautiful Mallekeh Doran), and the same fate has fallen on more than half of the twenty-one Mogul monarchs who have occupied the uneasy seat of royalty since the accession of the illustrious Tiger, Muhammed Baber. But, as we have said, we must draw to a conclusion; not, however, without first observing, that Mr. Bosanquet not only publishes fallacies of his own, but adopts those of other authors. Thus he agrees with Niebuhr, in comparing the "English of the present day to the Romans of the third century after Christ;" which is certainly a fallacy, though Niebuhr be the father of it. We lack space to prove our own view of this matter, but it is only necessary to refer our readers to the storied page of Rome, from the last years of Severus, who subdued Britain, to the period shortly anterior to the abdication of Diocletian. The only trace of resemblance we can discover is after the fashion of honest Fluellin's parallel between the rivers in Macedon and Monmouth—"as like as my fingers is to my fingers, and there be salmons in both;" so Rome was an empire, and England is an empire, and with people in both; but the manners and morals of the two people, and the influences which govern or governed them, have nothing whatever in common. Is our general society



covered with such a noisome sore as was that of Rome during a portion of the period alluded to, when the infamous Heliogabalus (Heliogabalus) could, without exciting surprise, reproach, or opposition, collect together all the courtezans of the stadium, the circus, the theatre, and the baths; form them into a senate, admit among them the choicest of the debauchees of Rome, and preside over their debates on the different degrees of voluptuousness? Is our spirit and our manhood at that low ebb, that we could applaudingly listen, as the abject Romans did, to accounts of the banquets given by the effeminate and bloody monarch, where, on the heads of his most attached nobles, he caused showers of violets, roses, lilies, and other flowers to be rained down, amidst which, and the shouts of their servile applause, he would slowly retire; but the showers continued till the hall was filled, and, on the following morning, the imprisoned guests were found smothered beneath the perfumed heap, dead "in aromatic pain?" These are illustrations of a state of society into which England has not sunken, and into which England can never sink. She has her hours of peril and temptation; she is even now struggling under a crisis, from which we hope and expect to see her issue like a giant refreshed. It is in these seasons of her danger that some writers appear to acquire a vivacity of manner that is quite remarkable; their spirits seem to rise with the peril, and, like the missel thrush, they sing loudest when a storm is blowing.

We will not say that Mr. Bosanquet goes so far as this. We will also allow, that he has less apparent Romish tendencies than are to be met with in many of the school of which he is a disciple. They are, indeed, only visible in his admiration of the days when the influence of men who were Roman Catholic ecclesiastics was paramount in this country. Government without religion is a fiend-conceived impossibility. Government without the ministers of religion having their due share in the representation of the people, of which they are an important and an honoured part, is an injustice. But Government, with such influences to rule it as Mr. Bosanquet would fain establish, would be productive of destruction. The influences to which we allude are political influences, in the hands of men devoted admirers of Romish policy, or of men uniting political Liberalism with Dissent—influences which, in the hands of Mazarin, ruined France, and wielded, in later times, by the Jesuits, drove the elder house of Bourbon from the throne. Our author would, doubtless, disclaim the danger and the tendencies; but then he is one of a team, which, *though it do not take the coach to Rome, carries the passengers a stage towards it.*

ART. IV.—*A Charge to the Clergy of Dublin and Glandelagh, delivered in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in June, 1843.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. To which is appended a Petition to the House of Lords, praying for a Church Government: together with a Report of the Debate on its presentation, and some additional Remarks. London: Fellows. 1843.

2. *The Expediency of Restoring at this time to the Church her Synodical Powers considered, in Remarks upon the Appendix to the late Charge of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.* By JAMES THOMAS O'BRIEN, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, Leighlin, and Ferns. London: Seeley. 1843.

THE fact, that two bishops of the United Church should concur in opinion respecting our anomalous position without a Convocation, affords pretty striking evidence that the evil is soon likely to be generally admitted. To devise a remedy will be another thing; but we confess that we shall not be without hope, when the evil is allowed to exist. There are persons, undoubtedly, who would rather have things continue as they are, even with the chance of Parliamentary interference; but they cannot establish their claim to any love for the Church. Such persons are little anxious for the Church. All they wish is liberty to follow their own inclinations; consequently they expect more freedom, or rather more license, from Parliament than from a duly constituted Church Assembly. The moment these gentlemen hear a word about Convocation, they cry out, "Danger! danger!" They allege that, in the present state of feeling, mischief must necessarily ensue. But we ask, can anything be worse than the present state of things? Undoubtedly a Convocation would repress many irregularities; and some of these irregular gentlemen might find themselves under the necessity of complying with their ordination vows. But surely this would be a benefit to the Church, and not an evil. Exceptions there are; but our persuasion is, that the vast majority of those who raise an outcry against Convocation are irregular in their practice, setting rubrics and authority at defiance; and consequently they are apprehensive, should the synods of the Church be permitted to meet, of being constrained to act consistently, or to quit the Church altogether. They are enemies within the pale of the Church, and therefore more to be dreaded than open foes. They can hold the Church's livings, while they break the Church's laws. The sooner, then, measures are enacted to force such men to act consistently, either by quitting the Church or by conforming to her regulations, the better.

The circumstances connected with the publication of the two pamphlets at the head of this article are somewhat curious. During the last session, the Archbishop of Dublin presented a petition, from certain parties, to the House of Lords, praying for *a Church Government*. Mention was made in the petition of Convocation, but in a very cursory manner. As this document is printed in the Appendix to Archbishop Whately's Charge, we extract the following passages, as containing the main position taken up by the petitioners on the occasion in question :—

“ That the Church of England and Ireland, viewed as an important part of the Church of Christ, ought, as such, to enjoy the privilege permitted to other churches and religious bodies, of possessing *within herself* such a power of regulating her distinctly spiritual affairs as may best promote the due discharge of the sacred duties required of her ministers, and provide for the religious discipline of her own members.

“ That for the attainment of this there is required the establishment of some deliberative ecclesiastical body, having authority to frame regulations, and to decide in questions of doubt and difficulty, respecting all such matters.

“ That the CONVOCATION, supposing it adapted, not only to former times, but to all times, is fallen into desuetude ; and that neither to revive that, nor to make any provision for supplying its place, is clearly at variance with the design of our Reformers !”

The petitioners pray the House of Lords to make some provision for supplying a government to the Church. Before, however, we proceed with our story, we must protest against the doctrine implied in the petition, namely, that the House of Lords are the parties by whom this important question should be settled. There is no need of applying to that body. The Church has a government ; and if alterations are needed, let them be made by the Church herself. This surely is the proper course to be adopted. We, of course, agree with the petitioners respecting the present anomalous position of the Church without her due and proper government ; but we cannot concur in the prayer, that some authority should be granted to the Church in order that doubtful points may be settled. We contend that the Church has that authority, and that she is not permitted to exercise it ; and that it is not in the power of any civil assembly to grant ecclesiastical powers. In our opinion, therefore, the doctrine of the petition is unsound, so far as it prays for some undefined power, or any power at all, to be granted by the State. The State undoubtedly so far domineers over the Church as not to permit her to exercise her own legitimate authority ; but this fact is not an argument for allowing that the State rightly possesses power over the Church, which is certainly admitted in the petition.

We object, then, to the prayer of the petition; and we object to the presentation of any petition respecting Church government to either House of Parliament. The proper course would have been, a petition to the Crown; and the proper prayer would have been, a prayer that Convocation might be permitted to act. When assembled, they might, if any changes should be deemed necessary, proceed to discuss the subject, and make such alterations as circumstances might render desirable.

Having expressed our opinion respecting the prayer of the petition, we proceed with our story. The Archbishop of Dublin delivered a speech on occasion of the presentation of this petition, in which his Grace remarked on the present anomalous position of the Church, without any authority to settle disputed questions. With many of his Grace's observations we, of course, most cordially agree. We agree that there should be authority in the Church to settle doubtful points; but we cannot concur with him in his statement, that it is the province of Parliament to permit some other body to legislate in matters ecclesiastical. It is, we think, dangerous to the interests of the Church to hold such a doctrine. The Church has her assembly, and she does not require another founded on Parliamentary authority. It is for the Crown to decide whether the Convocation shall assemble; and should her Majesty grant her gracious permission, the Church would at once have a government with which Parliament could not interfere. No Parliamentary enactment has any force without the consent of the Crown. So it rests entirely with the Crown to assemble the Convocation. And we hope that the sovereigns of this country will never yield their sacred rights, and permit the Legislature to interfere with the powers of the Church in matters purely spiritual.

The Bishop of Salisbury followed the Archbishop, and pointed out the unreasonable character of the objections usually alleged against the assembling of the Convocation, the recognized and lawful assembly of the Church. With the whole of his lordship's speech we most cordially agree. He took such a view of the question as became him as a Churchman. He saw no danger in a Convocation: nay, he considered that much of the excitement of the present day arose from the want of that governing power which the Convocation would supply.

It appears that the Bishop of Ossory addressed the house on the occasion; but, in consequence of indisposition, he was not heard by the reporters. This circumstance is stated by the archbishop in his appendix; and the substance of the speech is given as follows:—

“His lordship expressed his hearty assent to the principle of the

petition ; but was averse to its being applied *at the present time*, on account of the excited state of party feeling now existing in the Church, and which he feared might be aggravated by the assembling of any commission, synod, convocation, or other body of men, for the purpose of either acting as a government for the Church, or framing any such government."

Upon this speech the archbishop offers some remarks, in which, referring them to the Convocation, and not to the new body or power contemplated by the petitioners, we heartily concur. We think, indeed, that the archbishop's position is not only untouched by the Bishop of Ossory in his pamphlet, but that it is unassailable. He alluded to some who used such language merely as a pretext to get rid of the measure. Doubtless many of the opponents of Convocation are more afraid of themselves than of the Church. They know that their own irregularities would be checked ; and, therefore, they exclaim that it would be dangerous to allow the Convocation to assemble at such a time as the present. We do not class the Bishop of Ossory with such opponents. His lordship is too honest and too sincere a man to give expression to any feeling which he did not entertain ; but we cannot believe the same of many others, whose irregular proceedings prove that they would dread nothing so much as the revival of an assembly with power to check their own waywardness.

It will be seen that we only concur in the remarks and arguments of the Archbishop of Dublin as they relate to Convocation, and not in reference to a power to be created. Taken, however, in connexion with the Convocation, his arguments are unanswerable.

The Bishop of Ossory deemed it necessary to publish "*Remarks on the Archbishop's Appendix.*" We regret that we cannot agree with his lordship's views ; but we feel it to be our duty to express our dissent in decided though courteous terms. After glancing at the petition, and the speeches of the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Salisbury, his lordship comes to the part which he himself took in the debate. He says, that he has long felt that the want of a power of self-government in the Church is an anomaly : that he has long looked forward to its removal ; but that there "*are objections to the attempt to bestow this benefit on the Church under its present circumstances.*" He even considers that greater evils are to be apprehended from the restoration of such powers at the present moment. We should like to know from his lordship whether any period ever existed, or whether any is likely ever to arrive, at which the same argument may not be used, and be used, too, with as much effect as

at present? His lordship further admits, that the bishops are of opinion that a power of self-government is necessary to the Church; but he thinks that they would not invest her with it at the present moment. Finding that his speech, in consequence of his indisposition, was not reported, his lordship was satisfied to wait till some other opportunity should arise. This opportunity was given earlier than was expected by the publication of the Archbishop's Charge.

His lordship goes on to state, that the question on which he differs from the archbishop is not one of principle, but of expediency or prudence. He then proceeds to the arguments used by his Grace, which he pronounces fallacious. We, however, think that his lordship has altogether failed in his proof. He cites the divisions in the Church; but surely the way to allay such divisions is to allow the Church to give expression to her sentiments. The want of a government is the fruitful source of those divisions; and if we are to wait until no divisions exist, we can never expect a Convocation.

It appears to us that the Bishop of Ossory has drawn an exaggerated picture. He has conjured up imaginary evils, and dealt with them as real. Thus he thinks that a Convocation would widen the divisions. He says that the elections for proctors would carry them into every diocese, every archdeaconry, and every parish. He adds—"In fact, all the evils which attend upon Parliamentary elections in heated times, short of absolute personal violence, might be dreaded in such contests." (p. 18). This is a most extraordinary passage: and we can only account for it by supposing that his lordship is ignorant of the constitution of an English Convocation. How he could institute a comparison between an election for members of Parliament, and that for proctors for the Convocation, we are totally at a loss to conceive, since the two are quite dissimilar. A few words may suffice to show the unsoundness of his lordship's argument.

In elections of members of Parliament all persons feel an interest, because all are concerned: in the elections of proctors few comparatively would be interested. But this point is not the main one in the case. In the election of members of Parliament all persons possessed of certain qualifications have a vote; and both in towns and in counties the electors are necessarily very numerous: consequently there is not a parish in the kingdom which does not contain within it many persons who have a voice in the return of the representative for the county, the city, or the borough. But what is the case with respect to proctors for Convocation? In the first place, a comparatively small number is returned for the whole kingdom; and, in the second

place, they are returned by the beneficed clergy. In every parish in the kingdom there is one vote, and one vote only, and that one vote is possessed by the incumbent. Is it fair, then, for his lordship to allege, that the evils would be as great as at a contested election? Is there any parallel between the two cases? Can it with truth be said, that every parish would be thrown into the same state as at a contested election, when the incumbent alone has a vote? Is it likely that in many parishes there would be many persons who would understand the question, or who, if they understood it, would be concerned about it? Would the incumbent consult his parishioners? They would have no voice in the matter. How then could the evils of a contested election be apprehended? We really feel that the Bishop of Ossory has made a most unjustifiable statement on this subject. Does his lordship know that the election of proctors takes place with every new Parliament? Supposing the Crown should permit the Convocation to transact business, is it likely that the same men would not be returned as proctors, or that more noise and stir would be occasioned than actually occur at present? It appears to us that his lordship has not duly considered the question. No new powers are required. Nothing more is necessary than for the Crown to grant its permission to the Convocation to act. Already the proctors are chosen—already the Convocation exists: and a license from the Crown only is necessary. Were that license granted, the Convocation could act without any new election as long as the present Parliament exists. Supposing that the bishop's statements respecting the evils of a contested election were correct, still much good might be effected before a new election occurs. The present Convocation could proceed to business, and many questions might be adjusted even in a single season. No evil could arise until an election should take place; and some years may elapse before a new Parliament is summoned.

This part of his lordship's pamphlet we look upon as highly objectionable, because it is calculated to convey a most erroneous impression, to uninitiated readers, of the nature of the elections of proctors, and because it affords a pretence to those who are altogether opposed to the revival of Convocation. We believe that few of his brethren on the episcopal bench would concur in the extraordinary view which his lordship has put forth on this particular point, even though they might agree with him that the Convocation should not be assembled.

In support of the statement, upon which we have freely animadverted, his lordship says—

“It is the success of a man's friend—the elevation of those to whom

he has attached himself as his leaders—the predominance of his party—the triumph and the influence of his opinions and his principles, which are much more the object and the reward of the intense interest, and the desperate exertions which are made on such occasions, than gain or ambition.” (pp. 18, 19).

How can his lordship use such language in speaking of the election of a few clergymen from each diocese, the electors being the incumbents only—that is, one man in a parish?

After describing a state of things which could never exist, the bishop proceeds to say:—

“ This would be a sad state of things while it lasted. But it might well be borne with if it were to end with the elections, and to end in providing the Church with a deliberative assembly, from which we might reasonably expect a calm consideration of the various points which divide us, and a fair and impartial adjudication upon them.” (pp. 19, 20).

Really his lordship is not warranted in assuming, as he does, that the elections must necessarily be attended with the evils which he predicts. At all events, he may avoid the consequences for some time; for a Convocation already exists, the power to act alone being wanting; and, as we have already remarked, almost all important questions might be adjudicated before any new election could take place.

But he says that a calm and deliberative assembly could not be returned. We ask his lordship, what is the character of the present Convocation? Does he know how the Lower House is constituted? Deans and archdeacons are *ex-officio* members: for them, therefore, there would be no elections. Thus, the *ex-officio* members constitute a majority of the Lower House. Then, with respect to the proctors, some are returned by the chapters of cathedrals, and the rest by the parochial clergy. How, then, can his lordship say, that a fair assembly would not exist, when it is a fact, that the majority are deans and archdeacons, members *ex-officio*, and consequently under no such influence as that to which he alludes? We can only account for his lordship's conduct in this line of argument by supposing that he really does not understand the constitution of the assembly of which he speaks. His lordship speaks of the Lower House as if composed of elected members only, and imagines that they would keep their constituents in the same hostile position as that into which he most strangely supposes they would be brought by the elections. Then, concluding that his position is impregnable, he draws his inference, that such a state of things would be worse than the present. He imagines a case, and reasons upon it as if it were real. Through



several pages, his lordship argues on the principle, that the members are all elected, and that they would be elected under such circumstances as he imagines. Both the positions are mistaken.

The Archbishop of Dublin meets the argument for delay in so admirable a manner, that we cannot do better than give his Grace's own words:—

“Certain it is, that in all cases of this kind we must expect to meet with the cry of ‘not now,’ on occasions of the most opposite character. When men's minds are in an excited and unsettled state, we are told ‘not now;’ wait for a period of greater tranquillity; when a lull takes place, and there is as little of discontent and party animosity as one can hope to find, again the cry is, ‘not now.’ Why unsettle men's minds? Why not let well alone? *Quieta ne movete*; it will be time enough to take steps when there is a general and urgent cry for it. In short, when the waters are low, we are told that it is useless trouble and expense to build a bridge; when they are high, that it is difficult and hazardous to build a bridge.”—*Charge*—Appendix, p. 34.

Now we consider this argument unanswerable. If we are to wait until all the troubled waters are quiet, we shall never have a Convocation; for the Church will always be agitated by divisions, though they may vary in their character, according to times and circumstances. There never will be wanting persons who, like the Bishop of Ossory, will say the present is not the time. It appears to us that his lordship loses sight of one very important point altogether, namely, the superintending Providence of God. It is not, as we think, a question of time or expediency, but of principle. If it be right, and the right is admitted by the bishop, for the Church to have a Convocation, then the bishops and clergy ought to unite in soliciting it, leaving all consequences to *Him* who orders and governs all things, and who can overrule the passions of men for the promotion of his own glory.

But the Bishop of Ossory imagines that he has discovered a flaw in the argument of the archbishop, or rather, perhaps, in his Grace's illustration; and it is clear, from the fact that the point is handled at considerable length, that his lordship looks upon his own position as impregnable. In plain language, the bishop has made the most of the matter.

After quoting the above passage from the archbishop's appendix, his lordship remarks—

“What is described so pleasantly in this passage is, no doubt, matter of ordinary experience. There are some who will look at all times for excuses for doing nothing, and who will find such excuses in the circumstances of the case, whatever they may be. But then it ought not

to be forgotten, that there are others who are determined, at all times, and under all circumstances, to do something. And that this over-activity is one of the vices of character, which we have to be on our guard against, as well as indolence and inertness."—*Remarks*, pp. 49-50.

To the reasoning of this passage we cannot assent. In the first place, we do not admit that, in the matters now under discussion, there are persons who are always for doing something. We deny that, were the Convocation assembled, there would necessarily be a party who would advocate a change for the mere love of change. It is unreasonable to suppose that any large number in the Convocation would always be for doing something, whether anything were necessary or not. Our belief is, that all parties in that assembly would be fearful of changes to such an extent, that they would alter nothing but what was necessary. All men would so reverence our institutions, that they would only be anxious to meet cases which are not already provided for by the Church. That we are correct in our supposition, we feel assured. But, *secondly*, we deny the possibility of their doing mischief, even supposing there were such a party as his lordship imagines. Our reasons are to be found in the various checks which the very constitution of Convocation interposes against changes and alterations, and mischief of any kind. These checks his lordship quite loses sight of in his argument—a circumstance which strengthens our belief, that he has not made himself acquainted with the constitution of an English Convocation. The checks to which we allude are various; but they are of such a nature as to prevent mischief, however disposed some of the members might be to stir up strife and contention. We may specify some of these checks. The Crown, for example, is the prime mover in the whole business. Convocation, when assembled, cannot proceed to business without the royal license; nor can it discuss matters which are not dictated in that license. How, then, would it be possible for the *forward* party to do mischief? Their attention must be confined to certain points; they would not be able to introduce measures of their own, except they bore upon the questions appointed for discussion. Or if they asserted a power to act independently, the Crown would interpose and stop their proceedings. No measure could take effect until sanctioned by the Crown, so that it is not likely that any wild or mischievous designs would be contemplated. Then the character of the Upper House should be considered. This is composed only of bishops. The archbishop, too, has the power of proroguing the Lower House at his pleasure—a power which would certainly be exercised if necessary. There are other checks arising from the constitution of Convocation

which need not be specified, but which, when coupled with those already mentioned, afford such a barrier against innovation and the desire of change, to suit the mere fancies of men, that it would be almost childish to apprehend danger from the meeting of the synod at any time, or under any circumstances. We cannot, therefore, refrain from declaring that the Bishop of Ossory is under a complete misapprehension of the whole subject.

His lordship proceeds to notice the archbishop's illustration in the following terms :—

"The archbishop's lively illustration, in fact, opens a view of the case which he did not intend to exhibit. Not, of course, that he meant to conceal anything that he saw, but that there is a *phase* of such questions which does not offer itself to those who look at them from the point of view which persons of his active temperament generally take. When the river is low the want of a bridge is not felt; and the lazy adviser, who seeks to persuade those who have to bear the charge of it, that they would be putting themselves to useless trouble and expense in building a bridge over a stream that any child could step across, is likely enough to be listened to. When the river is swollen and impassable, every one feels the want of a bridge; and one who acknowledges that it is absolutely necessary, and that it ought to be built, but who seeks to dissuade those who are eager to set about it *at once*, from what he regards as a fruitless and hazardous enterprize, is likely to have an unwilling auditory." (pp. 51-52).

His lordship pursues his argument over several pages. He adds :—

"That the waters might have so risen, that the attempt to build was now useless and hazardous. This evidently might be the case; and if it were so, it is equally evident that he would not be the weak and absurd person that the archbishop's purpose, in the illustration, requires him to be. There would be no folly in his advising those, who were about to waste money and risk lives in the undertaking, to defer it till the waters subsided so far as to allow of its being attempted with safety and with good hopes of success: nor would this counsel be at all the more foolish, because before, when the waters were low, other advisers had dissuaded them from the work and succeeded; nor because, when the stream became low, such slothful counsellors would be sure to repeat their advice. The real folly, little as the archbishop seems to suspect it, would be in the clever, but rather headlong counsellor, who, having seen and heard of many a valuable opportunity lost, and many a fair enterprize brought to nought by listening to '*objections*,' was resolved never to listen to him; and who, accordingly, shut his own ears against this warning, and persuaded his neighbours to disregard it too." (pp. 53-54).

We have not given the whole of his lordship's remarks; but we have quoted sufficient to enable our readers to understand his argument. Its inconclusiveness may now be stated.

It is scarcely a fair representation of the archbishop's illustration. His Grace did not suppose a case where the waters were *too* high to permit the bridge to be erected, but one in which they were *high*, and consequently the work would be more laborious than where the waters were low. On the other hand, the Bishop of Ossory assumes, that the waters are so high that it is impossible to erect the bridge, in which case the man who should advocate the erection would expose himself as a rash and foolish adviser. The archbishop does not suppose an impossible case. He is too wise a man, and too good a reasoner, to fall into such a mistake. He merely supposes the case of two classes of objectors—by the one it is said, if the times are quiet, we need not trouble ourselves about the matter; by the other, it is alleged, if divisions and differences are common, it will be dangerous to summon a Convocation now, in consequence of the various and discordant opinions prevailing among the clergy. We contend, therefore, that the Bishop of Ossory is not justified in assuming, that the archbishop's illustration supposes a case in which the river is *too* high for the bridge to be built. The chief object which his Grace had in view was this—to expose the inconsistency of those who always will raise objections of some kind or other to a Convocation; and for this purpose we contend that the illustration was sufficient.

As the case is put by the Bishop of Ossory, the archbishop is the rash and headlong counsellor, who advises the building of a bridge when the state of the waters renders it impracticable; while his lordship is the wary and cautious adviser, who points out the danger of proceeding, and recommends delay.

We have shown that the archbishop's illustration is mistaken and misapplied; and that it was perfectly sufficient for his Grace's purpose. Our closing remarks must be directed to the inference which the Bishop of Ossory obviously draws from his own misrepresentation of the archbishop's illustration. His lordship evidently implies that the waters are *too high* at the present moment; in other words, that in the present state of the Church it would be dangerous to assemble the Convocation. This position we strenuously deny. We have previously stated, that if the measure be right, as the bishop admits, we have nothing to do with consequences, or apprehensions of danger; but it is our duty to act, and leave the disposal of events to the Providence of Almighty God. Even were the danger certain, such would be our duty. But we have partly shown already that the idea of danger, arising from disunions among the clergy, is chimerical, in consequence of the checks which are interposed by

the very constitution of the Convocation. But were the matter otherwise, and were all such checks removed, we should have no apprehension of danger. We are convinced that all the men, who would find their way into the Convocation, would be *Conservatives*. We use the term in its best sense—we mean, that they would meet and deliberate with a determination to preserve the Church; and this *Conservative* feeling would prevent them from proposing rash and unnecessary changes. We are convinced that the majority would merge their own private feelings in the general good. The two houses would act in concert for the welfare of the Church at large; and the happiest consequences might be anticipated. Such is our belief; nor does the present state of the Church lead us to apprehend, that any such evil consequences could ensue, as are evidently contemplated by the Bishop of Ossory.

Never was the Convocation more needed than at present. The very differences to which the bishop refers render its operations necessary. As far as doctrines are concerned, nothing would be attempted. Our Reformers have given us a body of Articles and a Liturgy, in which the doctrines of the Church are clearly laid down. These would remain untouched; no man would be rash enough to propose a modification of the Articles; or, should such an attempt be made, it would be rejected with indignation. Nor would any one propose changes in the Liturgy; or, if any persons should be so infatuated, they would not be found among that section from which his lordship is apprehensive of danger, but with those low and irregular Churchmen who are fearful of a Convocation, because they know that a check would be interposed to their own loose practices. Whatever might be the wishes of individuals, the great majority would see the necessity of adhering strictly to the principles and practices of the Reformers. Knowing that the scheme would be impracticable, for reasons which have been already stated, those individuals, who might secretly wish to introduce other practices under the plea of primitive usages, would be deterred from the attempt, and would unite with others in rectifying acknowledged deficiencies. The real innovators would be the *nonconforming* clergy—men who even now, in the teeth of their vows, mutilate the services—who disregard all discipline if it does not suit their own distorted notions. These are the men who raise the outcry against a Convocation, because they know that one of the first steps would be to devise means to enforce conformity, by rendering all the rubrics distinct and clear, and by giving authority to the bishops to enforce the laws of the Church in a

summary way. These men expect more liberty under the present state of things, than they would be likely to have if the Convocation were allowed to transact business.

It is a very remarkable fact, and one which must strike all who reflect, that the outcry against the revival of Convocation proceeds almost altogether from one party. They cry out, "*Danger, danger!—the water is too high—wait a little longer!*" because they are apprehensive of danger, not to the Church, but to themselves. They are aware that their irregularities would not be tolerated: hence their alarm. We have heard of men who have alleged that they would quit the Church rather than read a chapter from the *Apocrypha*. But is it not far worse to promise to read such chapters, and then break their solemn engagement? Such men should quit the Church; and if Convocation did nothing more than enact measures, which would render it necessary for these men either to comply with their oaths or quit our communion, it would confer a benefit of no small magnitude on the Anglican Church.

Let it not be supposed that we class the Bishop of Ossory with these objectors—such is far from our intention. We feel assured that his lordship is most anxious for the good of the Church. We consider his arguments to be inconclusive, and his apprehensions of danger unfounded; but we know him to be sincere in his opinions. Though mistaken, as we think, on this important question, yet we regard his lordship as one of the brightest ornaments of the Irish Church, and as the last man to use arguments which he does not consider to be of force.

ART. V.—*A History of the Huguenots. The Third Edition, continued to the present time.* By W. S. BROWNING. London: Whittaker and Co. 1842. Large 8vo.

2. *Histoire des Eglises du Désert chez les Protestans de France, depuis la Fin du Règne de Louis XIV. jusqu' à la Révolution Française.* Par CHARLES COQUEREL. Paris, 1841. 2 tomes, 8vo.

3. *Popery always the Same; exemplified in an Account of the Persecution now carrying on against the Protestants in the South of France.* London: 1746. 8vo.

THE history of the Reformation in France, as in every other country of Europe, is written in characters of blood and fire. Early in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Francis I., the doctrines of the Bible, preached by Luther in Germany and

by Zuingle (or Zwingli) in Switzerland, which had already been embraced by some Frenchmen, made rapid progress. In vain did the "eldest son of the" Romish "Church" endeavour to suppress the writings of the Protestants by severe edicts of censure, and by sanguinary capital punishments. Persecutions only raised up additional converts to the pure doctrines of the Gospel; and in France, as had been the case in the earliest period of Christianity, the blood of the martyrs proved to be the seed of the Church of Christ. The writings of Calvin, which were widely circulated, contributed not a little to advance the doctrines of the Reformation; and from him these doctrines were, in France, collectively termed Calvinism, and those who professed them were designated Calvinists. They were also termed Huguenots—an appellation of contempt, of uncertain origin, by which they were afterwards most commonly known. During the reign of his successor, Henry II., which lasted twelve years, the Reformation made great progress, notwithstanding the persecutions to which the Protestants were exposed. Henry II. was succeeded by Francis II. At this time two great political parties agitated France. The descendants of Hugh Capet (who became King of France in 987) were divided into two branches: that of Valois, which was in actual possession of the throne; and that of Bourbon, which was next in succession to it. The house of Guise, Dukes of Lorraine, pretended to trace their descent from Charlemagne, and sometimes were competitors for the throne with the reigning family; and at other times with the Bourbons for the heirship apparent to it. These two parties, the Bourbons and the faction of the Guises, availed themselves of the religious discussions which were carried on between the Protestants and Papists, in order to conceal their designs, and to combat each other during the reign of Francis II. The Bourbons, who were attached to the Protestants, were exposed to the incessant cabals of the Guises; who, in order that they might weaken, and if possible destroy, their adversaries, persecuted the Reformed with unheard-of cruelty. Parliamentary tribunals were erected, fitly termed *chambres ardentes*, burning courts; which were specially charged to examine and punish them, and which mercilessly consigned to the flames all who were convicted of having embraced what were called the new doctrines. The goods of those who escaped the tortures to which they were destined were confiscated, and their children were abandoned to the utmost misery.

Yet, notwithstanding these persecutions, the Protestants would never have thought of *appearing* to be revolted subjects, had they not been encouraged to it in 1550 by the presence

among them of Louis de Condé, a prince of the royal family. With him they formed a league, having previously consulted many lawyers and theologians, both in Germany and Switzerland, as to the legality of such a measure. In pursuance of their plan, it was resolved that, on an appointed day, a certain number of the Reformed should appear before the king at Blois, to present a petition for the free exercise of their religion; and in the event of its being refused (as it was foreseen it would be), a chosen band of armed Protestants were to make themselves masters of the city of Blois, seize the Guises, and compel the king to appoint the prince of Condé regent of the realm. But this scheme was betrayed and most of those who were engaged in it were executed or imprisoned.

The contest between the two parties became yet more violent in the reign of Charles IX., who ascended the throne of France in 1560, when he was only ten years of age. During his minority, the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, held the reins of government. From motives of policy, she granted toleration to the Protestants; who, by an edict, issued in January, 1562, were secured in the exercise of their religion in all parts of the kingdom, except at Paris and in some other cities. This edict afforded the faction of the Guises a pretext for commencing hostilities. Instigated by his mother, the Duke of Guise went to Vassy, a small town in the province of Champagne, where some of his retinue quarrelled with a body of Protestants who were attending divine service in a barn. In this quarrel two hundred were wounded, and sixty were left dead; the pews and the pulpit were broken, and the Bible was torn, to pieces. This was the first Protestant blood shed in civil war.

It belongs to the historian of France to narrate all the transactions which took place between the rival parties, and which desolated that unhappy country, from 1562 until the end of the sixteenth century. Suffice it to state, that after much bloodshed on both sides, and the infliction of unheard-of cruelties upon the Protestants, a treaty of peace was concluded in 1570, by which the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed to them everywhere, except in walled cities. Two cities in every province were to be assigned to them; and they were to be admitted into all communities, schools, and public offices. Further, a marriage was proposed between Henry of Navarre and the sister of Charles IX.

These articles were accepted—the sword was sheathed; and the Queen of Navarre, her son Henry (who succeeded her on the throne of Navarre), the princes of the blood, and the principal Protestants, proceeded to Paris on the 18th of August, to



celebrate the nuptials. This was the moment seized by the crafty Catherine de Medicis, for the full establishment of her power, and for exterminating the Protestants. Scarcely were the rejoicings concluded, when all the leaders of the Protestants were assassinated in the dead of the night, in the too celebrated massacre of St. Bartholomew. Referring our readers to the details collected by Mr. Browning from authentic sources, relative to that most atrocious transaction, and to the affairs of the Protestants during the reign of Henry III., we remark, that, after many struggles, their civil rights were secured to them under Henry IV., by the edict issued at Nantes in 1598, which was declared to be perpetual and irrevocable; but the perpetuity and irrevocability of which was reduced to a short existence of not quite eighty-five years. By that edict liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their religion were granted to the Protestants; many churches were ceded to them in all parts of France; they had judges of their own persuasion, and free access to all places of honour and dignity; and great sums of money to pay off their troops. A hundred places were given to them, as pledges of their future security, besides funds for the maintenance of their ministers and of their garrisons. During the reign of Louis XIII. they were again molested; again they took up arms, but were worsted, and ultimately were compelled to surrender all their strongholds. Thenceforth they were at the mercy of the sovereign and his ministers; the free exercise of their religion, it is true, was promised to them, and neither Cardinal Richelieu, nor his successor Cardinal Mazarine, molested them. As soon, however, as Louis XIV. abandoned a life of voluptuousness and dissipation, in order to give himself up to devotion, instigated by the Jesuits and by Madame Maintenon, he renewed the persecution of his Protestant subjects; and fire and the sword were again employed to bring them back into the bosom of the Romish Church. In 1681, Louis deprived them of most of their civil rights: and after the decease of the wise Colbert, who had constantly opposed violent measures, Louis gave himself up entirely to the counsels of his minister Louvois, the Chancellor Le Tellier, and the Jesuit Lachaise. In prosecution of his long cherished design of crushing the Protestants, the king first excluded them from his household, and from all other offices of honour and profit. Next, he abolished all the courts of justice which had been created in pursuance of the edict of Nantes; then, laws were enacted, which forbade any one to abjure the Romish religion, and, under very severe penalties, prohibited the Protestants, who had been induced to embrace Popery, from returning to their former faith. Children, of seven years of age,

were permitted to renounce the faith of their ancestors—colleges were suppressed and churches were shut up. Sometimes the Protestants were forbidden to print books, and sometimes they were forcibly deprived of such as they had printed. Soldiers were quartered in all the provinces almost at the same time, and chiefly dragoons. Terror and dread marched before them; and all France was informed that the king would no longer suffer any Huguenots to remain in his dominions, and that they *must* resolve to change their religion. These booted apostles commenced their military executions in the province of Bearu; whence gradually they were dispersed throughout France, not excepting Paris itself. In the first instance, the intendants were commanded to summon the Protestant inhabitants of cities and commonalties, who were informed that it was the king's pleasure they should become catholics; and that if they did not do so freely, they should be compelled by force. In vain did the defenceless Protestants reply, that they were ready to sacrifice their estates and lives to the king; but that, their consciences being God's, they could not thus dispose of them. The gates and avenues of the cities were immediately seized by the dragoons, who often came, sword in hand, exclaiming, "Kill! kill! or else be Catholics." They were quartered upon the reformed, with a strict charge to allow none to depart out of their houses, or to conceal any portion of their effects, under the severest penalties. The first days were spent in consuming all the provisions which the house afforded, and in plundering the Protestants of every article of value; selling to the Papists of the place and neighbourhood whatever goods could be turned into money. Next they assailed the persons of their victims, upon whom they inflicted every refinement of cruelty, in order to compel them to abjure their religion. Men and women were hung by the feet to the roofs or ceilings of chambers, or to chimney-hooks, and were smoked with wisps of wet hay, until they were no longer able to endure the torture; and when they were taken down, they were immediately suspended again, unless they would sign their abjuration. Others were thrown upon great fires, from which they were not removed until they were half roasted. Others again had ropes tied under their arms, and were repeatedly plunged into wells, from which they were not drawn up until they promised to change their religion. Others were bound like criminals, previously to being put to the question on the rack; and in this posture wine was poured down their throats with a funnel, until, being deprived of their reason, they consented to become Papists. Others were stripped naked, and, after enduring various indignities, pins were stuck into

them from the head to the feet. They were cut with pen-knives: sometimes they were dragged by the nose with hot pincers around the room, until they promised to abjure, or until their piercing cries constrained their tormentors to let them go. They were beaten with staves; and, bruised as they were, they were dragged to the churches, where their forced presence was deemed to be an abjuration. Others were forcibly kept awake for seven or eight days together, and kettles were inverted over their heads, on which they made continual noise until their victims became delirious. Drums were kept beating without intermission for weeks together around the beds of those who were confined to them by fevers or other diseases, till they lost their senses. In some places, fathers and husbands were tied to bed-posts, while their daughters and wives were ravished before their eyes; and in other places rapes were publicly permitted for hours together. Of some, the feet were burnt, and the nails were plucked off the feet and hands of others; men and women were inflated with bellows till they were ready to burst.

If, after this horrid treatment, this "holy severity" of the Romish Church, "and the holy delicacy of her sentiments" (as Bossuet\* audaciously termed her sanguinary intolerance), there yet were any who refused to abjure, they were imprisoned in dark and noisome dungeons, where every sort of inhumanity was inflicted upon them. In the meantime, their houses were demolished, their estates laid waste, their woods cut down, and their wives and children were seized and imprisoned in monasteries. When all the provisions in a house were consumed by the soldiers, the tenants of the owner's lands were required to furnish them with subsistence; and, in order to reimburse them, the estates were sold, and the farmers put in possession thereof. If any endeavoured to save themselves by flight, they were pursued and hunted in fields and woods, and shot at like wild beasts. Neither rank nor quality, neither age nor sex, was spared.

While the dragoons were thus ravaging the provinces, spreading terror and desolation everywhere, orders were sent to the frontier towns and sea-ports to guard well all the passes, and stop all who should attempt to escape; so that it was next to impossible they could save themselves by flight. No one was allowed to pass unless he produced a certificate from his bishop or curate that he was a catholic. All foreign vessels lying in the ports were searched; the coasts, bridges, passages to rivers,

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\* *Hist. des Variations*, Sixième Avertissement, Œuvres. tom. v. p. 155 et seq. Paris, 1740, 4to,

ferries, and highways were strictly guarded both night and day. Attempts were also made to seize and carry away some who had made their escape into foreign countries.\*

At length, on the 18th of October, 1685, Louis revoked the "irrevocable" and "perpetual" edict of Nantes, which he had solemnly confirmed when he came of age. By the edict of revocation, all the concessions which had been made to the Protestants were withdrawn; their churches were demolished, and the exercise of their religion was forbidden, even in private, on penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of property. Their ministers, who refused to embrace Popery, were banished; their schools were suppressed; and all children who should thereafter be born of Protestant parents were to be baptized and educated in the Romish faith; and no emigration or transfer of property, by lay persons, was to be made, under penalty of imprisonment in the galleys for the men, and of being confined in convents in the case of women. But, notwithstanding the frontiers were guarded, in order to prevent the victims of Popish cruelty from emigrating, both before and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, multitudes happily succeeded in effecting their escape; and it is computed that more than half a million of French Protestants found hospitable asylums in England, Switzerland, Holland, and Germany.

"In the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Louis XIV. found the limits of his power. It was a superfluous measure, inasmuch as the persecution had preceded the enactment. It failed of converting the steadfast; and supplementary decrees were published in rapid succession, some of which contained provisions so monstrous as to render execution impracticable. Among others, an edict which authorized the separation of all children from Protestant parents: the space requisite for their reception, and the expense attendant on their maintenance, rendered the edict a dead letter.

"There were some very severe enactments to deter preachers from attempting to return to France. The penalty of death was awarded to any minister who should be found in the kingdom: all persons receiving or assisting them were to be sent, the men to the galleys for life, the women to be shaved and imprisoned, with confiscation of property in either case. A reward of five thousand five hundred livres was promised to any one giving information by which a minister could be arrested; and the penalty of death for any one discovered preaching or exercising other worship than the Roman Catholic. In executing this law Basville was dreadfully severe. Twenty Protestants were soon after

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\* "An Account of the Persecutions and Oppressions of the Protestants in France." Printed in the year 1686." 4to., pp. 19-21, 23,

put to death at Languedoc ; and an active pursuit was set on foot for seizing the fugitive ministers, who defied the haughty monarch's edicts, and returned clandestinely among their flocks.

"The readiness with which they were everywhere received, supported, and warned of danger, added to the ingenuity of their disguises, enabled them to baffle the vigilance of the government. Sometimes they passed as pilgrims, or dealers in images and rosaries ; sometimes as soldiers. In all cases they were joyfully hailed by their brethren, and crowds attended their preaching in caverns and secret places. The worship of the desert became very general, notwithstanding the dangers to which it was exposed ; and when the Protestants were prevented by the presence of troops from acting as they would, they still refused to attend mass, or to send their children to the Catholic schools, and disregarded every practice commanded by the Church of Rome.

"Emigration continued, in defiance of the laws for preventing it, and in spite of the encouragement given to impede the departure of fugitives, whose clothes and other effects were distributed among the captors. There were repeated instances of converts returning to the faith they had consented to abjure when pressed by violence ; others at the point of death would spurn the Romish sacraments. These symptoms caused much alarm among the zealots, who obtained an edict by which all those who refused the sacraments during their illness should after their death be drawn upon hurdles ; and, in the event of their recovery, the men were condemned to the galleys for life, the women to confinement, with confiscation of property.

"In pursuance of this edict, the troops received orders, in some provinces, to ascertain whether the new converts were regular in their attendance at mass, and if they constantly practised the duties enjoined by the Romish Church. The king perceived that this advisers had persuaded him virtually to establish an inquisition ; and the orders were revoked, although secretly, lest obstinate Protestants might infer from the circumstance a change in his own principles. He had been assured that the edict was merely a threat to complete the general conversion ; but in many towns the disgusting scene of its literal execution took place. Priests, attended by magistrates, would beset a dying man ; and, unless he yielded to their invitations, his remains were no sooner cold than the populace was regaled with the barbarous spectacle decreed by the edict." (*Browning's History*, pp. 251, 252).

Never was oppression more cruel than that endured by the Huguenots, who ventured at all hazards to remain in France. When the emissaries of Rome failed in their efforts to induce any to enter the pale of the Romish Church, the magistrates published a royal order, commanding all his subjects to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. Then the booted missionaries, the dragoons, were sent ; and all who were not overcome by them, were either confined in dungeons, from which very few were liberated, or were sent to the galleys, where their companions were the most desperate villains of France, who were

sent thither for their crimes. One of the most illustrious of the victims of Papal cruelty on board the galleys was M. de Marolles, the narrative of whose sufferings for his adherence to the Gospel of Christ has often been printed; and the sufferings of other Protestants who were confined on board the galleys have been graphically described by Mons. Jean Bion, a priest of the Romish Church, and chaplain of the galley *La Superbe*; who, having made his escape to England, abjured Popery, declaring that his opening his eyes to Gospel truth was occasioned principally by the scenes he had witnessed in performing the duties of his office among the galley-slaves. He published his narrative in French in 1708, and an English edition of it appeared in 1712, in France.\* Both publications are now of rare occurrence. The following quotations are made from the English edition:—

“The barbarities committed in those horrid machines exceeded all that can possibly be imagined; the ingenuity of the famous *Sicilian* tyrant in inventing torments deserves no longer to be proverbial, being far excelled in this pernicious art by the modern enemies of religion and liberty.” (p. 8).

After having given an account of the hardened wickedness and shocking blasphemies of the worst sort of criminals on board the galleys, he adds—

“’Tis certain, that how terrible and hard soever the usage of such may be in the galleys, yet it is too mild for them; for, in spite of all the misery they endure, they are guilty of crimes too abominable to be here related; over which we shall draw a veil, and go on to the Protestants, who are there purely because they chose rather to *obey God than man*, and were not willing to exchange their souls for the gain of the world. It is not the least aggravating circumstance of their misery to be condemned to such hellish company, for they who have so great a value for the truth of religion, as to prefer it to their worldly interest, must be supposed to be endowed with too much virtue not to be in pain, and under concern for the open breach of its rules, and unworthiness of its professors.

“The Protestants now in the galleys have been condemned thither at several times; the first were put in after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The term prefixed for the fatal choice of either abjuring their religion, or leaving the kingdom, was a fortnight, and that upon pain of being condemned to the galleys: but this liberty, by many base

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\* “Relation des Tourmens qu’ on fait souffrir aux Protestans, qui sont sur les galères de France. Faite par Jean Bion, c’ydevant prêtre et curé d’ Ursy, ancien aumonier de la galère nommée *La Superbe*. à Londres: chez Henry Ribotteau, Libraire François, dans le Strand, 1708.” Small 8vo.

“An Account of the Torments which the French Protestants endure aboard the Gallies. By John Bion, sometime priest and curate of the parish of Ursy, in the province of Burgundy, and chaplain to the *Superbe* galley, in the French service. London: printed for J. Downing, in Bartholomew-close, 1712.” 8vo.

artifices and unjust methods, was rendered useless and of none effect ; for there were often secret orders, by the contrivance of the clergy, to prevent their embarking and hinder the selling of their substance ; their debtors were absolved by their confessors when they denied a debt ; children were forced from their fathers' and mothers' arms, in hopes that the tenderness of the parent might prevail over the zeal of the Christian. They indeed were not massacred as in *Herod's* time, but the blood of their fathers was mingled with their tears ; for many ministers, who had zeal and constancy enough to brave the severest punishments, were broken alive upon wheels without mercy, whenever surprised in discharging the duties of their function. The registers and courts of justice where the sentences were pronounced against them are recorded, and the executioners of them are lasting monuments of the bloody temper and fury of Popery.

"The laity were forbid, on pain of the galleys, to leave the kingdom on any pretence whatever ; but, what posterity will scarce believe, the Protestants, of all sexes, ages, and conditions, used to fly through deserts and wild impracticable ways ; committing their lives to the mercy of the seas, and running innumerable hazards, to avoid either idolatry or martyrdom. Some escaped very happily, in spite of the vigilance of the dragoons and bailiffs, but a great many fell into their hands, whereby the prisons were filled with confessors. But the saddest spectacle of all was to see two hundred men at a time, chained together going to the galleys, and above one hundred of that number Protestants ; and what was barbarous and unjust to the last degree was, that they were obliged, when there, on pain of *bastinado*, to bow before the host, and to hear mass ; and yet that was the only crime for which they had been condemned thither. For suppose they were in the wrong, in obstinately refusing to change their religion, the galleys were the punishment ; why, then, were they required to do that which had been the cause of their condemnation ? Especially since there is a law in *France* that positively forbids a double punishment for one and the same fault, viz., (*Non bis punitur in idem.*) But in *France*, properly speaking, there is no law, where the king's commands are absolute and peremptory : and I have seen a general *bastinado* on that account, which I shall describe in its proper place. 'Tis certain, that though there was at first a very great number of Protestants condemned to the galleys, the *bastinado* and other torments hath destroyed above three parts of four." (pp. 43-45).

M. Bion then describes the cruel labour at the oar, to which the unhappy Protestants were condemned, many of them unfitted for hard labour by the habits of life attendant on their previous rank and fortune, some by those of the clerical profession, all by the weak and exhausted state of their bodies, arising from mental suffering, and from the most barbarous privations and indignities to which they were exposed. He also gives an account of the dark and noisome dungeon on board the galley assigned to the sick as their hospital, into which the light

of heaven never entered, while filth the most disgusting and sickening was left to accumulate there, and the sick galley-slave was laid near his dying, and sometimes dead companion. These and other painful details we omit, that we may present to our readers M. Bion's account of a "general bastinado," at which he was present, as it was not the least instrument of his conversion; and to which punishment Protestants on board the galleys, both ministers and laymen, were subjected, because they would not worship a wafer-god—the host:—

"In the year 1703, several Protestants out of Languedoc and the Cevennes were put on board our galley. They were narrowly watched and observed, and I was mightily surprised on Sunday morning, after saying mass on the *bancasse*, a table so placed that all the galley may see the priest when he elevates the host, to hear the *comite*\* say, he was going to give the Huguenots the bastinado because they did not kneel nor show any respect to the mysteries of the mass, and that he was going to acquaint the captain therewith. The very name of bastinado terrified me; and though I had never seen this dreadful execution, I begged the *comite* to forbear till the next Sunday, that in the meantime I would endeavour to convince them of what I then thought their duty and mine own. Accordingly I used all the means I could possibly think of to that effect, sometimes making use of fair means, giving them victuals and doing them other good offices; sometimes using threats, and representing the torments that were designed them, and often urging the king's command, and quoting the passage of St. Paul, that 'he who resists the higher power, resists God.' I had not at that time any design to oblige them to do anything against their consciences; I must confess that what I did at that time chiefly proceeded from a motive of pity and tenderness. This was the cause of my zeal, which had been more fatal to them had not God endued them with resolution and virtue sufficient to bear up against my arguments, and the terrible execution they had in view. I could not but admire at once both the modesty of their answers and greatness of their courage: 'The king (say they) is indeed master of our bodies, but not of our consciences.' But at last the dreadful day being come, the *comite* narrowly observed them to see the fruit of my labours; there were only two out of twenty that bowed their knee to Baal—the rest generously refused it, and were accordingly, by the captain's command, served in the manner following.

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"In order to the execution, every man's chains were taken off, and they were put into the hands of four Turks, who stripped them stark naked, and stretching them upon the *coursier*† there they are so held that they cannot so much as stir, during which time there is a horrid silence throughout the whole galley; and it is so cruel a scene, that the most profligate,

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\* A officer similar to the boatswain of a ship.—Ed.

† A large gun so called, carrying a thirty-six pound ball.—Ed.



obdurate wretches cannot bear the sight, but are forced to turn away their eyes. The victim thus prepared, the Turk pitched upon to be the executioner, with a tough cudgel or knotty rope's-end, unmercifully beats the poor wretch, and that too the more willingly, because he thinks that it is acceptable to his prophet Mahomet. But the most barbarous of all is, that after the skin is flead off their bones, the only balsam they apply to their wounds is a mixture of vinegar and salt. After this they are thrown into the hospital already described. I went thither after the execution, and could not refrain from tears at the sight of so much barbarity. They quickly perceived it, and though scarce able to speak through pain and weakness, they thanked me for the compassion I expressed and the kindness I had already shown them. I went with a design to administer some comfort, but I was glad to find them less moved than I was myself. It was wonderful to see with what true Christian patience and constancy they bore their torments; in the extremity of their pain never expressing anything like rage, but calling upon Almighty God and imploring his assistance. I visited them day by day, and as often as I did, my conscience upbraided me for persisting so long in a religion whose capital errors I long before perceived, and, above all, that inspired so much cruelty—a temper directly opposite to the spirit of Christianity. At last their wounds, like so many mouths preaching to me, made me sensible of my error, and experimentally taught me the excellency of the Protestant religion.

“But it is high time to conclude, and draw a curtain over this horrid scene, which presents us with none but ghastly sights and transactions full of barbarity and injustice, but which all show how false it is, what they pretend in France for detaining the Protestants in the galleys—viz., that they do not suffer there upon a religious but a civil account, being condemned for rebellion and disobedience. The punishments inflicted on them when they refuse to adore the host, the rewards and advantages offered them on their compliance in that particular, are a sufficient argument against them, there being no such offers made to such as are condemned for crimes. It shows the world also the almost incredible barbarity used against the French Protestants, and at the same time sets off in a most glorious manner their virtue, constancy, and zeal for their holy religion.” (*Ibid*, pp. 49-52).

While the Protestant victims of Popish cruelty were thus barbarously treated, tranquillity was not entirely established in France, notwithstanding the adulatory addresses of the Romish clergy who congratulated Louis on the extirpation of heresy. Although emigrations and forced conversions had thinned the numbers of the Protestants, yet they were numerous in the provinces between the rivers Rhone and Garonne; and the mountains of the Cevennes afforded them an intrenchment, behind which they maintained, with various success, an arduous conflict with the military force of France, known in history as “the war of the Camisards.” Of this war Mr. Browning has given the most compact narrative we have ever read, and which will abun-

dantly repay the trouble of perusal. At the end of twenty years, the ministers of Louis were compelled to enter into negotiations with the Camisards; which, however, did not entirely re-establish tranquillity. In 1715, Louis XIV. departed this life, to give an account of the wholesale murders which had been perpetrated under the sanction of his authority. As his successor, Louis XV., was a mere child, the Duke of Orleans was appointed regent. During his administration a different policy was followed. His reputation for impiety was an earnest that persecutions on account of heterodox opinions would cease; but whatever may have been his real opinion in their favour, he did nothing to improve their condition.

"Yet (says Mr. Browning), by comparison, they were in a happy state: emigration in consequence ceased, and although no positive favour could be expected, they were free from apprehensions of fresh persecution.

"The Duke of Orleans was succeeded in the direction of affairs by the Duke of Bourbon, who had the weakness to imagine he could immortalize his administration by renewing the severities of Louis XIV.; a new persecution was in consequence commenced by an absurd and odious edict, more cruel than that of revocation. Children were torn from their parents to be educated in the Romish religion; death was again decreed against pastors, confiscation against relapsed converts, and every kind of oppression endured in the late reign was renewed; and this disgraceful measure has been styled a masterpiece of Christian policy.

"There was some abatement of the horrors of persecution while Cardinal Fleury was prime minister; yet the system did not terminate for many years; and, to judge from the writings of more than one prelate, an unabated desire existed to be freed from the presence of heretics. A memorial from the clergy in April, 1745, declared there was no hope of their conversion, and that there was rising up a generation of Protestants more obstinate and headstrong than their fathers. 'They may protest fidelity, and publish that the spirit which pervades their assemblies is free from revolt and insurrection; but they will be good subjects no farther than fear constrains them.'

"Monclus, bishop of Alais, in reply to an intendant who was a friend to tolerance, thus writes: 'The magistrates have relaxed the severity of the ordinances, and thus caused all the evils of which the state has to complain.' Chabannes, bishop of Agen, about the same time published a letter, in which he laments the incurable obstinacy of the heretics, and recommends that the state should be freed from them by permitting their departure.

"The bishop had heard indirectly that the edict of Nantes was to be re-enacted: this horrified his intolerant soul, and he composed a tract which is no credit to the Romish party. He commences by praising the piety of Louis XIV., who made the greatest sacrifices at the peace of Ryswick, rather than listen to any proposal in favour of

the Protestants. 'He renounced the fruit of his victories, purchased with so much blood and toil; he even acknowledged the usurper of England, notwithstanding the ties which bound him to the dispossessed king—he granted all, he yielded all; he surrendered everything except the return of the heretics.' The bishop then argues, that what Louis XIV. refused, being in the greatest difficulty, his successor cannot yield in the midst of prosperity.

"This correspondence arose out of the inconvenience perpetually springing up respecting marriage and baptism among the Protestants—a subject which renders it necessary to revert to an earlier period. Ever since the edict of revocation the jurisprudence had assumed that there were no Protestants in France; while edict rapidly followed edict, inflicting penalties upon Protestants and new converts leaving the kingdom. The Church of Rome, declaring marriage a sacrament, could not administer that rite to any who denied its ecclesiastical authority; and, in consequence, the new converts were called upon to give proof of Roman Catholicism, before their marriages could be celebrated. The Huguenots sought their proscribed pastors in the deserts and forests. When the benediction of a minister could not be obtained, the blessing was pronounced by aged heads of families, awaiting the occasion of a pastor's arrival; and whenever it was known that a minister was in the country, multitudes hastened to meet him, to have a religious sanction conferred on their unions, to present their children for baptism, and to receive the sacrament of communion.

"As the assemblies in the desert consisted of many thousand persons, a fresh persecution occurred for the purpose of effecting their suppression. In a report addressed to the secretary of state the severities are not concealed. In Languedoc twenty-eight persons, and in Guyenne forty-five, were condemned to the galleys, and attached to the chain of *forçats*, for nothing else than attending these meetings for worship. In Normandy, the goods of those who had not allowed their children to be baptized by the *curé* were sold without any form of procedure. These iniquities occurred in 1746; and in 1752 an attempt to re-baptize by force the children of Protestants caused such resistance at Lédignan, in the diocese of Nîmes, that the measure was relinquished." (*Browning's History*, pp. 272, 273).

The punishment of death was denounced and inflicted upon all ministers who fell into the power of government. M. Coquerel has given a list of upwards of four hundred Protestant confessors who were imprisoned in the galleys; and another of twenty-five ministers who were put to death between the years 1686 and 1762. We are tempted to present to our readers notices of two or three of these martyrdoms for the faith of the Gospel.

Louis Rang, a young minister, who was only twenty-six years of age, was arrested at Livron in the Diois (the country of Die, forming the present department of La Drôme), and thrown into prison at Valence, where he was treated with great severity.

On being examined at Grenoble by M. Chais, sub-delegate or deputy of the intendant, he acknowledged that he was a minister, and discharged the duties of his office. He was condemned to death at Grenoble, March 2, 1745. In vain was his life offered to him, on condition of changing his religion. He replied, that he was inviolably attached to his faith, and rejected every attempt that was made to seduce him from it. His sentence was, that he should be hanged at the town of Die, and that his head should be cut off and exposed on a stake in the highway, before the little inn at Livron, where he had been apprehended. From Grenoble he was conducted to Valence, and thence successively to the town of Crest, and finally to Die. At Crest, Louis Rang requested permission to shave himself and comb his hair; because (as he said) that air of neatness seemed necessary to him, in order that the people might see the calmness of his countenance, and the tranquillity with which he underwent an unjust capital punishment. At Die, at the place of execution, he repeatedly sung the following verse of the French metrical translation of Psalm cxviii. 24 :—

“ La voici l’ heureuse journée  
Qui répond à notre désir ;  
Louons Dieu qui nous l’ a donnée,  
Faisons en tout notre plaisir.”

He made several attempts to speak to the people, but his voice was constantly drowned by the beating of drums. Without listening to the exhortations of the two Jesuits who attended him, his eyes being fixed towards heaven, his countenance indicated only the most resigned and fervent piety. He knelt down at the foot of the ladder, prayed, and courageously ascended it. As soon as he was dead, the executioner severed his head from his body, in order that it might be exposed on a stake at Livron. His lifeless remains were treated in a most outrageous and unworthy manner by the base populace, without any interruption on the part of the commandant of the district or of the grand vicar of the bishop, both of whom were present ! Finally, the remains of this martyr were interred by the generous and Christian care of a respectable lady of the Romish communion.\*

Nine months after the death of Louis Rang (in December, 1745), Matthew Desubas, a young preacher, was arrested, and conducted by a body of soldiers to Vernoux, in the Vivarais. Some of his flock, on learning his apprehension, assembled on the road, unarmed, to implore his liberation. A discharge of musquetry was the reply to their supplications—when six per-

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\* Coquerel “ *Hist. des Eglises du Désert.*” tom. i., pp. 333-335.

sons were killed and four made prisoners. At Vernoux crowds arrived to intercede for their beloved pastor's life. They also were fired upon: thirty-six were killed, and two hundred were wounded, the greater part mortally. The feelings excited by this wanton massacre might have produced serious consequences, as the majority of the population was Protestant, and the escort not very strong; but the pastors exerted themselves in persuading the people to abstain from violence. Desubas was conveyed to Montpellier, where he was condemned to death,\* and suffered on the 1st of February, 1746. The execution of his sentence was attended with inhumanity. Piercing as the cold was, the martyr was commanded to walk to the place of execution, having his legs naked, only socks on his feet, and a thin linen waistcoat without sleeves. All his papers and books were burnt before him at the foot of the gallows. The incessant rolling of drums, according to the barbarous custom of France at that time, prevented the spectators from hearing a word which he uttered. Just before he was executed, a crucifix was offered to him to kiss, but he meekly turned it aside, and expired with his eyes directed heavenward. His conversation with those who visited him in prison, and his calm deportment at the time of his martyrdom, excited much commiseration, even among the Papists.†

The last Protestant pastor who suffered death on account of his religion was Francis Rochette; he was executed at Toulouse, in 1762, with three brothers named Grenier, who had endeavoured to rescue him from captivity. As soon as their sentence was announced to them in prison, four of the principal curates of the town presented themselves, and urged the captives to embrace the Romish faith. Their efforts were useless. M. Rochette, while he thanked them for their zeal, besought them to let him die in peace. He afterwards exhorted his companions in suffering. About the middle of the day the curés left the courageous martyrs for a short time; who employed the interval in prayer, in praising God, and exhorting each other to constancy. Their meek yet firm demeanour excited the sympathy and the tears of the gaoler and the guards. At one o'clock in the afternoon the ecclesiastics returned to the charge. Again

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\* "His deportment made such an impression upon the intendant himself, that when he condemned him to be hanged, he could not refrain from tears, and said that 'he was grieved to pronounce sentence of death against a man of so much merit; but that he was forced to it by the king's declarations.' To which gracious speech M. Desubas returned a proper answer." (*Popery always the Same*, p. 50).

† Coquerel, "*Hist. des Eglises du Désert.*" tom. i., pp. 377-386. "*Popery always the Same*," pp. 48-51.

did Rochette and his companions in tribulation entreat them to withdraw. One of the curates exclaimed—"But it is for your salvation that we are here." "If you were at Geneva (replied the youngest Grenier), at the point of death upon your bed (for there they put no one to death on account of religion), would you like four ministers to come and persecute you to the very last breath, under the pretext of zeal? Then do not do to others what you would not wish them to do to yourself." This striking remark, however, did not prevent the ecclesiastics from continuing to pester them with their exhortations, and from presenting the crucifix to them. This conduct drew from the eldest of the brothers the following severe words—"Speak to us of Him who died for our sins and rose again for our justification, and we are ready to listen; but do not introduce your superstitions." At two o'clock the funeral procession advanced towards St. Stephen's Gate: a numerous guard escorted the chariot in which were the three brothers and their minister, still attended by the four ecclesiastics. On arriving in front of the cathedral, M. Rochette suspected that they would force them to enter it and sign an abjuration. He therefore refused to alight, but they compelled him. Then the priests and the royal commissioner told him, that it was to make an *amende honorable*, and to ask pardon of God, of the king, and of justice, for having disobeyed the edicts. Rochette replied—"You see that I was not quite mistaken: this would be to make abjuration." Then kneeling down he said—"I ask pardon of God for all my sins, and I firmly believe that I am washed by the blood of Christ, who redeemed us with a great price. I have no pardon to ask of the king. I have always honoured him as the anointed of the Lord. I have ever loved him as the father of the country. I have ever been a good and faithful subject, of which my judges appeared to be thoroughly convinced. I have ever preached to my flock patience, obedience, and submission; and my sermons, which are in their hands, are a summary of these words—'*Fear God; honour the King.*' If I have violated his laws relating to religious assemblies, it is because God commanded me so to do. As to justice, I have not offended it—and I beseech God to pardon my judges." The priests finding it impossible to extort any acknowledgment from him, M. Rochette and his companions in martyrdom were finally conducted to the place of execution, where an immense body of spectators awaited them. To the very last moment he displayed a martyr's constancy: he was hanged, and the three brothers in succession were beheaded. They were equally firm. After the two eldest had suffered, while the youngest was laying his head on the bloody block,

around which lay the corpses of his brothers, the executioner urged him to escape their fate by abjuring. "Do your duty," replied the young man, with a firm and tranquil air and voice. In a moment he ceased to exist. The immense multitude silently dispersed, astonished, for the first time, to find that the laws were so barbarous, and that the martyrs of the desert were so heroic.\*

In 1765 the Romish clergy of France made an effort to resist the tendency towards toleration, which was then beginning to be felt, by a remonstrance to the king :—

"It is in vain (that body declares) that all public worship, other than the Catholic, is forbidden in your dominions. In contempt of the wisest laws, the Protestants have seditious meetings on every side. Their ministers preach heresy and administer the Supper; and we have the pain of beholding altar raised against altar, and the pulpit of pestilence opposing that of truth. If the law which revoked the edict of Nantes—if your declaration of 1724 had been strictly observed, we venture to say there would be no more Calvinists in France. Consider the effects of a tolerance which may become cruel by its results. Restore, sire! restore to the laws all their vigour—to religion its splendour. Let the solemn renewal of your declaration of 1724, the fruit of your wisdom and piety, be the happy result of our remonstrance.' Similar representations were made by the clergy in 1770 and 1772 against the Protestant assemblies. The hostility shown to this meagre, half toleration has inflicted a permanent evil on France. Protestantism was suppressed to the extent of administrative power; but as no enactments could enforce sincere respect for the victorious Church of Rome, a spread of irreligion has been the consequence. Ardent Huguenots defied authority and braved martyrdom; while the indifferent, although they declared themselves converted, were unable to submit their conscience to Papal tyranny, and became the leaders and teachers of the Encyclopædist school.

"The philosophic party, in its hatred of the clergy, co-operated with the enlightened members of the educated classes in producing a mitigation of the code under which the Huguenots groaned; and the writings of Caveyrac and the Abbé L'Enfant, in favour of bigotry, were received with general contempt. Louis XVI. gave an edict in 1787, which improved the condition of Protestants in a small degree. This ill-fated king, although remarkable for humane feelings, was still influenced by education, as well as by respect for the opinions and policy of his immediate predecessors; and, without the exertions of the admirable Lamoignon Malesherbes, it is doubtful whether this edict would have been obtained. That eminent man was indefatigable in the council and by his writings. 'It is the least (he observed on one occasion) that I can do to repair, in the eyes of the Protestants, all the harm which M. de Basville, my uncle, did to them in Languedoc.'

"The concessions were no more than what could not be with safety withheld; and the terms of the edict expressly state 'that the non-

\* Coquerel, "*Hist. des Eglises du Désert*," tom. ii. pp. 268-290.

Catholics cannot claim under its provisions more than the law of nature forbids being refused.' In short, it only conferred the means of recording the civil existence of the Huguenots ; nothing like a privilege was granted ; and an express stipulation was made to prevent any Protestant minister from signing certificates establishing the birth, marriage, or decease of one of his flock. The religious assemblies were no longer the object of such vigilant pursuit ; but the Protestant worship existed by sufferance, rather than by permission.

"The boon was trivial, yet the edict was opposed in its progress, and the cause of fanaticism found a zealous defender in M. D'Epresmenil, who resisted to the last, and called upon the magistrates to avoid 'crucifying the Lord anew' by the sanction of such a sacrilegious measure. It may indeed be doubted whether any concession would have been made if the different parliaments had not, on several occasions, given decrees in favour of the Protestants." (*Browning's History*, p. 274).

M. Coquerel has inserted, from authentic documents, various interesting particulars relative to the organization of the churches of the desert, chiefly through the persevering efforts of two of their pastors—M. Antoine Court and M. Paul Rabant. For these details we must refer to his very interesting volumes ; but we cannot withhold from our readers the following eloquent and touching "Prayer for believers, who read together the word of God and a sermon, but who are deprived of the public exercise of their religion :"—

"Great God, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, but who hast promised to be present wherever two or three are met together in thy name, behold us assembled in this house, to offer unto thee our religious worship, to adore thy greatness, and to implore thy compassion. We groan in secret, because we are deprived of our public exercises, and no longer hear in our temples the voices of thy servants. But we murmur not at thy providence. We acknowledge that thou mightest justly overwhelm us by thy severest judgments, therefore we wonder at thy goodness amidst thy chastisements : but we beseech thee to have pity on us. We are without a temple : but do thou fill this house with thy glorious presence. We are without a pastor : but do thou thyself be our pastor. Teach us the truths of thy Gospel. We are about to read and meditate upon thy word. Impress it upon our hearts ! Grant that we may therein learn to know thee, what thou art, and what we are ; what thou hast done for our salvation, and what we ought to do for thy service ; the virtues which are well-pleasing to thee, and the vices which thou dost prohibit ; the punishments which thou hast denounced against the impenitent, the lukewarm, the cowardly, and the profane, and the glorious rewards which thou dost promise to those who continue faithful unto thee. Grant that we may depart from this pious exercise more holy, more zealous for thy glory and for thy truth, more weaned from the world, and more religious observers



of thy commandments. Hear us for thy Son's sake." (*Coquerel, Hist. des Eglises du Désert*, tom. i. pp. 97, 98).

The French Revolution at length restored the Protestants to their civil and religious rights. In 1814 and 1815, after the restoration of Louis XVIII., some fanatical Papists led the Protestants to dread a return of the days of persecution. A blind populace was excited against the Protestants, who were falsely accused of being too much attached to the throne of the deposed usurper, Buonaparte. Fanaticism once more sharpened its daggers at Nismes and in the surrounding country, where the Protestants, not without reason, apprehended the return of a second St. Bartholomew. The circumstances connected with this transaction are somewhat minutely detailed by Mr. Browning, to whose narrative our readers are necessarily referred. Suffice it to state, that the revolution of 1830, which placed Louis Philippe upon the throne of France, secured to the Protestants their religious liberties—at least, on paper. Nevertheless, they are still subjected to various annoyances, and attempts have been repeatedly made to abridge their liberties. Their dead have been disinterred.\* So lately as the 27th of October, 1843, baptism

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\* "The following disgraceful circumstance has been related in the Paris journals, extracted from the *Phare de la Rochelle*. It will be found at length in the *Propagateur* of 30th June, 1838.

"A Protestant lady, named Fleury, died at the village of Pont-l'Abbé (Charente-Inferieure), and was interred on the 2nd of June by the Protestant pastor of Marennnes. As cemeteries are communal property, and under the control of the mayor, independent of the clergy, the deceased was buried in the only burial-ground, which however the priests, according to their custom, consider a domain of the Church. The vicar had protested against the sepulture; and in the night of the 7th he had the corpse disinterred. He then wrote the following record of his own disgrace:—

"A MONS. CAMBON, *Pasteur à Marennnes*.

"Monsieur, le bel œuvre que celui dont vous êtes venu vous illustrer à Pont-l'Abbé, la veille du saint jour de la Pentecôte. Vous avez grand sujet de vous en glorifier, la mémoire en restera longtemps dans les cœurs. Le corps de M<sup>me</sup>. Fleury vient enfin d'être exhumé du lieu où, contre mon droit et mon opposition, vous l'aviez fait déposer. Cette opération s'est terminée cette nuit entre minuit et une heure.

"Courage, Monsieur! encore quelques actes de cette nature, et vous rendrez de plus en plus recommandable votre ministère, déjà si accrédité par la solidité de vos doctrines. Le repos dont vous assurez le corps de vos fidèles après leur mort est une garantie du repos dont vous pouvez assurer leur âme.

"Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de toute la considération que vous avez su m'inspirer.

"LABRO, *Desservant de Pont-l'Abbé*.

"Pont-l'Abbé, le 8 Juin, 1838."

"This strange letter obtained a reply from the Protestant pastor, the mildness of which presented a striking contrast to the unchristian boastings of the priest. He congratulated himself that he was not minister of a religion which pursues men even in their grave, and would deprive their mortal remains of the rest they deny to their souls; and concluded by exhorting the vicar to enquire seriously, and as in the presence of his Maker, whether his conduct and senti-

was *forcibly* administered to a paralytic child, of eight years of age, by the chaplain of the Hospital d' Enfant Jesus, at Paris, notwithstanding the boy had repeatedly declared his wish and intention of adhering to the Protestant religion, which is that of his parents, who further signed a written declaration and protest that the pretended conversion of their son to Popery was contrary to their intentions, and against their consent.\* In fact, although the charter declares that all religions are placed upon an equal footing in France, yet the Romish Church there "has managed (we quote a few sentences from our last volume, p. 345) to turn that part of the charter, which was designed to secure religious liberty, into an intolerant edict, and has boldly told Louis Philippe, by the mouth of the Archbishop of Paris, that pledges have been given '*at the foot of the altar of Mary,*' of the speedy restoration of that time, when 'all Frenchmen SHALL be united in the bonds of one faith,' and Romanism shall be avenged upon Protestantism."

In the preceding declaration of the Archbishop of Paris the true spirit of Popery spoke out; and it furnishes a practical refutation of the assertion so often made by our modern pseudo-liberalists, that Popery is changed. Popery changed! As soon may the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots, or the hyæna its ferocious nature. "An infallible religion changed is nearly a contradiction in terms." In proof that Popery is unchanged in its principles, it might be sufficient to refer to the extracts printed in the seventh volume of our *Review* (pp. 177-187), from the authentic formularies of doctrine and instruction put forth by the Romish Church, and from the writings of her canonists and saints, not forgetting the so-called "angelical doctor," SAINT Thomas Aquinas, whom a Tractarian writer has recently had the audacity to announce as "the great prophet of the Church in all succeeding ages." But we will adduce only two or three additional testimonies from the declarations of modern Papists, including the present Pope, Maur Cappellari, calling himself Gregory XVI., which will demonstrate the unchangeable nature of Popery:—

"If any one says or pretends to insinuate that modern Roman Ca-

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ments were Christian, or if he had not rather stifled the voice of charity and the feelings of humanity." (*Browning's History*, p. 297).

\* "Archives du Christianisme," Nov. 25, 1843, pp. 215, 216. The chaplain of the hospital, l'Enfant Jesus, audaciously denied the truth of the fact above stated, and charged the Protestants with having invented it; but his falsehood was detected and exposed by the pastor, Cuvier, the correctness of whose statement was subsequently acknowledged by a committee that was appointed to investigate the transaction.

tholics differ in one iota from their ancestors, he either deceives himself or wishes to deceive others. *Semper eadem* is not more emphatically descriptive of our religion than of our jurisprudence." (*Case stated by Francis Plowden, 1791*).\*

"Roman Catholics (said the late Mr. Charles Butler, who was one of the most candid Papists we ever met with)—Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their Church to be UNCHANGEABLE..... It is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it now is, and such it EVER WILL BE." (*Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 9*).

"The present Earl of Shrewsbury declares, that 'there is but one ground on which we' [meaning Protestants and Papists] 'can meet the authority of the Church' [meaning the Romish, not the universal Church of Christ]—'the doctrines of primitive antiquity, as defined by Trent, and promulgated and received as such; because without authority there can be no doctrine, and the doctrines promulgated by authority' [meaning the assembly of Romish divines, commonly called the Council of Trent] 'are FINAL AND IRREVOCABLE.'" (*Letter to A. L. Phillips, Esq., descriptive of the Estatice of Caldaro, &c., p. 142*).

The addresses to the laity by the titular Romish bishops and vicars apostolic in England, which are printed in the "*Laity's Directory*" between the years 1791 and 1800, abound with expressions of gratitude for the generous liberality and toleration shown to British Romanists by the sovereign and the legislature, and also for the munificent charity of Englishmen to the French clergy, as well as to English nuns of various religious orders, who had escaped from France on the subversion of all religion by the Atheists of the French Revolution. In 1792, in particular, when the Duke of Cumberland (now King of Hanover) was at Rome, Pope Pius VI. requested "him to convey to his royal father expressions of thankfulness for the indulgences" [then] "lately granted to the Roman Catholics of England." The Pope further expressed his kind "wish that every member of the legislature should be informed of the grateful sense in which that indulgence was held." (*Laity's Directory, 1793*). As, however, we advance, the language of gratitude and of loyalty becomes changed; and in the "*Laity's Directory*" for 1827, in which an appeal is made to the purses of English Romanists for funds for erecting chapels at Liverpool, in order to accommodate the many thousands of Irish Papists who were settled at that port, these men, who (it must not be forgotten) had *colonized themselves* there, are mendaciously termed "*martyrs to religion*," who "are, perhaps, destined..... to *re-establish the venerable but fallen religion*

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\* Cited in Mr. Hall's "Examination of the Romish Doctrine of Purgatory and the Practice of Prayers for the Dead," p. 341.

of their forefathers!" And, while we are writing, a "Manual of Devotion, for the use of the Brethren and Sisters of the Confraternity of the living rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary,"\* has been sent to us, in which the Popish chapel or mass-house is audaciously termed "*a parish church*!"

We now come to Maur Cappellari, the present Pontiff, Gregory XVI. Forty-four years since, he published "*Il trionfo della santa Sede e della chiesa contra gli assalti de novatori, combattuti e respinti con le stesse loro armi*"—"The Triumph of the Holy See and of the Church against the assaults of innovators, combatted and answered with their own arms." The original work we have not seen; but we have before us a French translation of it, printed at Louvain in 1834,† the author of which states that it is made from an edition printed at Venice in 1832, of which edition he has every reason to believe, not only that the sovereign Pontiff was not unaware of it, but that he even made some alterations in it. He further adds, that it must be borne in mind that Gregory XVI., under the tiara, *has preserved the sentiments of Maur Cappellari* on the same subject.‡ We wish to draw our readers' attention to the assertions of this writer, as M. Perronne (whose treatise on theology we understand is a class-book at the Popish seminaries of Oscott, near Birmingham, and of Ushaw, in the county of Durham) pronounces that he has treated the subject of the Pope's infallibility with such strictness of logical method, such force of argument, and such copiousness of learning.....that HE HAS PLAINLY SETTLED THE QUESTION!!!§

\* A notice of this publication will be found in a subsequent part of the present number of our *Review*.

† "*Triomphe du St. Siège et de l'Eglise, ou les novateurs modernes combattus avec leurs propres armes; par MAUR CAPPELLARI, actuellement Grégoire XVI. Traduit de l'Italien par M. l'Abbé Jammes. Louvain. 1834.*" 2 tomes 8vo.

‡ "Nous avons tout lieu de croire non seulement que le souverain-pontife n'est pas resté tout-à-fait étranger à cette nouvelle publication, mais encore qu'il y a fait quelques modifications." (*Triomphe du Saint Siège, &c., tom. i. p. iii.*)—"On rappellera pareillement que, sur le même sujet, Grégoire XVI. a conservé sous le tiare les sentimens de Maur Cappellari." (p. vii.)

§ As M. Perronne's treatise is not of very common occurrence in this country, we transcribe the whole of his commendation of the Pope's work: "Non possumus tamen quin hic præcipue commendemus opus illud quod hoc ipsa de re Gregorius XVI. Pont. Max. quem diu sospitem incolumemque Deus servet, jampridem, dum in minoribus esset, vulgavit titulo *Il Trionfo della santa Sede e della Chiesa contro gli assalti de' novatori combattuti e respinti con le stesse loro armi, Roma 1799.* Quodque recens et pluries recusum, ac gallice etiam germanice, hispanice atque hollandice versum, magnum ubique plausum excitavit. In hoc quippe opere præclarissimus Auctor EA LOGICÆ METHODI SEVERITATE, EA ARGUMENTORUM VI AC DOCTRINÆ COPIA PONTIFICIAM INFALLIBILITATEM, adversus neotericos e janseniano grege VINDICAVIT, UT REM PLANE

The following are a few of Maur Cappellari's assumptions :—

1. That the Papal government is the government of God.

" If he (that is, God) has established a government, if he maintains it *immoveable*, if he demands from us absolutely that we submit to it, he must *necessarily* manifest it to us in such a manner that the facility of recognizing it should be in proportion to the obligation to obey it, for all those whom that obligation concerns. Therefore, the government established by Jesus Christ must be *easy to be known* to the whole of Christendom; and it ought to be so by its nature—that is to say, God, its founder, must have distinguished it from human governments by characters which should be inseparable from it, and from which no one could mistake its divine origin."....." He who obeys the *actual* government of the Church, OBEYS GOD HIMSELF; we are certain, that it watches incessantly over the deposit of faith, over the integrity of morals, over the safety of his children, to repel and destroy his enemies. Thus, the authority of the *tribunals* at this present is not less venerable than the authority of those tribunals *formerly* was, since they are essentially the same thing."\*

2. The Pope assumes to be an absolute and infallible monarch. After relating at some length the supplication of Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, to Pope Adrian, to re-establish in his see Theodorus, who had already been consecrated by him metropolitan of Caira, but who had been drawn into the party of Photius, by terror of persecution, after he had evinced much zeal in defending the Catholic faith against heresy, Cappellari thus concludes his argument :—

" We must, therefore, conclude, that these humble prayers addressed to Pope Adrian, before the council was dissolved, in the name of the council, and, consequently, by the council itself, are a practical recognition of the absolute, independent, inherent, and MONARCHICAL POWER

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CONFECERIT. Ita nempe Gregorius XVI. quadraginta et amplius abhinc annis, divinas Sedis illius prerogativas strenue propugnabat, quæ æternæ providentiæ consilio ab eo, nil tale cogitante, deinceps erat tenenda, ac tanta cum sapientia atque apostolici animi robore gubernanda."—*Praelectiones Theologicae, quas in Collegio Romano S. J. habebat Joannes Perrone, e Societate Jesu in eod. coll. Theol. Prof.*, vol. viii., p. 535. Lovanii, 1843. 8vo.

\* S'il a établi un gouvernement, s'il le maintient *immuable*, s'il exige *absolument* de nous que nous nous y soumettions, il doit *nécessairement* nous le manifester, de manière que la facilité de la reconnaître soit en proportion avec l'obligation de lui obéir pour tous ceux que concerne cette obligation. Donc le gouvernement établi par J. C. doit être *reconnaissable* à toute la chrétienté, et il doit l'être par sa nature, c'est-à-dire que Dieu, son fondateur, doit l'avoir distingué des gouvernemens humains par des caractères qui en soient inséparables et d'après lesquels on ne puisse se méprendre sur son origine divine..... Qui obéit au gouvernement *actuel* de l'Eglise obéit à Dieu même; on a la certitude qu'elle veille sans cesse au dépôt de la Foi, à l'intégrité des mœurs, à la sûreté de ses enfans, à repousser et à détruire ses ennemis; ainsi l'autorité des *tribunaux* d'à présent n'est pas moins vénérable que l'autorité de ceux d'autrefois, puisqu'ils sont essentiellement la même chose. (*Cappellari, Triumphe du St. Siège*, &c., tome I. pp. 36, 37, 38).

of the Roman Pontiff."\*....."The Pope...is a TRUE MONARCH; consequently he must be provided with the means necessary for the exercise of his monarchical authority. But the mean most necessary to that end must be that which will take away from his subjects every pretext for refusing submission to his decisions and his laws, and his *infallibility* alone can have this efficacy. Therefore the Pope is *infallible*."†

That this pretended absolute and infallible monarchical authority is not a dead letter (however some nominal Protestants may dream), the following incident will demonstrate. On the final cession of Gibraltar to Great Britain, the Papists residing there were secured in the possession of their civil rights and property. Certain property had been given for the maintenance of the Romish worship there, the proceeds of which have ever since been administered by laymen. On the arrival at Gibraltar (from Maynooth) of Mr. Hughes, with the title of Bishop of Heliopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Gibraltar, he attempted to seize this property into his hands. The lay trustees resisted his aggression, and defended their rights before the civil tribunals, which pronounced a verdict in their favour. Subsequently they appealed to the Privy Council. Now let our readers ponder the manner in which Maur Cappellari, calling himself Gregory XVI., denounces these gentlemen in his "Brief," addressed to the titular Bishop of Heliopolis. We cite it from pp. 130, 131 of the official "Complete Catholic Directory, Almanac, and Registry, for the year of our Lord, 1843," published at Dublin:—

"GREGORY XVI. POPE.—Venerable Brother—We have long been uneasy at all that has been done (at Gibraltar) against the rights of the Church and injurious to your own dignity. But it is, above all, bitter to our heart to see some Catholics conspiring the ruin of holy things, who, on account of the functions confided to them, should have been foremost in the path of duty. Some laymen, who have no other authority than that given by the bishop to the *œdituos* of the Church, have dared to rise up against your authority and to despise the decree you had published, forbidding the receiving of money for the administration of the sacraments; and thus, against the sanction of the canons, and even the will of Christ our Lord, they attempted to usurp the government of holy things. Having in vain solicited against you our Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, they despised its autho-

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\* Il n'y a donc qu'à conclure que ces humbles prières adressées au Pape Adrien, avant que le concile ne fût dissous, *au nom* du concile, et par conséquent par le concile lui-même, sont une reconnaissance pratique de la puissance absolue, indépendante, originaire et monarchique du Pontife romain. (*Cappellari*, tome i. p. 89).

† Le Pape, est un vrai monarque; donc il doit être pourvu des moyens nécessaires à l'exercice de son autorité monarchique. Mais le moyen le plus nécessaire à cette fin sera celui qui ôtera tout pretext à ses sujets de refuser de se soumettre à ses décisions et à ses lois, et son *infaillibilité* seule peut avoir cette efficacité. Donc le Pape est *infaillible*. (*Ibid.*, p. 145).

rity, and were not ashamed to appeal to laics, and even to heretical magistrates; and it was by their command, venerable brother, that you were thrown into prison, where you were detained until the beginning of last month. Whilst these events were passing, we, who have the solicitude of all the Churches, and who discharge the highest functions of the apostleship, felt this injury, and raising our voice from the height of the Holy See, we publicly protest against the injury done to the sacred order and Catholic institution. We therefore solemnly declare, by our apostolic authority, that the said *œdituos* have violated and trampled under foot the liberty of spiritual power and its most sacred rights. We declare them guilty of the most manifest audacity, and full worthy of the penalties adjudged by the canons. However, we warn and beseech them in our Lord to remember the censures and spiritual punishments decreed by the apostolical constitutions and general councils against those who dare to perpetrate such things, so that they are incurred *ipso facto*; and as we hold on earth the place of Christ, who came to seek and to save that which was lost, we desire nothing more than to see them detest their crime, and sincerely return to the respect and obedience due to you."

Here the bishop of the Latin Church at Rome arrogantly claims to "hold on earth the place of Christ," and denounces as "audacious laymen" those who appealed in defence of their rights to "heretical magistrates," and fulminates against them "the penalties adjudged by the canons." But this is not the only instance of Papal interference in the affairs of Britain. Gregory XVI. has ordered daily prayers to be offered in the pontifical chapel, "for the safety, long life, and success of Ireland's liberator," as he is pleased to term O'Connell;\* and of the *practical* manner in which these prayers are offered in Ireland for the seditious agitator, let the following fact speak. Recently, a small part of the 90th regiment, which is stationed at Castle-Comer, attended the Romish chapel there as usual; but after some portion of the service had been performed, the officiating priest (a Mr. Hayden) introduced the name of Mr. O'Connell, in a prayer for his escape from his enemies! The observations of the priest were of so marked a nature during the service, and the allusions to the executive were so clear, as not to be misunderstood. The officer in command of the party (Ensign Wyvill) instantly and properly ordered the men out of the chapel, and marched them directly to their barracks.†

The same rapacious spirit which was displayed at Gibraltar, by the titular Bishop of Heliopolis, has been manifested in the model-republic, the United States of America, where the Ro-

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\* The *Dublin Freeman's Journal* (a Romish paper) quoted in the *St. James's Chronicle*, of Nov. 4, 1843.

† The *Kilkeny Moderator*, in the same journal of Nov. 28, 1843.

mish clergy are endeavouring to take all the property belonging to the churches out of the hands of the laity. This measure has, of course, been resisted by the laity. In the supreme court of Louisiana, a decision has been made adverse to the demands of the priests. One of the Romish congregations (or churches, as they are all denominated in America) has refused to obey the mandate of the titular Bishop of New York.

It were not difficult to adduce additional instances illustrative of the real spirit of Popery; but the preceding may suffice. Papists, both British and foreign, are triumphing in the anticipated ascendancy of Popery in this country, especially from the circulation of Tractarian tenets. But they are chanting their songs of victory before the battle is gained. At least fifteen of our bishops have recorded, in print, their deliberate judgments against the Jesuitical mode of interpreting the Thirty-nine Articles, proposed by Mr. Newman in No. 90 of the so-called *Tracts for the Times*; and the sentiments of other bishops, who have not printed their charges, are known to be opposed to Tractarianism. That papistical system has, therefore, received the strongest condemnation possible.\* Let the bishops and clergy be mindful of the solemn promise severally made by them at their consecration and ordination, when they declared their persuasion "that the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ;" and let them "determine *out of the said Scriptures*," and not from the traditions of man's invention, "to instruct the people committed to their charge, and to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which they shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by Scripture." Let them do this, and, in obedience to the apostle's direction, let them "PREACH THE WORD†; be instant in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine;" and we will not fear for the result.

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\* In the eleventh volume of our *Review* (pp. 139-152, published two years since), our readers will find the protests of eight of our bishops against the principal Tractarian errors in doctrine and novelties in practice, arranged under the following heads: viz.—Introduction of novelties—Principles of the Tractarians exposed—Wilful departure from a Protestant author, whom they profess to follow—Sufficiency of Scripture, and against unauthorized human traditions—Against Tractarian representations of the Church as the author of salvation, instead of being the channel through which salvation flows—Sin after Baptism—Prayers for the dead—Dedication of particular days to the commemoration of deceased men—Against reserve in communicating religious knowledge, especially the doctrine of the Atonement—Transubstantiation—Against speaking in soft language of the corruptions of the Romish Church—Against the Tractarians explaining away the Thirty-nine Articles.

† "Take thou authority to PREACH THE WORD."—*Ordering of Priests*.—"Take thou authority to ..... PREACH THE SAME," [i.e. the Gospel], "if thou be thereto licensed by the Bishop himself."—*Ordering of Deacons*.



Mr. Browning's "History of the Huguenots" presents an accurate account of the history of the wars of religion in France, and of the persecutions of the Protestants, from the sixteenth century down to the present time. Having resided in France for several years, he has had access to the best sources of information, which are everywhere cited.

M. Coquerel's "*Histoire des Églises du Desert*" is drawn up with great care from various documents (the very words of which are frequently given) of great interest, and which exhibit the persecuted Protestants of France as most loyal subjects, even when they were suffering most severely from Popish enmity and cruelty. In an appendix he has given various "pieces justificatives," which support his narrative. Should Mr. Browning produce a fourth edition of his truly valuable work, he will doubtless avail himself of the labours of M. Coquerel.

ART. VI.—*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney.* By THOMAS ZOUCHE, D.D., F.T.S.

THIS interesting volume was reviewed some time since in one of our leading periodicals, by a gentleman, who, combining great research of study with unusual facility of expression, has since added greatly to the public amusement and his own reputation by a most entertaining work upon the literature and the *literati* of the last century; but in this review more attention was paid to the merits and demerits of the book itself, than to the career of him whom it proposed to describe. It is our intention to show, more especially, the character of Sir Philip Sidney, whose name was as widely known as that of Europe; and at whose death, when he had not yet numbered thirty-two years, our country was called the "widowed England." And, in truth, that could have been no ordinary character which achieved so much glory in the sixteenth century. To shine conspicuous among the Raleighs, the Essexes, the Norrises, the Grevvilles, of that age, demanded qualifications of no superficial order. He who could obtain and retain pre-eminence in a field of such intense competition—who could take an active and continuous part in the stirring events of those most excited times, winning glory without envy, and emulating all men without having cause to lament the bitterness of rivalry, may well dazzle us by the extent of virtue required for the formation of such a mind; and were it not for the numerous and unvarying testimonies of all the writers of that age, we should be disposed to imagine such excellence the mere creation of some prolific mind, desirous of con-

centrating into one character all that is most noble and graceful in chivalry.

In perusing the history of this age, we are particularly struck with the precociousness of character, and great facility of adaptation, which distinguished most of those who played a conspicuous part. At a period of life when boys leave their home, to encounter for the first time the discipline of a public school, we find Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, an M.A. of Cambridge, and Master Philip Sidney, debating some knotty point with Mr. Richard Carew, in the presence of all the leading nobility; and we need scarcely remind our readers that Cardinal Wolsey, when at Oxford, was nicknamed the "boy bachelor." Whatever may be the solution of the problem involved in this early maturity of intellect, its results were most important; for the impressions thus made upon the youthful mind were, like all the impressions of early life, permanent and enduring in their nature, so that in after years the freshness and purpose of boyhood were united to the deeper characteristics of manhood.

The schoolmaster was not then abroad; the paradoxes, the materialisms and scepticisms of our lecture-rooms did not then dissipate the best part of life in worse than idle speculations, and convert the youthful mind into a calculating machine and formula grinder. Single and enterprising thought was immediately converted into *action*; for then were men judged by the results of their actions, not by the plausibility of their theories; nor was even the title *bonum militem* sufficient for fame, unless *socius victoris* could be added. If we consider the mode of education adopted at this time, the energy and simplicity by which it was characterized, we may in some measure account for the facility with which men passed from the tent to the tapestried hall—from the deck of the galleon to the closet of the secretary. Placed at an early age under the protection of some martial relative, subjected to a discipline which combined the severity of Sparta with the refinement of Athens, a boy was soon impressed with that first and chiefest source of all good—*self-reliance*. The quickness of eye and perception, the decision of purpose obtained from his pursuits, were equally advantageous to him in the seclusion of the cloister and the tumult of the camp; and he was not slow to discover, that even the dark eyes of beauty would beam with deeper lustre for him if he poised his lance with grace, and rode victorious through the lists; that courage was not more essential for the capture of fortresses than for the siege of hearts. Moreover, the principles which directed, animated, and energized all conduct, were most single and simple; a bold and lofty loyalty, seldom blown upon by any blast of democratical violence, struck its roots throughout the length

and breadth of the land. If at moments some spirits more turbulent than others uttered rebellion, they railed not so much at the kingly office, as at the mode of its exercise. Wilks and Tom Paine had not asserted the rights of men; and as the sovereigns of the house of Tudor were very careful not to insist too strongly upon their benevolences and monopolies, they were seldom troubled with wild and theoretical speculations of government; "for (as Lord John Russell observes) men will seldom trouble themselves about a bad government if they have not to pay a great price for it." Even party, in its modern sense, was unknown to the court of the virgin Queen; and men's ears were not glutted with the paradox, that, as standing waters become stagnant and foul, so the commonweal can never be in a healthy state unless it is excited by the contentions of party men—contentions which generally, and we may add naturally, resolve themselves into a love of place and power. There was movement enough upon the waters in the sixteenth century. As the current rolled in one continuous direction onward to glory and fame, it swept away in its progress whatever fragments of opposition might be found scattered on its surface, and bore the vessel of the State tranquilly and majestically forward. But of all those whose names have been transmitted to posterity, no one appears to have filled so large a space in men's minds as Sir Philip Sidney; and even now, when centuries have elapsed since his death, we mention his name with a degree of interest such as we experience towards those with whom our own lives have been associated. It is not a mere historical belief which we grant to him; it is not so much the ready admission of a stated fact, as a warm sympathy and interest. In the day-dreams of early youth each one creates to himself some imaginary form, combining every excellence and chivalrous quality; and the memory of Sir Philip Sidney rises to our minds when we would give to this ideal a local habitation and a name.

And yet it were hard to say what action he performed of sufficient importance to account for the deep impression which his remembrance has left on the minds of all succeeding generations. We in vain search his history for any notice of those wild achievements which win admiration not less by the daring of the resolve than by the manner of their execution. He did not, like Raleigh, carry Cadiz by assault, or create a Virginia. He did not emulate the unfortunate Essex, by aspiring to the hand of the Queen; or rival the still more ill-fated Surrey, in his sweet and plaintive melodies. It was the excellence with which he performed even the minutest actions, rather than any particular excellence in the actions themselves, which won him such golden opinions; and the feelings which he awakened con-

tained more of love and admiration, than of wonder and distant esteem. We cannot, then, be idly employed in slowly tracing the principal features of his life ; for sure we are that no young and ardent spirit can rise from such contemplation without feeling his energies strengthened and his resolution developed.

Philip Sidney, son of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was born 1554. His father's name was known as a most distinguished officer and highly accomplished gentleman. By his mother's side his birth was also noble ; indeed, in his familiar correspondence, he insists somewhat too extravagantly upon the Dudley blood which flows in his veins. It was among the overhanging groves, the extensive prospects, and undulating beauties of Penshurst, that Philip Sidney passed the days of his youth, nor could any spot have been selected better fitted to warm the imagination and kindle the sympathies of an earnest and enthusiastic temperament. Thick as the clinging ivy, which cluster around the old walls, and dark as the shadows which the turrets cast at noon-day, are some of the legends which belong to its ancient history : it may have been shorn somewhat of its antiquity by the high road which now intersects the domain, and the neat modern cottages which have sprung up beneath the hand of modern improvement, which has also converted the wild tracts of underwood and heather blossom into rich luxuriant pasturage ; but the long avenues of formal terraces—a style of gardening peculiar to the sixteenth century—remain untouched in their beauty, while the dark masses of old oaks are such as might well have called forth the strains of Surrey, and would now require the pencil of a Titian. The castle itself, in the times of the Sidneys, to quote the language of Ben Jonson, “ was not embellished with works of touch and marble, with polished pillars, or a roof of gold ; but it had other and better marks of its excellency in the fertility of its soil, the salubrity of its air, and its charming scenery of wood and water.”

Though some parts of the pile have decayed, it still retains all the sternness of its feudal character, and many an inscription bears its graven testimony to the magnificence and grandeur of the Sidneys. Here the antiquary, painter, and poet may find ample scope for their respective powers without any wild play of fancy ; and while, when standing amid its ruined and moss-grown walls, we are impressed with the stern magnificence of our ancestors, we may well exclaim—“ *Quales te dici tamen antehac fuisse tales cum suit reliquæ.*”

There is but little and unsatisfactory record of Philip Sidney's earlier days : he was brought up under the roof and protection of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Henry Sidney being at

that time abroad on foreign service; his education was superintended by Dr. Thomas Thornton and Mr. Robert Dorset; nor can we quote a more striking instance of the interest which Sidney inspired, and the high reputation which he obtained, than that Dr. Thornton ordered it to be inscribed on his tomb that he was tutor to Sir Philip Sidney. Even in boyhood he was ever distinguished by that sweetness of temper and generosity of disposition which is always associated with true chivalry of mind, and he excelled in all those sports and exercises which were the chief occupation and amusements of the young English nobles. The fondness and devotion of his father to him is testified by some beautiful letters written in 1564 and 1565. In a joint letter to Philip and his brother Robert he says—“God bless you, my sweet children, in this world and the next, as I find myself happy in you.” In speaking of Philip, while yet a boy, he calls him “*lumen familiæ*.” The delicate state of Sidney's health rendered long and continuous application dangerous; and we find him, in after life, indulging in the not uncommon regret of time wasted and opportunities lost. The following letter, written by his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, to Parker, then Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting that his nephew, in consequence of his weakness, might be allowed a dispensation for eating meat, is rather curious, and would scarcely, in the present day, be admitted as orthodox at Exeter Hall :—

“I thank your grace, most humbly, for my good cheer yesterday, and signify the same; but the chiefest matter wherein I had to move towards your grace was for a licence to be granted to my boy, Philip Sidney, who is somewhat subject to sickness, for eating meat during Lent, for which I then forgot to speak to you, and have therefore now thought good to desire your grace to grant unto him the said licence, in whatever form may seem best unto you, so he may have with him Dr. Cooper, who is his tutor.”

It has already been stated that Sir Philip distinguished himself at Oxford at the early age of fourteen; but he cannot be said to have fairly entered in public life until the year 1572, when he embarked for the continent in the suite of the Lord High Admiral Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, who reached Paris in time to witness the fearful scenes of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which inflicted a heavier blow on the Roman Catholic Church than she ever received from the hand of an enemy. We will not take up the space to which we are limited by a repetition\* of those dark scenes which still cast a shadow over many pages of French history, and have long weakened the Church more than the combined effects of philosophy and

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\* The writer of the preceding article has alluded to the massacre at p. 100.

atheism. The sufferings of the Protestants of France, at different epochs, form gloomy episodes in the annals of that nation; but the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the cruelties of Rochelle are sun-gleams in comparison with the tempest which burst under the reign of the miserable, misguided, infatuated Charles, and the abandoned Catherine. Charles's nature is powerfully described by his sister, Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre, who said, "That if fraud and cruelty were banished from the earth, there was in him sufficient from which it might be replenished." Sad and portentous, indeed, was the gloom which overspread this truly Protestant country when the horrors of that night were revealed two days afterwards. When the ambassador, Galignac De La Motte Fenelon, demanded an audience of the queen, he found ante-chambers lined with courtiers in the deepest misery, and whose downcast eyes and morn silence revealed to him, better than language, the deep sympathy of the nation. Though keenly alive to, the happy *insouciance* and natural vivacity of our friends on the other side of the Channel, we could scarcely have believed it possible, and that within a century after these events, the massacre of the Huguenots would have been brought upon the stage, and have obtained the cheers of a Parisian audience; while an opera under the same title is now one of the most applauded, and contains more beautiful passages than any modern production. Many centuries must, we trust, elapse before we shall act the martyrdom of Charles I. It is probably to the effect produced upon Sir Philip's mind by these dark scenes of blood, that we must attribute the horror which he always entertained of the Romish faith, and which enabled him, in 1576, so ably to discharge his duties of ambassador to the Court of Vienna. Our space will not permit of our following Sir Philip in his journeys through Germany, Hungary, Italy, Belgium, &c.; nor are we keenly alive to the importance of the controversy, whether or not he was personally acquainted with Tasso at Padua—it is enough to know that he was everywhere cordially welcomed, and his society courted, not merely through the happy accidents of birth and fortune, but from his superiority in all those mental and physical accomplishments which were at that time considered essential to a finished gentleman. Sir Francis Walsingham, in a letter written to Sir Henry Sidney a short time after his son's departure for England, makes mention of "his sweet savour and grateful remembrance in those parts."

There is, however, one circumstance connected with this journey which cannot be passed by unnoticed, from the important influence which it exercised upon his after life. Most men, who have obtained maturity of years, must be conscious of having at some moment come into contact with an individual

mind, which has influenced their feelings, and seemingly their destinies, in a more than ordinary degree. What Ignatius Loyola was to Francis Xavier, Herbert Lanquet was to Philip Sidney—an animating, directing principle—a sustaining energy. This illustrious man, who occupied the first place in the phalanx of literature of that day, was conscious of all that sympathy for Sidney which binds great minds to one another; nor could a young man feel less than highly honoured by the friendship and confidence reposed in him by one of the greatest spirits of that century, the counsellor and friend of Gustavus Augustus and William Prince of Orange.

This intimacy, so important and beneficial to Sir Philip, was not suffered to languish in his absence. Many letters, in which the classical strictness of composition is chastened by a sweet simplicity, and that innate kindness which flows from the heart, testify to the friendship which subsisted between these two illustrious men, until the death of Lanquet in 1581, who was accustomed to say of Sidney's letters, "the longest gives me the greatest pleasure;" and, in one of his own, he addresses him in the somewhat symbolical language, "*Mi dulcissimi fili, mi charissimæ Sidnæe, mi generose Sidnæe.*"

Having passed two years upon the continent, Sidney returned to England, and found himself immediately placed in the foremost rank of English courtiers. But it must not be imagined that the courtier of Queen Elizabeth's reign corresponded to those gilded butterflies who now whisper court news, and whose gay and modern uniforms make up the sum total of state pageant. To be a courtier in this age, was to be a cavalier *sans peur et sans reproche*, the champion of the joust, the minstrel of the lady's bower; nor were a ready wit and gracefulness of action accounted qualities to be lightly despised. The virgin queen placed her chiefest glory in collecting round her throne all that was brightest and noblest in English chivalry; nor did Henry derive greater pleasure from the fulsome compliments rendered by a British Parliament to his learning and prerogative, than Elizabeth from the sweet and honeyed adulations which gushed in a perpetual stream from the lips of her *preux chevaliers*.

We cannot bestow our full approbation of Sir Philip's conduct on this new stage; we should scarcely have expected to find his name numbered amongst those who were pensioners on the queen's bounty, and who paid by their flatteries the price of their promotion. After making due allowance for that defect of vision which prevented men seeing with their usual clear-sightedness in the presence of royalty, at a time when the principles of divine right were not regarded as the wild aberrations of a diseased imagination, we still peruse with astonishment

the extraordinary expressions of personal attachment and devotion which flowed from the pen of Sidney in his correspondence with Elizabeth, or the heart-wrung lamentations which the unfortunate but gallant Essex poured forth to her from his dungeon, mingled with an impassioned eloquence worthy of a devoted lover, and a grossness of flattery which could only be exceeded by the glowing language of an eastern imagination. But these two most valuable years of Sidney's life were not exclusively devoted to the pageants, tournaments, and masques of a luxurious court; much of his time was passed in seclusion, and in those mental occupations, without which the brightest genius must despair of success. To the poor of his neighbourhood his charities were unbounded; nor was his benevolence limited to those who resided in his immediate vicinity. "There was not a visitor (says his friend, Sir Fulke Greville), a cunning painter, a skilful engineer, who did not make himself known to this famous spirit, and found him his true friend." It was to this entire unselfishness, which never deserted him, that Sir Philip Sidney's memory owes such undying lustre—a complete self-devotion which knew no pause, and beamed as brightly upon the plains of Zutphen as amid the cloisters of Penshurst.

It was in 1576, at the early age of two-and-twenty, that Sidney may be said to have fairly commenced his public career in that embassy to which we have already alluded; the object of which was to offer the condolences of the Queen to the Emperor Rodolph, on the demise of his father, Maximilian II. Had this mission been one of mere form and ceremony, and his duties limited to the usual expressions of courtesy and sympathy, it would, although a most honourable appointment, have added little to his reputation; but it had a far deeper object, and one which rendered it peculiarly gratifying to him who had shuddered over the massacres of St. Bartholomew, and whose whole principles, we might almost add his prejudices, were enlisted on the side of Protestantism—this object was to unite all the Protestant States of Germany in one great bond of union. It required all the energy of a king of Navarre, and a Condé, to make head against the Holy Catholic League, which dates its origin from this year. The storm had passed over that ancient faith, leaving the wreck of many a time-hallowed association, long cherished sympathies, and graceful remembrances, to mark its progress; but, amid so much ruin and devastation, the tree, beneath whose shelter so many nations, of all climes and languages, had reclined, still braved the tempest, shorn indeed of its topmost branches, less proudly majestic, but with its roots buried deeply in the soil where the seed was first planted. The dark and mystic influence of



Ignatius and his associates had not been exercised in vain; and strong, amid all doubts and unbelief, stood the Church, the uncompromising, unbending Church of Rome.

We shall not wade through the diffuse correspondence which, at this period, Sir Philip carried on with the Lord Treasurer; but it is satisfactory to find that his arduous and difficult duties were rewarded with the royal approbation, and what is perhaps still more valuable, that they obtained the following panegyric from William of Orange—that he was one of the ripest and greatest councillors of state at that day in Europe.

Few passages in history have given rise to so much controversy as Elizabeth's conduct in all negotiations relating to the softer feelings; perhaps we shall best comprehend her inconsistencies by not adopting finely-spun conclusions, but accounting for them on the simple principle of female love of novelty and change; we shall thus avoid all that over refinement of argument which Burke so truly characterizes as "the parent of confusion." Nor is it probable that any deeper considerations regulated her conduct towards Leicester and Essex, where no interests were to be upheld and no will consulted but her own. But we cannot so easily explain her relations with the Duc d'Anjou, more especially when we remember her tenacity on points of faith, and the injury which the Protestant cause must have sustained by her union with the house of Valois. But, however opinions may vary as to the consequences of such an union, it cannot be doubted that Sir Philip Sidney, who, in this case at least, sacrificed all earthly feeling on the shrine of truth, by urging his opposition to the match in the most strenuous manner, was one of the principal causes of its being broken off—more fortunate, in this instance, than Messrs. Stubbs, both of whom suffered mutilation, the former for writing and the latter for printing an article against the marriage. But even on this occasion Sir Philip's correspondence breathes the atmosphere of courts, for he alludes to "the sweet rows which in former days he had heard her declare, and to her soft mellifluous flow of language." How strongly Elizabeth was disposed towards the prince, is evinced by an extract from one of Lord Talbot's letters to the Earl of Shrewsbury:—

"The departure was mournful between her highness and mounsero —she lothe tolethim begone, and he as lothe to depart. Her majestie, on her return, would loge in no place where she loged as she went, neither will she come to White-Haule, because the places shall not give cause of remembrance of him with whom she so unwillingly parted. Mounsero promised his return in March."

But this promise was never kept; and the country might well

congratulate itself upon being freed from the presence of the son of Catherine de Medicis and the brother of Charles IX.

It was amid the classic groves and peaceful recesses of Wilton, the beautiful and ancient seat of the Earls of Pembroke, that Sir Philip about this time composed his "*Arcadia*," a work which has called forth so many various criticisms, and upon which the judgments of men are even now divided. While Lord Orford speaks of it "as the most tedious, lamentable, pedantic, pastime romance, which the patience of a young virgin in love cannot now wade through;" and Basil Kennett complains "that shepherds talk in as fine a strain of grace and eloquence as if each was a knight:" we find Waller, on the other hand, expressing his opinion in the following terms—"The true spirit and vein of poetry shines most in Sir Philip Sidney, whom I esteem to be the greatest writer and genius of any who have left writings behind them in this or any other age." We are constrained to admit that our opinion rather coincides with that expressed by Lord Orford; for, however adapted such a romance may have been to the age in which it was composed, it never will be appreciated in these modern days; nor can the really beautiful passages, which may be discovered upon a careful perusal of the volume, redeem it from that air of burlesque which arises from the absurdity of which Basil Kennett complains. But we must remember, in extenuation for Sir Philip, that the Augustan age of English poetry was now in its dawn, and the first productions of the drama and the romanesque were formed on a strange mixture of real and imaginary life. With the happier administration of justice and the consolidation and influence of the monarchical power, the rights of charity, with its private wars and knight errantry, quickly grew into disuse; but the lack of real adventure and the impossibility of action aroused the imaginative powers, which found in expression and fancy a vent for those feelings which but a short time previously could only have been satisfied with energetic determination. There were no longer opportunities of rescuing distressed damsels, or sallying forth, with vassals and retainers, to wage, what Mr. Canning termed, a "little pocket domestic war," on some more unfortunate neighbour, who chanced to possess a few serfs the less, or a few acres the more—the bruised arms were now hung up for monuments; and although the exercises of knighthood were still enforced, it was rather with the object of gaining grace and favour in the ladies' eyes at tournaments and pageants, than for practical use in the tented field, or border foray. This, therefore, was the period when romance, in its true sense—that is, in its exaggerated conception of real life—was most likely to

flourish; for we shall ever find that men prefer to paint from imagination and memory, than to delineate the actual. Susceptible of every poetic influence, with a heart attuned to every kindly and social impulse, Sidney was still wanting in that power which can find food for the imagination in the every-day occurrences of life, and penetrate into the mystery of actions which only constitute the outward and visible sign of an animating spirit; nor had he sufficient strength of mind to free himself from the trammels of those formal rules which are always associated with the commencement of a literary epoch. In common with other poets of the same epoch, he had recourse to shepherds and shepherdesses, as types of innocence and purity, and painted them in his verse, as we see them delineated on modern fans, full of court graces and refined elegance, with nothing to denote their employment except a few sheep grazing in the distance, and the crook which is thrown aside. He turned from the petty intrigues and party interests, from which even the court of the virgin queen was not wholly exempt, to the night reveries of a Saturnian reign, when lovers' sighs outstripped the murmurs of groves, and woodland daphnes, in pristine beauty, sat beside falling fountains, or beneath wide-spreading beech-trees, sapping verses with interesting Lubins. But that, in spite of some quixoticisms, Sidney did really possess the true spirit of poetry, is fully evinced from his small work entitled "*The Defence of Poesie*." In this treatise he would appear to have wholly cast aside the pedantry of the schoolmen, and writes with the freedom of one whose language is the natural gushing forth of an overflowing and deeply musical heart. "I never (says he, with a touching and graceful simplicity) heard the old song of '*Percie of Douglas*' without feeling my heart moved more than with a trumpet;" and the following lines, written about this time, are full of beauty:—

"Welcome my two to me,  
The number best belov'd—  
Within my heart you be,  
In friendships unremov'd.  
Joyne hearts and hands, so let it be,  
Make but one mind in bodies three.

"Give leave your flocks to range,  
Let us the while be praying;  
Within the elmy grange  
Your flocks will not be straying.  
Joyne hearts and hands, so let it be,  
Make but one mind in bodies three."

He concludes his essay with this beautiful passage—

"Upon the whole, the reader of this tractate will no longer scorn the sacred mysteries of poesie, and laugh at the names of poets as though they were next inheritors to fools: he will no more jest at the revered title of a rhyme, but believe, with Aristotle, that they were the ancient treasures of Grecian divinity; and with Scaliger, that no philosopher's precepts can sooner make an honest man than the reading of Virgil."

It is sad to state, that even this defence did not prevent poets from being termed "the caterpillars of the commonwealth."

We now approach, with feelings of mingled awe and sorrow, that brightest and latest period of Sidney's existence: for as the richest tints of evening are nearest to the darkness, so the glories of his day were quenched in the night of eternity. The Protestants of the Netherlands, long oppressed by the ruthless Alva, at last implored the assistance of Elizabeth—proffering her, at the same time, the sovereignty of the low countries; and when the cautionary towns were ceded to her by the Dutch, Sidney was appointed governor of Flushing, where he arrived Nov. 18, 1585. It was a time of great emergency, demanding energies of the highest order; nor was the Earl of Leicester, the commander-in-chief, though surrounded with more than regal power, pomp, and splendour, equal to sustaining so grave a weight of responsibility. It is important to observe that the miseries of the country were not solely occasioned by the cruelties of the viceroy: that in the Netherlands at this time, as more recently in Venice, Florence, and the Hanseatic towns, the people were dependent for subsistence upon supplies of foreign grain, for which their manufactories were given in exchange. But, as might have been anticipated in times of manufacturing prosperity, the population increased rapidly, while the imports of grain were diminished in proportion to the consumption of the exporting countries and the improvement of their own manufactories. It was this natural, though unfortunate chain of causes, that drove the power, the skill, and the strength of the nation forth in search of food; and it is to this emigration, combined with that of ten thousand French Protestants, who followed the example of the Flemish, and sought refuge from persecution on our shores, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, that England is indebted for her superior skill and ingenuity in manufactures. Thus our great apostles of free trade may learn this important lesson from the greatest of all teachers—experience—that the prosperity of a nation, though of sudden growth, is of most uncertain continuance when she is dependent upon foreign countries for supplies of grain. And legislators should remember the great difference between

corn and manufactures, lest they commit incurable mistakes by legislating for both on the same principles. Manufacturers, for selfish purposes, represent corn as an article of commerce—it is not so naturally, it is never so entirely, and it is disadvantageous to all parties that it should be so at all. Corn cannot be produced in unlimited extent by machinery, but is limited by the extent of productive land; and it is not a superfluity which men may choose or refuse—it is a necessary, without which men must starve, or emigrate by wholesale. Men cannot eat manufactures, and they cannot manufacture without having corn to eat; and this makes manufactures dependent upon land and its cultivation, but not agriculture dependent upon manufactures. Those who manufacture *must* eat corn—it is necessary to life; those who grow corn *may* consume manufactures, but not necessarily *must*: these are not necessities, and the consuming these depends upon the agriculturists being in prosperity. Where the better sorts of grain are grown as articles of commerce, there it is that the people are in greatest poverty, and consume fewest manufactures—as in Poland. And the true prosperity of both is where both obtain a remunerating price, by each commodity passing through as few hands as possible—corn finding its way to the nearest market, and the manufacturer regarding the home consumer as his best customer. When men forget these things, and make haste to grow rich, a glut will come, or a scarcity will arise; and bankruptcy, destitution, and expatriation, are the inevitable consequences, as in the present instance.

We shall not follow Sir Philip through the commencement of the campaign in 1586; for to record the movements of our armies would be to enumerate a succession of disasters, the continuity of which was only broken by one single successful event. Much, perhaps, was to be attributed to the wretched management which, in those times, presided over the *commissariat* and *personel* of every army which took the field. But, in addition to this general source of complaint, we have Sir Philip's letters to his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, which bear incontrovertible testimony to the incapacity of the latter. The spirit which Sidney himself brought to the contest breathes forth in every passage of this correspondence. And it may not be out of place to make a few extracts, which testify the ardent and indomitable energy with which he laboured for the public service.

On one occasion he writes—

"I beseech your excellencie be not annoyed with the queen's discontentments; the event being anything good, your glory shall shine through these misses only if it please you to have daily council taken of your means—how encrease them—how to husband them."

And again—

“ I protest to your excellencie, I am so far from desiring gain, that I am willing to expend all I can make ; and my only care is, that I may be able to go through with this to your honour and glorie, as I hope to God I shall : my heart burns to do it, if only my liability do not fail me by the way.”

During the whole of this period Sir Philip's regiment was not only without pay, but not even the most ordinary supplies could be procured without incessant and harassing delays. Such at last was the state of disorganization which prevailed amongst the troops, that it was found necessary to yield almost every outpost ; and it is in the most bitter terms that Sir Philip complains to his commanding officer and relative :—

“ Right honourable and singular good lord, I am so lothe to trouble your excellencie with anything concerning myself, that I am feigned to be urged to by others, because the necessity of the service requires it. The councill of Ireland have all, with great earnestness, urged me to implore your excellencie that the regiment it hath pleased you to appoint under my charge may be paid according to the manner heretofore observed.

“ I humbly beseech your excellencie indeed, most humbly and earnestly, that it will please you to have gracious consideration thereof.”

The death of Sir Philip's parents about this time, and his defeat off Gravelling, preyed sadly upon his mind ; but no misfortune could subdue that spirit or vanquish those energies. In the midst of doubt and danger, he rose superior to those low considerations which influence weaker minds. Not his taste alone, but his feelings were formed upon classic models ; and, in the words of that ode of Horace, which were continually on his lips—

“ *Rebus angustis animosus atque  
Fortis appare, sapienter idem  
Contrahulus vento minium secundo.  
Turgida vela.*”

“ In too full wind draw down thy swelling sail,” as he beautifully translated the last line ; and certainly never yet did English soil produce a man more firm in adversity, more modest in prosperity.

But the hour of evil was at hand, and we cannot do better than allow the historian of the day to give the account nearly in his own words :—

“ On September 22, 1586, a detachment of the English army accidentally met with a convoy sent by the enemy to Zutphen, a strong town in Guelderland, besieged by the Spaniards, and a battle imme-

diately began on our side. The British troops, though far inferior in number, gained a decisive victory, but experienced an irreparable loss in the death of Sir Philip Sidney, who, having had one horse shot under him, mounted a second, and rushed forward to save Lord Willoughby, who was in imminent danger. Having accomplished his purpose, he continued the fight, until he received a bullet in the left knee; and, having been brought to the lord-lieutenant, the latter said, 'O Philip, I am sorry for thy hurt.' Sir Philip replied, 'This have I done for your honour and for her majestie's service.' Sir W. Russel coming to him, kissed his hand, and said, with tears, 'O noble Sir Philip, there was never man attayned hurt more honourably than ye have done, or any second like unto you.' He then returned to the camp, and was thence taken in a barge to Arnheim. Between Zutphen and the village of Vamsfelt stood a monastery of the Franciscans, named Gallilee—it was there Sir Philip was wounded."

But there was one episode—if episode that can be called whose whole career was an episode of chivalry—which must ever kindle the enthusiasm of the young, and make the aged lament the day of their glory and strength. Familiar to us from boyhood, we still return to it as to a household belief. Lying disabled on the field of battle, and murmuring for water to quench the burning thirst which raged within him, observing that a wounded and dying soldier cast a wistful glance at the goblet presented to him, he turned away his scarcely moistened lips, using these ever-memorable words—"This man's necessity is greater than mine." From the time of Seneca, so great self-possession and hope in death was never witnessed, and his last hours were soothed by the presence of his wife (the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham), who left England on receiving the first intelligence of his misfortune. At first, his great personal courage inspired confidence in the breasts of his medical advisers, for he desired them "to use their art with freedom, while his strength was still entire, his body free from fear, and his mind able to endure."

With an exemplary patience—a tenderness of disposition, which no agony could subdue, preserving within a shattered frame an entire strength of mind and purpose, he languished for sixteen days, until his shoulder-blades were worn through his skin, from the necessity of constantly turning his body to permit the operations of the surgeons. But dimmer and dimmer burnt the lamp, until, as he expressed it in language which no Dante could equal, "that awful sensation crept over his heart, and he smelt the earthy smell of death."

It were not well for us to hurry over the consideration of this scene. It is good for us to be here. Painful, indeed, is the contemplation of the strong man struggling with his last mortal

foe—of the young, the beautiful, the gifted, sinking into that sleep which knows no waking; still, as Addison sent for his friend, to show him how a peaceful Christian could die, so, with mingled emotions of sorrow, sadness, and hope, we stand by the death-bed of the departing warrior—hope in its deepest import; for if ever man perished in the full confidence of a happy eternity, it was Sir Philip Sidney. Having made a public confession of his faith, he discussed largely and beautifully upon the immortality of the soul. “I would not (he exclaimed with Christian enthusiasm) change my joy for the empire of the world.”

On the 17th of October, Mr. Giffard informs us, “it seemed that all natural heat was almost gone out of him, and that it was to no purpose to speak any more unto him;” and I then said, “Sir, if you hear what I say, let us by some means know it; and if you have still an inward joy and consolation with God, hold up your hand.” With this he did hold up his hand. It was the last action, but that action was faith—he gave a sign and died. So perished Sir Philip Sidney, in the flower of his age, in the full day-spring of his hope—happy, perhaps, in so dying—for he was one of those few to whom a long life of lingering memories could have added few charms. “Happy whom death finds in battle’s splendour,” says the great German bard; and how much more so when the doomed is young, ardent, generous, beloved, to whom old age must inevitably appear with decayed feelings, blighted affections, and lost or forgotten hopes. With so glorious a morn, the dullest imagination could picture for him a career of noon-day brightness; but, perhaps, the clouds might have gathered before the close of day, and the promise never have obtained its fulfilment. We say this not in doubt or disparagement, but we know full well that fortune is not always to the faithful; fresh favourites, with fresher hopes, are constantly pressing upon the scene, and they must be accounted fortunate who finish their brief career in the full blush of success. He was a noble ensample to succeeding generations, how greatness may be combined with modesty, and firmness of purpose with a sweet-trusting disposition; and they will learn the charms of generosity and sympathy with their fellow-men—not of that sympathy which indulges in vain day-dreams of utopia, never, alas! to be converted into action, but of a strong and energetic sympathy, which finds its truest joy in the happiness of others. Not unwept, unhonoured, and unsung, did Sir Philip go down to his grave; all writers testify to the deep sensation which his death awakened throughout the whole length and breadth of England, to which country the epithet of “widowed England” was beautifully and appropriately attached. We read—



"So general was the lamentation at his funeral, that a face thereat might be sooner found without eyes than without tears; it was accounted a sin for any gentleman to appear at court for many months in light or gaudy apparel; and though a private subject, such solemnities were performed at his interment, that few princes have exceeded, or any equalled, the sad remembrance thereof.

The ship that contained his body had all her sails, tackling, and furniture black, and black cloth was hung around it, with escutcheons of his arms; while not Sir Fulke Greville only, but many others, thought the noblest inscription they could have on their tomb-stone was, "Friend to Sir Philip Sidney." Where all sorrowed, it were but idle to add how great an affliction his death appeared to those who were nearer and dearer to him. We have touched upon his private intercourse with his own family, and it is unnecessary to say that it was characterized by a religious singleness of feeling and devotion. To his brother Robert he was particularly attached, and his letters, whilst yet very young, are beautiful and simple compositions. From one, which was accompanied by a small present, we extract this kind and gentle passage:—

"There is nothing, brother, which I spend, so much pleaseth me as that I spend for you; if ever I have ability, you shall find it; if not, there is not any brother living shall be better beloved than you by me."

"In Sir Philip Sidney (says Arthur Collins) we behold Macænus and Marcellus united, who with the strongest eloquence could at once teach the best rules of poetry, and most beautifully and gallantly rewarded men of letters and science; who, as a soldier, like Publius Decius, freely rewarded the partners of his victories; and also, like Decius, devoted himself in battle for his country."

But it were needless to quote further from the pages of his contemporaries; enough, and more than enough, has been said to enlist our sympathies and energize our views. If he, in so short a cycle of existence, could so live and die, as to transmit his name the brightest ensample to posterity, shall we, who live in greater times of enlightenment and happier advantages, fail to be up and be doing? It is something for us to know, from the experience of history, how much may be achieved by one individual, and how willing men are, whatever may be said of envy and malice, to give honour where honour is due. Nor will this short sketch be without some value to the reader; for if history be philosophy teaching by example, the biography of the great and virtuous contain the same ensamples by which we are instructed. In Sir Philip Sidney we may undervalue those powers of generous and sweet persuasion which fell softly upon the heart and fascinated the affections of all those who came within his

influence. Personal beauty may at best be considered an accident, as it is frequently found associated with the most selfish and ordinary feelings; and grace and elegance are generally found in those who have long breathed the atmosphere of courts. But after subtracting from his character these qualities of praise, can we ever sufficiently contemplate those virtues of a higher order which led him to prefer the service of his own country to the sovereignty of Poland—which gave him endurance in suffering, uncompromising and continued energy in action, and teaching him—that last infirmity of noble minds—to scorn delight and live laborious days; consecrating those days and those exertions to no party purposes or political intrigues, but to one long-continued effort of self-devotion to his country and his God?

ART. VII.—*Principles of Church Arrangements.* By a MEMBER OF A DIOCESAN ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY. London: Painter. 1843.

2. *The Churches of York; in a Series of Views, accompanied with Introductory Notes, and an Historical and Architectural Description of each Church.* By the Rev. JOSHUA FAWCETT, M.A., Bradford. London: Rivingtons. 1843.
3. *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Great Britain, from the Conquest to the Reformation.* By H. BOWMAN and J. HADFIELD, Architects. London: Parker. 1843.

THE formation of societies for studying, preserving, and restoring the venerable monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity, and for employing them as models for new erections, may be reckoned among the characteristic signs of the eventful times in which we live. In them, as well as in other coincident phases, in which the recently-awakened attention to Church Architecture is exhibited, the thoughtful observer of passing events will notice evident indications of that desire so extensively prevailing, of returning to old and established usages; and marks of one of those great periodical oscillations of the human mind, wherein, according to an unvarying law of our nature, undue tension in one direction, will, sooner or later, issue in reaction in the other, no less in the moral and intellectual world, than in the physical. When the first fevered rage for innovation has exhausted its force and our high-raised expectations are disappointed, the mind naturally recurs to the selfsame things which it had before despised and cast aside. Of this tendency, among manifold proofs

which might be adduced, the history of Architecture affords one, and that by no means the least remarkable.

Man has been characterized by some philosophers as a *building animal*; and the history of Architecture, which will be found to be intimately connected with the history of nations and of the human mind, gives some countenance to the notion. To conquest, our own once barbarian island was indebted for the knowledge of Roman civilization and art; and there can be no reasonable doubt that our earliest existing forms of national architecture are to be traced to Roman archetypes. So it is scarcely conceivable that English architecture should not have been influenced by an event so important as the Crusades, causing, as those unprecedented wars did, direct intercourse with eastern countries, and leading to no small familiarity with a people, who, in many departments of knowledge, had advanced far beyond the steel-clad chivalry of the north. But to enter more into this subject, however interesting, would be beside our present purpose; nor is it our intention to trace the influence of extraneous causes upon the ecclesiastical architecture of our country, in its progress to that unrivalled eminence which constitutes England the classic soil of Gothic Architecture—where, as it has not been inaptly boasted, may be found a Parthenon at York, a Theseum at Westminster, and a monument of Lysicrates in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

With such examples, and a thousand others, venerable for antiquity, rich in historical associations, and perfect in architectural symmetry, it may well excite our surprise that these stately edifices and “magnific fanes,” the glory of our land, should have ever fallen into such disrepute as to be counted unworthy to furnish models for new structures, to suggest hints for new modifications or adaptations, or even to secure uniformity in such repairs or additions as might be required in the very fabrics themselves. To account for this anomaly (as it must at first view appear)—in other words, to trace the decline of Gothic Architecture, and to offer some remarks on its revival in the present age, with a sketch of its existing state and prospects, will be our object on the present occasion.

Different as the classical forms are from the Gothic, there is yet a striking analogy in their rise, progress, and perfection. We can trace similar gradations, from the severe and almost rude majesty of the Doric, to the elegant adornment of the Corinthian; in the gradual advance of our northern architecture, from the plain massiveness of the Saxon, to the gorgeous luxuriance of the Perpendicular. Or if, instead of restricting our comparison to the purer Grecian models, we should extend it to

the five orders of Rome, a more perfect analogy might probably be detected in comparing the Saxon with the Tuscan, the Norman with the Romanized Doric, the Early English (displaying its graceful columns and almost voluted capitals) with the Ionic, the Decorated (pronounced by Willis and Whewell the complete Gothic) with the full-blown Corinthian; whilst the Composite (with its more profuse ornaments, and somewhat capricious combinations—its domes and arches) will appropriately range by the side of the Perpendicular, boasting as it does its domical forms, its four-centred arch, its panels, pendants, and fan-tracery. To the Composite, nothing succeeded but fantastic adaptations, as little to be compared to what had gone before, as Claudian to Virgil, or Procopius to Livy. It appears as if the cycle of rise, progress, and decay had been complete; that every varying phase had appeared in succession; and that, in conformity to the great law of universal nature, reproduction must take place, from a new combination of elements, which had grown old and become effete. Medieval architecture arose from debased classical forms and imperfectly imitated models; and having risen, flourished, and declined, at length degenerated into the fantastic conceits of "second childishness" as to architecture, yet not without considerable picturesque effect, until at length every vestige of its former characteristic beauty passed away—the mere oblivion of dotage succeeded, and, under the Stuarts, all merged again in the revived *classicalities* of Vitruvius and Palladio.

It will not be irrelevant to remark, by way of illustration, similar phenomena in the origin, development, and decline of classic architecture itself. There can be little doubt, that as the Gothic took its rise in the Roman orders, and gradually became accommodated to the national feeling and religion, as well as to the exigencies of the climate, passing through the successive phases already enumerated; so the Greek, originating in an Egyptian prototype, went through the different stages of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian; and having passed into Latium, to exhaust its efforts in the Romanized Composite, expired with the dismembered empire, only to re-appear (in the different kingdoms which successively rose out of the stupendous ruin) in imitations of greater or less servility, or in adaptations more or less felicitous; except when, as in England, it became so extensively modified, as to present the essential features of a new style—to run, as we have seen, a similar career, and, if we may judge from present appearances, to experience a similar revival, but with happier omens than its predecessor.

To account, therefore, for the downfall of Gothic Architecture "from its high estate," and for the revived supremacy of

the classic orders in the modifications of the Palladian and Vitruvian school, it will be expedient to glance cursorily at the general history of the art in Christendom; since, if our enquiries were confined to the period when a fondness for classical forms began to gain ground in England during the reigns of the later Tudors and the first Stuart, we should be treating of the effect rather than the cause. From the period when the states of Europe had begun to be formed out of the fragments of the Roman empire, when advancing civilization had produced settled institutions, and taught the reclaimed barbarians the wants and conveniences of civilized life, and at the same time gave them leisure and opportunity to supply the newly-created craving, the northern nations had recourse to their southern neighbours for craftsmen to execute the various works, wherein their necessities and desires had outrun their own ability to gratify and minister to them. Prominent among these was Architecture. And since, when art and empire had been overthrown in the ancient capital of the world, they found an asylum in New Rome; the chief professors of the art, in the earlier periods of the middle ages, were sought for at Constantinople. Hence it is most probable Charlemagne obtained workmen equal to the great undertaking of building his cathedral and palace at Aix la Chapelle, about the beginning of the ninth century. Our Saxon ancestors, too, when they were desirous of raising a more substantial and costly edifice than their primitive fabrics of timber work (*getimbrade*), resorted to the continent for artizans; and as Rome had already begun to replace her lost secular empire by the assumption of Papal supremacy, she came to be looked up to, not only by England, but by Christendom in general, as guide and arbitress in all matters connected with religion, learning, and the arts—especially as the two latter were chiefly confined to the clergy; and their tendency would naturally be to refer on all occasions to Italy, as their model and standard, not only in matters purely ecclesiastical, but in those departments of the arts and sciences of which ecclesiastics were the ablest and most indefatigable cultivators. Under such circumstances, can we wonder that Italy should exercise that mighty and extensive influence over the arts and literature of Christendom which unequivocally appears in so large a portion of their history during the middle ages? or that Benedict, and Firman, and Wilfrid, and other Saxon church-builders, should make it the favourite object of their aspirations (*hoc erat in votis*) that their fabrics might be constructed *MORE ROMANO*—i. e., walls of stone, instead of timber; roofs of lead, instead of thatch; and glass windows, instead of lattice, celebrated by William of Malmes-

bury for the novel qualities of keeping out the birds and rain, and yet admitting light.

Whether it was that the sunny clime of Italy, and the disposition of its inhabitants, are less germane to the genius of Gothic architecture than the severer skies of the north, or whether the numerous remains of classic art in that country, associated as they are with the imperishable glories of imperial Rome, should be deemed the cause, certain it is that Gothic architecture never took such deep root in the Cisalpine soil (nor indeed in the south of France and the Peninsula), as among the Teutonic nations. Accordingly, when, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the treasures of Greek and Roman literature began to be explored, appreciated, and introduced into the west, classical architecture speedily found favour with a people predisposed to receive an art so intimately connected with national associations. In many of the most celebrated edifices of Italy, as in the gorgeous cathedral of Milan, the Campo Santo at Pisa, and others, it achieved a divided sway, until at length, in the stupendous magnificence of St. Peter's, it rose to undisputed supremacy—a supremacy which it maintained in the empire of art long after the primacy of that church and its bishop, among the prelates and cathedrals of Christendom, had been disputed with success. But even that supremacy was rapidly passing into other hands. Academies and professors soon superseded the occupation of freemasonry and the cloister.

The academy of Florence, founded about the close of the fourteenth century, completed the triumph of ancient architecture over medieval, by the impulse which it gave to classical studies of every kind; to the search after specimens of classic art, the preservation of them in museums, the recurrence to ancient models, and their application to religious edifices—a conspicuous example whereof occurs in the great church of Saint Maria da Fiori, in that renowned city. And it is curious to observe, that such application began to prevail about the same period that Gothic attained the zenith of perfection in the Transalpine countries, and especially in our own. From Italy the revived taste for Pagan architecture gradually spread over all Europe, until at length it reached England also, where the Gothic, having culminated under the Plantagenets, was declining in the yet effulgent, but waning radiance of the Tudor era. The struggle which ensued between the rising and descending luminaries may be traced in various buildings of the sixteenth century, until the appearance of an architect of acknowledged talent, like Inigo Jones, accelerated the crisis, the issue of which could scarcely be doubtful, when the erection of St. Paul's in

London, and the commanding genius of Wren, produced effects like those which had resulted in Italy from the master-pieces of Brunelleschi and Michael Angelo more than a century before.

The tide of public opinion, which had set in so strongly from the south, thus soon bore down all opposition. The ancient classics, recovered from the dust and “dumb forgetfulness” of centuries, had been rendered generally accessible by copies, no longer the tedious and costly product of the laborious amanuensis, but multiplied rapidly and cheaply by the newly-discovered agency of the press. Language, literature, arts, and manners became all deeply imbued with the revived classical taste, or rather, in too many instances, with the most ridiculous pedantry. The whole Pantheon became naturalized throughout Europe. Deities and Titans, Naiads and Dryads, Fauns and Nereids—demigods, heroes, and nymphs, figured in masques on the stage, in pageants in the streets, in the trim gardens of the citizens, on the stately terraces and in the long-drawn vistas of the rich and the noble ; for,

“ Now from Hyde-park-corner come  
The gods of Athens and of Rome—  
Apollo there, with aim so clever,  
Stretches his leaden bow for ever ;  
And there, without the power to fly,  
Stands fix'd a tiptoed Mercury.”

All this could not but have exercised a vast influence upon the public mind with regard to architecture. Every opinion and principle was referred to a classical standard, and all variations from it were denounced as so many departures from excellence. Gothic forms were exploded as the bygone relics of an unpolished, unlettered era. Thus Sir Henry Wootton disparages their most characteristic feature—the pointed arch :—

“ Those arches which our artizans call of the third or fourth point, because they always concur in an acute angle, and do spring from the division of the diameter into three, four, or more parts at pleasure ; I say, as to these, both for the natural imbecility of the sharp angle itself, and likewise for their uncomeliness, ought to be exiled from all judicious eyes, and left to their first inventors, the Goths and Lombards, amongst other relics of that barbarous age.”

So Sir C. Wren sneers, like Evelyn, at the gross concamerations of heavy, melancholy, monkish piles ; and while so illustrious an architect could thus brand medieval art with his professional stigma, poets, and even one who was among the first to write essays on the subject of Gothic architecture, could give currency and duration to the prejudice, by “marrying it to immortal verse,” describing the best efforts of Gothic architecture as directed—

“To raise the ceiling’s fretted height,  
Each panel with achievements clothing;  
Rich windows that exclude the light,  
And passages that lead to nothing.”—*Gray*.

When prejudices so deeply rooted as these are known to have given the tone to public opinion, we are prepared to account for the incongruities which so extensively and so lamentably deform the churches of our land, by tracing them to their original source. Whatever repairs, alterations, or buildings were required, it may readily be imagined all would be executed according to the prevailing taste. Altar-pieces, pulpits, pews, monuments, were invariably constructed after models, which it would be difficult to describe by any term sufficiently significant and precise, although attempts, more or less successful, to imitate a classical type, are discernible in all. To this pseudo-classic mania, originating, as we have seen, in Italy in the fourteenth century, may be attributed the miserable abortions and incongruous solecisms, which it is the object of architectural associations to expose and correct. When, by a reference to history, we find how Gothic architecture was first cried down, and then for ages contemptuously neglected, one only wonders that so much has been preserved to a generation of better feeling and purer taste, since it is hard to say which we have most cause to deplore—the iconoclastic ravages of the Rebellion, or the ill-advised repairs of the Restoration.

Few new churches were built during the latter part of the sixteenth century, and it might be difficult to point out an entire Palladian church of that period. Some examples of chapels in the Universities, or in private mansions, may be found in this favourite style in the former part of the succeeding century; but down to the reign of Charles I. a lingering preference of the Gothic for churches may still be traced. In the few instances where an overgrown parish was divided, as at Plymouth, the erection of a new church would afford an opportunity for judging of the existing style. A new church, subsequently dedicated to the memory of King Charles the Martyr, and commenced in his reign, in that town, is curious, as probably among the latest specimens of an entire large Gothic church. Having been begun in that style (of a very debased description) between 1660 and 1644, it appears to have been completed, except the spire, from the original design, after the Restoration, and was consecrated by Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, in 1664. But the numerous churches rebuilt in the reign of Charles II. after the calamitous fire of London, including St. Paul’s, were erected in a pseudo-



classic style, which thenceforward had become the prevailing fashion of that and the succeeding ages.

The widely-felt effect of the works of such men as Inigo Jones and Wren were perpetuated during the following century by Vanbrugh, Lord Burlington, Kent, Gibbs, and Chambers, who succeeded with inferior, but yet sufficient talents to preserve the Palladian supremacy unquestioned and undisturbed. To say nothing of St. Paul's Cathedral; St. Stephen's, Walbrook, by Wren; St. Martin's, by Gibbs; Shoreditch, by Dance—each and all quoted as specimens of distinguished excellence—may be referred to, in accounting for the prevalence of classical models in church building, no less than in other departments of the art.

Things remained much in this state until the beginning of the present century, when the researches of learned travellers in Greece, and the publication of the finely-illustrated work of Stuart and Revett on the “Antiquities of Athens,” had taught students of architecture more accurately to discriminate between the three orders of pure Greek, and the corrupt forms of their five Roman successors. It was no longer held admissible to plant a Doric column upon a base whose officious support its inherent stability evidently disdains; nor to sever a pediment sheer through its tympanum, for the introduction of a monumental bust, an emblazoned shield, or a flaming urn, perched upon an incongruous pedestal, as may be seen in hundreds of instances; and of all places, in those Palladian altar-pieces, which, from the days of Jones downwards, long formed the favourite decoration of the reredos, to the prejudice, if not destruction, of many a noble east window. Such names as Sir John Soane cast all their influence into the preponderating scale of Grecian art. Sacrificial wreaths, *a la Grecq*, string courses, antæ, blockings, mutules, metopes, and honeysuckle ornaments, became the very height of fashion for churches and theatres, palaces and town-halls, club-houses and hotels. The twenty-five years' war had ended in the general pacification of Europe, and England began to bestow some thoughts upon the necessity of building churches, to meet, in some degree at least, the wants of a rapidly increasing population. Coincident with the height of the revived Greek mania was the Parliamentary million grant for new churches, and close upon it, the formation of the Church Building Society. Accordingly, nothing so proper as Greek churches, with porticoes from the Parthenon, the Theseum, Pæstum or Grigenti; and as Regent-street began to be formed about the same period, everything concurred to give the favourite manner full play. Many of the present generation can remember when

the new church of St. Pancras was cried up as a marvel of pure classic taste. It was perfectly admirable to observe with what consistent ingenuity the architect had carried out the design of the double temple of Pandrosus on the Acropolis, so that he had not only imitated the columns of the front portico, but had cleverly managed to introduce the Opirthodomos, or back temple, in the shape of an excrescence at the east end, supported by Caryatides, as in the model—thus preserving, in a Christian church, the unity of the original design, which had combined the temples of Neptune and Minerva in one structure ! The expense of this church was enormous, and a more incongruous abortion it is impossible to behold. The example of the capital was followed in the provinces. In St. Andrew's chapel, Plymouth, built about twenty years since, one of the most conspicuous objects in the interior is a circular pulpit, canopied with an elaborate sounding board, designed after the Choragic monument of Lysicrates, at Athens.

We are not entering upon the question, however worthy of investigation, whether classic forms for church architecture should be proscribed—*semper, ubique et ab omnibus* ? It would be a bold decision to arrive at, in the face of the primitive Basilica, and of all the churches which were built during the first thousand years of Christian history ; but such incongruities as the Paganized churches of modern times need only to be seen to be condemned. We pass on, therefore, to remark how the same cause, which had produced so powerful a feeling in favour of Greek design, was silently, but surely, operating in an entirely opposite direction. Stuart's "Athens," Wood's "Palmyra," and similar works, had rendered the public familiar with the architectural triumphs of classical antiquity. And so the labours of Britton and Brayley, Lysons, Stodhart, the Antiquarian Society, and others, by the publication of illustrated works on English antiquities, have recalled the public attention to the glorious remains of native architecture, and, with other concurrent causes, have led to that reaction in favour of the Gothic style for ecclesiastical structures which now promises to atone for the contempt and neglect of at least two centuries.

Although the poet Gray, and Thomas Warton, had previously written on the subject of Gothic architecture, no work in which an attempt was made to treat the subject systematically had appeared, until Bentham, towards the end of the last century, led the way, in the valuable introduction to his elaborate "History of Ely Cathedral." Then came Sir James Hall's fanciful theory of the origin of the vistaed aisle and branching roof, in the columnar trunks and overarching boughs of the natural forest

arcade. Carter, Dallaway, Mitford, Milner, and other writers in succession, directed public attention to the claims of medieval architecture, either as to the whole question or as to particular branches. But to the learned and indefatigable Britton is due the great praise of having, by his admirable "Histories of the Cathedrals," and his beautiful work on the architectural antiquities of this kingdom, effectually established those claims to universal attention and regard—an effect which no treatise, however excellent, would have produced, if unaccompanied by those faithful illustrations which he collected with so much industry and produced with so much talent, and to which that useful work, "The Glossary of Architecture," is so much indebted. Architectural science necessarily appeals largely to the eye, and whole pages of verbal description will fail to convey to the mind all that a few strokes of the pencil will fully and intelligibly represent. "*Oculis subjecta fidelibus*" must, therefore, be the motto of all descriptive architectural publications; and it was the absence of plates which rendered Rickman's first edition of his compendious and interesting manual, on "The Several Styles of English Architecture," less influential than it would otherwise have been, when it appeared about twenty-five years ago; while Britton was still pursuing the disinterested labours of a life in the researches (unproductive as to remuneration) of architectural antiquity. Rickman's book appeared in 1817; and, in its succeeding editions, has been highly influential in reviving public feeling and in diffusing information on the subject. Twenty years since, Mr. J. G. Wood, a gentleman of Bath, gave a course of popular lectures, at the Universities, and in many of the principal towns of the kingdom, which were accompanied by drawings illustrative of Rickman's chronological arrangement. The lecturer adopted his nomenclature, in which the term "perpendicular" was substituted for "florid," as more descriptive of the later periods of English architecture. About this time, Gothic designs for ecclesiastical edifices began to supersede the classical. The Church Building Society, then recently incorporated, had begun to provide increased accommodation for the overgrown population of our manufacturing districts. The new churches at West Bromwich, Kidderminster, Leicester, &c., of this period, may be cited as indications of the revived feelings for medieval architecture, however imperfectly that feeling might be expressed. Evidences of the same disposition may be traced in antiquarian associations for the study and preservation of those venerable specimens of ancient architecture with which every part of the kingdom abounds; such as that formed in 1826 by a few members of the Plymouth

Institution; whilst in 1830, the Devon and Exeter Institution printed a series of questions on the architecture and antiquities of the parishes of the diocese, which they sent as a circular to all the parochial clergy. The feeling thus beginning to be developed has at length issued in the more systematic and important architectural societies at Oxford and Cambridge, and in other parts of the country, as in the dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry, and Exeter.

Such societies, if judiciously conducted, and confined to their legitimate objects, cannot but exercise an important influence in promoting architectural knowledge, and in preserving the venerable sanctuaries of our land. Let the nobility, gentry, professional men, and especially the clergy, be better instructed in these matters, and our ancient churches will be duly preserved, and new ones erected in a manner more worthy of the sacred objects for which they are constructed. And in looking back at much that is past remedy, and some that is not, let all come in for their fair quota of blame, for the anomalies and incongruities—the neglect and the *improvements*—the trophies of whitewash and plaister, which have all been so long and so unceremoniously laid at the door of simple churchwardens, as scape-goats general of the community. Nothing can exceed the complacency with which every kind of architectural peccadillo is laid at the door of those hardly-used functionaries, who seem to be regarded as a sort of *feræ naturæ*—fair game by prescription, for witlings, architects, and antiquaries, lay and clerical. Churchwardens and whitewash, are so intimately associated in the ideas of some, as almost to be regarded as convertible terms, and it seems never to have entered their minds to conceive that fonts, columns, arches, mullions, and tracery, could ever have been be-daubed or defaced by any other hand than that of the ignorant churchwarden, and his familiar, the country mason. But of late it has also become the fashion to include in the list of their misdemeanours, the ungainly galleries, monopolizing pews, incendiary stoves, and all the other vagaries of modern church arrangements. Well is it for country churchwardens in general, that they enjoy an expansive breadth of shoulder to bear all that is so complacently laid upon them. Much, however, it must be admitted, is to be attributed to the simplicity of these much-enduring men, marked as it is with a tinge of pardonable vanity, which induces them to chronicle their names on the front of some newly-erected gallery, as if it were their sole contrivance, instead of being, as it frequently turns out to have been the result of the united taste and collective wisdom of the whole parish in vestry assembled, with learning, lordship, and professional science

at the head. Churchwardens, in the country at least, possess the negative merit of letting things alone; and if they had only been let alone themselves, in numberless instances many an interesting relic of past ages would still exist (beneath the friendly protection of whitewash, it may be) to be appreciated and restored by the improved taste of a better informed generation. Look at our churches and chapels in those favoured retreats, from whence, as from a head-well, refined taste might be expected to flow over the whole land. Triumphs of whitewash may be found in the classic precincts of Cann and Isis, where no clodpole churchwarden ever ventured to intrude, no less than in the remotest rustic hamlet. There may be seen some most interesting specimens of our ancient national architecture defaced, or walled up, or boarded over, to give full effect to modern seats, stalls, or Palladian altar-pieces. Could we refer to the university churches—the two St. Mary's at Oxford and Cambridge, as specimens of correct architecture and ecclesiastical arrangement—when we bear in mind a vast gallery, bestriding the nave “like a Colossus,” constructed at great expense for the magnates of the university, but in the most incongruous style possible. And if from the universities we turn to the cathedrals, who presumed to interpolate a Corinthian screen into the venerable masterpiece of William of Wykeham, but the first architect of his time, Inigo Jones? Whilst to the best architects, which succeeding generations could find in their respective neighbourhoods, are some of our finest old churches indebted for plain meagre ceilings, Vitruvian cornices, pilastered and pedimented doorways, as opportunities for alterations and repairs might arise.

We do not hesitate to affirm, that no churchwarden ever ventured upon the extensive alterations which came under our notice several years since, in one of the most interesting churches in Cornwall—one of the very few in the west built in the form of a Greek cross, and which has a stone altar and a curious piscina adjoining, in the second story of the tower. The walls of the interior were all panelled in plaister compartments, with Vitruvian mouldings, while the tracery of the windows had been cut out to reduce them to a form in keeping with the new decorations of the interior. Parts of churches thus modernized one has often deplored, but it is rarely our lot to meet with an entire Gothic structure so miserably defaced; and we may certainly conclude, where such ambitious flights do occur, they are far above the conceptions of the most aspiring of country churchwardens. In the parish church of a Cornish borough, we were struck, at the same time, with the extraordinary arrangement of

the interior. In a recent enlargement and renovation, the pulpit had been removed to the centre of the eastern wall, between two huge sash windows : on one side was the Lord's table, and to make all uniform, and to give all honour to the municipality, it was matched by a square corporation-pew on the other. On enquiry, as we suspected, the churchwarden was altogether guiltless in the matter. Indeed, if we may believe the Cambridge Camden Society, such enterprising devices are indigenous in proprietary chapels, where, for the most part, none of these calumniated officials are found ; and well we remember, in one of the new chapels of a rising watering-place in the north, observing the pulpit fixed immediately over the Lord's table, resting on a sort of arch formed by the stairs, with the reading-pew and clerk's desk on either side, and a picture, in a gilt frame, placed in the front panel of the pulpit, as an altar-piece. Yet, after all, it must be admitted, in fairness to the contrivers of a central pulpit at the east end of the church, that high antiquity may be pleaded in justification, as they have only to bring out the communion-table a few feet from the reredos (as it is, in fact, at Ermington, in Devonshire), and the preacher would be in the exact position occupied by St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, when they delivered their sermons from the apse directly behind and overlooking the altar. But yet this would not justify placing the pulpit immediately over the Lord's table. Could such violation of architectural and ecclesiastical propriety ever have existed if ignorance of their principles had not prevailed far more extensively than among churchwardens, vestrymen, and uneducated masons and joiners ? But then it may be answered, these are only so many proofs of our degenerate age. What shall we say, then, if we go back to a period when, as some allege, a more enlightened spirit in such matters was abroad, than had existed from the days of the Reformation downwards ? All modern violations of ecclesiastical decorum and order sink into insignificance before the gross unseemliness exhibited at the east end of Portsmouth church, where the very centre, immediately over the communion-table, is occupied by a costly monument, in the usual style of the seventeenth century, bearing date 1631, erected by his sister, to the memory of the ill-fated Villiers, Duke of Buckingham ; so that the altar-piece is displaced to make way for the monumental urn of the murdered favourite, standing, like the abomination of desolation, where it ought not.

Turning from the perils of past ignorance and neglect, we cannot but remark, that the increased attention to Church architecture, and the more extensive knowledge of the subject

which characterizes the present day, are not without their incidental dangers. One of the most obvious is a disposition to dogmatize on points which admit of much difference of opinion, and upon which additional facts are reflecting new light every day. Hence the importance of patiently collecting those facts, by which alone analogies can be elicited and principles established, before we are qualified to pronounce judgment with the dogmatism of a professor; since in this, as well as in all other sciences, it is only by an extensive induction of particulars that we can arrive at safe and satisfactory conclusions. Thus the Cambridge Camden Society laid it down as an architectural canon demonstrably established, that triplets in western windows are only found in cathedrals, or, at the utmost, in collegiate or conventual churches. When, however, numerous examples were alleged to the contrary, they found it necessary to qualify the assertion which had been so broadly put forth as a general principle. So the Incorporated Church Building Society has denounced all flat ceilings, in Gothic architecture, in its recently amended rules—forgetful, it would seem, of such examples, in opposition to their sweeping condemnation, as the fine old parish church of Lancaster affords, and many others, especially in transepts and aisles.\* So, again, in our just condemnation of paint, plaister, and composition, to the neglect or exclusion of honest oak and stone, we must not hastily conclude that no imitations were tolerated in the palmy days of medieval architecture.† And one can better account for the whitewashing, or even the supererogatory painting of a freestone font by an over-zealous churchwarden, unduly influenced perhaps by the maxim, that “cleanliness is next to godliness,” when in his own church he would probably see an example of a beautiful Gothic monument gilded and painted, where the elaborate workmanship would appear to render any adventitious ornament a work of supererogation. So of the universal condemnation of galleries. Introduced, as they are, in almost all old churches as afterthoughts, and in the greater number of modern fabrics as excrescences, rather than as integral parts of an original design, they must ever appear as eyesores and deformities. But, instead of utterly condemning these convenient appendages, would it not be wiser to consider whether they might not still be made

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\* As in the parish church of Ugborough, Devon.

† Henry III., A.D. 1243, issued a royal commission to Walter de Grey, Arch-bishop of York, directing him to proceed with the construction of the King's Chapel at Windsor, “that a lofty wooden roof, like the roof of the new work at Lichfield, should be made to appear like stonework, with good ceiling and painting.”—*Ritchie's Windsor Castle*, p. 43.

available for large congregations in populous places, and at the same time be constructed in accordance with correct taste and ecclesiastical propriety? That galleries *per se* are not inconsistent with the principles of Gothic architecture, the triforial arrangement might be sufficient to prove, even if more direct evidence were wanting. Even in ancient churches, when the tower arch is open to the church, as it always should be, a gallery can be formed in the tower, as we have seen done in many recent instances with pleasing effect.

Again, with such as hold those extreme views of architectural symbolism, which are beginning to find favour with many in the present day, would appear a desire to explode every design for churches, except the cruciform (either the Latin or the Greek cross); but with such authority as St. Sepulchre's at Cambridge and Northampton, and the Temple in London, why should we not adopt the circular or hexagonal form for the nave? A living writer on Church Architecture (Rev. G. A. Poole) pronounces that "the circular form has some advantages over every other, being so convenient, that if the uncomfortable association could be avoided, it would be decidedly advantageous." "St. Chad's Church, Shrewsbury (he continues), with all its gratuitous neglect of ecclesiastical proprieties, is, perhaps, as useful a church as any in England." And few who have thought at all on the subject (bearing in mind the axiom—I believe, Sir Christopher Wren's—that it is impossible to erect a building in which more than two thousand persons can see and hear a speaker), could enter St. Chad's without agreeing with Mr. Poole, as to the convenience of the circular form as there exemplified. But whilst nothing can be much worse, as a specimen of modern classical architecture, than this very pretending and costly church, it will soon be perceived, that the objectionable features of these forms are accidental and extraneous—the advantages natural and inherent; while the Temple, in its nobly restored state, proves that they are compatible with the purest development of Gothic architecture.

Nor can we speak of symbolism without observing, that it forms one of the conspicuous characteristics of the study of architecture in the present day; and whilst it is one of great interest, it is also one from which no little danger is to be apprehended from its very nature. A Romish priest, in passing Durham Cathedral, said it was thrown away upon Protestants, since they had no notion that every stone was intended to speak a language, if rightly understood! That there should be a pious and instructive expression pervading designs for the structure and arrangement of our churches, none but the blindest and



most prejudiced would deny. The font near the western or southern entrance, and the Lord's table eastward, at the extremity of the chancel, or in the body of the church (as directed by the rubric), are not fortuitous positions, but instructive symbols of the nature and design respectively of the two sacraments which Christ hath ordained in his Church. The separation between the nave and chancel is a symbolical memento of godly discipline; and the cruciform design is, without controversy, an obvious architectural symbol of the blessed doctrine of the Atonement: but when these principles are pushed beyond their legitimate influences and just limits, into the regions of fancy, they cannot fail to give rise to the most arbitrary theories of visionary symbolism.

"The taper spire, whose finger points to heaven," is as obvious a symbol as it is beautiful, and commends itself at once to the understanding and the heart; but when we are gravely informed that the spire, by its roundness, signifies how perfectly and inviolably the Catholic faith must be held and preached,\* we wonder what becomes of the symbol, when the spire, instead of preserving the conical form, becomes a polygonal broach. So, when we are instructed that the iron rod which supports the weathercock represents "the straightforward language of the preacher,"† we, in like manner, are at a loss for the symbol, when, as at St. Leonard's, Winchelsea, the weathercock was a figure of the saint, and the object of votive offerings, to procure the sailors of the olden time a fair wind and prosperous voyage. But, perhaps, it is unreasonable to expect consistency, even of symbolism, in weathercocks!

It may, however, be objected, that we need be under no apprehension of the revival of the visionary fancies of an obsolete writer six hundred years ago. Yet we have been so justly indignant at the grovelling spirit which has so extensively prevailed, of stripping everything sacred and venerable of all that shrouds it from the rude and irreverent gaze of a cold scepticism, and of demanding that the profoundest mysteries shall be subjected to the test of human reason, that, under the influence of an antagonist feeling, many are verging to the regions of imaginative and superstitious mysticism. Lewis, the author of the curious work on Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire, has adopted the notions of Durandus; the Rev. G. A. Poole, in his "Appropriate Character of Church Architecture," quotes the work of Durandus with slight demur; and within the present year a

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\* See Durandus, quoted by Lewis, in his introduction to the account of Kilpeck Church.

† Ibid.

new edition of his symbolical reveries has been published by Mr. J. M. Neale and Mr. Webb, members of the Cambridge Camden Society.

We know how easily a contemplative mind can find

“Tongues in streams, books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stones, and good in everything :”

but when such fanciful speculations are seriously and earnestly propounded as the very foundation principles of architectural design, can it fail to “give us pause?” And when we hear language, which is only less venerable and sacred than holy writ itself, parodied for the purpose of magnifying the importance of architectural symbolism, and of identifying it with the most awful and mysterious doctrines of our holy faith, we are not only inclined to doubt the interpretations of such hierophants, but to dislike their profaneness.

“Quod cunque ostendis mihi sic incredulus odi.”

As for example, Mr. Lewis thus writes :—

“The nave, being the commencement of the church, would, in the language of the designer, be read, the Father, and being the first, is made of none. The chancel or cross (and which is, as it were, made to arise out of the nave) is of the nave alone ; and the holy of holies is of the nave and of the chancel, proceeding from them !”

Any notice of the present state of mediæval architectural science would justly be considered incomplete, which omitted to mention a point involving its very rudiments. The nomenclature of any science will never be considered unimportant by those who have observed in how many instances *names* have exercised a powerful influence upon *things*. Terms should be as distinctive and specific as possible ; and in this respect, though much has been done, yet that there is still room for improvement, the attention now directed by many able writers to this branch of the subject sufficiently proves.

With regard to the general designation of the style, it seems to be acknowledged that, upon the whole, a better appellation than *GOthic* could not easily be found. Although originally applied in derision, yet it has long-established usage in its favour ; and as Mr. Poole pertinently remarks, “it is nothing new or displeasing to that which is distinctively Christian, to take a name from a scorner, and to convert the opprobrium into a glory.”\* But it is too much to say that “*Gothic*” has no truth in it beyond this, since it describes with proximate accuracy the architecture of those northern nations, in whose soil it has most thriven and flourished ; when, in its extended sense, “*Gothic*”

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\* “Appropriate Character of Church Architecture,” p. 41. Leeds. 1842.

is meant to comprehend the Saxon and Norman, as well as the Gothic proper, or Pointed style. Britton proposed Christian as the more correct designation; but this would include Byzantine: and for the same reason, as Mr. Poole observes, the term Catholic, proposed by Bardwell, is objectionable; "for (says he) if his reason did hold, which it does not, he should rather call it Popish." Still less is the usage of the term Christian to be sanctioned in a theological sense, as is done when an Early English or Decorated arch is spoken of as a Christian form, as contradistinguished from a Norman or other semicircular arch. Mitral, another term which has been suggested, is too fanciful; and after all, Gothic appears likely to maintain its position undisturbed, if only for lack of a better.

Improvements have also been suggested in the designations of the subdivisions, since there is an obvious inconvenience in using common adjectives, such as pointed, decorated, and perpendicular, in an arbitrary and conventional sense. One no doubt gets, in a great degree, accustomed to such usage by frequent repetition; but when we hear of a flattened pointed arch, a perpendicular pier, sadly out of its perpendicular, and a decorated church, which, we are told is remarkably plain, it has a contradictory sound, and tends to confusion of ideas. The secretary of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, the Rev. John Medley, in his useful "*Elementary Remarks on Architecture*," has adverted to the deficiencies in our nomenclature, noticing the want of what we may call homogeneousness of designation, observing, that "the term Early English relates to time—Decorated, to ornament—and Perpendicular, to a peculiar disposition of the lines in the style to which it belongs." Professor Whewell adopts the terms Perfect-Gothic, and After-Gothic for the two latter; but there is too much of generalization in the term Gothic thus applied, and others may be found for them, which would be descriptive and in keeping with the terms Saxon, Norman, and Early English. Carter long ago used the terms Plantagenet and Tudor, and the Cambridge Camden Society favours the adoption of them instead of Early and Late Perpendicular. The terms themselves are excellent; but since the great Plantagenet era was anterior to the earliest Perpendicular, we would submit that Plantagenet would be substituted for Decorated with far greater propriety, as descriptive of the architectural glories of the Edwardian period, and the palmiest days of the Plantagenet dynasty under the conqueror of Cressy. Mr. Hope, on the other hand, would carry the term Plantagenet higher, for the purpose of superseding that of Early English, to which he objects; thinking, if any style *were* so called, it should

be the Saxon, as nearer to the conquest of Britain by the Angles. This, however, might be a reason for calling the Saxon, Anglian, but not English, which more properly describes the period when the distinctions of Norman and Saxon were merged in the national term English. And since unnecessary innovations are as inexpedient as necessary changes are desirable, we would preserve the Early English as at present used, to be succeeded by Plantagenet; and next, instead of Early Perpendicular, we would suggest the term Lancastrian, as relating to time, and also sufficiently specific. This might be followed by Tudor for Late Perpendicular, as proposed by the Cambridge Society and Mr. Hope, which would bring the series down to the latest medieval period, unless it were thought expedient to designate the motley style which succeeded, as exhibited from the sixteenth century downwards, by the term Stuart; when the order would thus run—1. Saxon. 2. Norman. 3. Early English. 4. Plantagenet. 5. Lancastrian. 6. Tudor. 7. Stuart—"their acts being seven ages."

With all the admiration which must be felt for that time-honoured style (designate it as we may) with which the venerable sanctuaries of our native land are inseparably associated, and with the full conviction that no other known style is so appropriate to our holy religion and our northern climate, we cannot but deem the devising of a new one an object not unworthy of the consideration of architectural societies, or of the ambition of architectural professors. By a new style, we mean such a modification of medieval archetypes as is exhibited in the change from Norman to Early English, and from the latter to Decorated or Perpendicular. No doubt the best we can do at present is to copy ancient models—faithfully, but not servilely—and which to do well is no small merit.\* Still, while we do nothing more, our best imitations will always lack that historical interest which attaches to original designs.† It may appear chimerical—but it is not pleasant to admit the hopelessness of expecting a style which will testify to posterity the rekindled zeal, taste, and energy of the nineteenth century,

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\* Not, however, with blind admiration for all that is medieval, which could induce a faithful imitation of faults, as well as of beauties; like the Chinese, who matched a valuable set of porcelain for a lady who had sent to Canton a cracked plate as a pattern, by making every piece with the exact representation of the original flaw in the specimen sent.

† Since writing the above, we have observed, with pleasure, that our views on this point are strengthened by the authority of Professor Cockerell—"Will not the historian, the artist, the tasteful observer, deplore the absence of that internal evidence and hieroglyphic character of the times, which adds such a relish to the architectural remains of our fair and beloved country?"

and which might not inaptly bear the designation of the illustrious Brunswick dynasty.

Seeing what has been already effected by the study of mediæval models, what may we not anticipate as to the restoration and preservation of our ancient sanctuaries, and the construction of new? Only let us bear in mind, that the most elaborate and most correctly designed efforts of art are valueless, if they do not all contribute to the edification of those living stones which form the spiritual temple—the house not made with hands, which shall endure in immortal glory and the beauty of holiness, when the long-drawn aisle, and fretted vault, and storied window, and heaven-directed spire, shall sink in ruin and in flame with the earth that bears them. “Seeing all these things,” however venerated, however loved, and however admired, “shall be dissolved,” we should never lose sight of the end, in our earnestness about the means. Taste, and art, and antiquity will all be made subservient to the glory of God, “inasmuch as he who hath builded the house hath more honour than the house.”

ART. VIII.—*Diary of a March through Scinde and Affghanistan, with the Troops under the command of Sir William Nott, K.C.B., &c. ; and Sermons delivered on various occasions during the Campaign of 1842.* By the Rev. I. N. ALLEN, B.A., Assistant Chaplain of the Hon. E. I. Company's Bombay Establishment. London: Hatchard. 1843.

IT is a painful fact connected with British Government in India, that we can never turn our thoughts to matters regarding the intercourse of the two countries without a feeling of hesitation and distrust. It is not the magnitude of our Indian empire alone, with its immense tract of country, known but imperfectly to the most experienced among British sojourners; not the intricacy of its internal government, with the petty intrigues of its various chieftains; not the fearful physical force, which a population of so many millions might, at some time or other, be able to collect and concentrate: but it is, beyond and above all these, the conviction that, as governors of such vast provinces, we are accountable for the mode in which our Government is conducted, and the too certain anticipation of finding how little that responsibility has been thought of, that makes the reflecting shrink, as it were, from the task of reading the records of English oppression and crime. Within the space of little more than two hundred years, a power has arisen up in

Asia, whose very existence was before unknown; the power of men who came forth from the remotest corner of another continent, in the unpretending spirit of commercial adventurers, connected by no ties but those of mutual trade—with no claim but that of force, to invade an inch of the soil to which their fleets had carried them. The garb of the merchant was, of all others, the least liable to suspicion from the most wary of strangers; the olive branch of the trader was calculated to disarm the impetuosity of the most jealous ruler of such distant climes. To look back upon such things is but to ask the question, whence has the present might of our Eastern empire arisen? What persecution from native tribes, or what violent animosity from barbarian hordes, has provoked an indignant people, till revenge has lent them a shadowy title to the realm which now bends beneath their sway? It is in vain we look for even such a pretext to justify the position which we now hold. The restless spirit of English adventure, unprovoked, but not untempted—the desire of plunder and of conquest, not that of revenge, seems, though it be the true, yet barely an adequate cause to account for the strange tale of our aggrandizement. The student of history may, indeed, find cause to marvel at the advantages of civilization, which can place in the hands of such an insignificant proportion a superiority and control over such countless swarms as those whom we govern; but he will be inclined almost to wonder more at the abuse of that superiority than at its very existence. In the momentary pride of human intellect he may exult over its boasted achievements; but if he be a man of deeper and wiser thoughtfulness, he will find, in its very exaltation, an abasement and a gloom. He will begin to consider how much higher in the scale of men and nations we should have stood, if our foreign empire had been the more gradual and certain growth of peaceful progress, unstained with a single act of harshness, but the instrument of that sure and unfailing conquest which is acquired by increasing the happiness and the virtue of the human race. In some dream of philanthropy he might picture to himself a mighty and civilized people connecting themselves by the bonds of friendship and gratitude with a nation infinitely below them in social advancement, and, by the strong force of persuasion and example, reclaiming the rude heathen or the idolatrous savage, till the same graceful refinement and the same halo of pure religious truth were poured around both. Then, indeed, actual government might find no place, but, in its stead, the more useful and valuable authority of influence would prevail; and though the imposing name of empire were absent, its most lasting and honourable fruits would be

secure. Colonies from the more powerful of the two nations would meet a ready home among the men whom they had so much endeared to them, and the mother country would almost be enabled to exercise over all the weight and control of an adopted parent. The wealth of new marts would be poured no less into the bosom of both, but the consideration of such acquisitions would be overlooked in the contemplation of more substantial advantages. The debt of gratitude, on the one side, would be "still paying and still to pay;" while affection, on the other, would wax still warmer, as it swelled into pride and gratification at the thought of the true glories of peaceful national existence. The very life of the country would be regarded as a life of holiness, dedicated to the highest purposes, hallowing and ennobling every opportunity of good and usefulness by the zeal with which it was religiously employed.

We fear that the real history of our establishment in India presents a very different picture from this. No matter how serviceable our present empire may be in preventing the internal quarrels of native tribes from consummating many a career of misery and destruction, we must remember that the greater part of our possessions have been acquired by past generations, while fomenting the disputes of antagonist petty chieftains, or while exercising government under the colour of protection. Doubtless, India has gained considerably from the presence of European civilization; and the arm of the stranger alone, as, in some cases, been fitted to support the sceptre of an enfeebled dynasty. Yet, at the dawn of brighter hopes and better things, it may be well to consider that oriental annals are full of suffering, and stained by not a few instances of English injustice. We speak in reference to some of the darkest scenes which were formerly enacted by misguided governments, when we affirm that the violence and unceasing commotions to which Hindoostan has been subjected have effaced, in many cases, even the memory of what, in government or fertility, was her earlier condition. Never was Tartar invasion so full of disaster, in earlier days, as English protection in one period of later times. The past history of British India is a history of venality and cruelty; its brightest portions are but exceptions to the general character. No excellence of individual worth, no power and brilliancy of genius have at times sufficed to stay our arms or procure our compassion. In the latter end of the last century the mighty empire of the Mogul was broken in pieces, the descendant of Tamerlane became a beggar, and the gold of his chief minister was received as the cheap payment for Corah and Allahabad, two districts originally reserved as a royal demesne. The whole

nation of the Rohillas shared a similar fate under the kind direction of British arts. Hafiz Rhamet, first in the oriental literature of his day—eminent alike for his poetry, his bravery, and his misfortunes—was slain valiantly fighting for his country against an overwhelming force, conducted and assisted by an English brigade. His head, severed from his carcase, was delivered for money to a barbarian, and his wife and children, fallen from their high estate, begged a handful of rice in the camp of the invader. Nor, in the course of similar events, which may be selected almost at random, had we even the poor plea of consistency to defend our actions. No ally of the English Company or Government—and we associate the two because the servants of the East Indian Company were still subjects of the English Crown—was more faithful or more honoured than was the king of Tanjore before the accession of the celebrated Mahomet Ali, the nabob of Arcot. Mahomet Ali, the younger brother, was supported by English arms against his elder brother, as well as against other competitors; and by that support was established in the government of his province. The kingdom of Mysore was, upon State and commercial considerations, disposed of to Mahomet Ali, and a similar willingness was exhibited to surrender the territory of the Subah of the Decan. It was in the midst of these intrigues that a desolation, unparalleled even in Eastern annals, was poured over the plains of the Carnatic. The sword, the pestilence, and the famine, which followed upon the fearful vengeance of Hyder Ali, are among the gloomiest recitals of the past, and were so surcharged with horror, that the eloquence of Burke sunk back powerless from the effort of describing them. Yet the same Mahomet Ali, so fostered and cherished, beguiled into the hope of unlimited sway, bewildered in a vision of imaginary grandeur, was betrayed at length to his second son, Amir ul Omrah, because the abettors of his ambition found their interest in such a course.

We had begun to hope that such instances were confined to the past, when in an evil hour the late Administration sanctioned a step which was not in itself more unjust than it has been pernicious to our countrymen. For twenty-eight years had Shah Soojah ool Moolk been a fugitive and a pensioner in British dominions, when it was deemed expedient to revive his claim to the throne of Cabul in order to displace Dhost Mahomet, who was thought to be too closely allied to the interests of Persia and Russia. In other words, our influence throughout central Asia was to be secured by enlarging the boundaries of our territory, and employing a mere name, the bearer of which had been thrown on one side as an useless tool, to lend a sanction to our



advance. A moment's triumph, followed by a bitter catastrophe, was the sad consequence.

A similar instance of ill-advised conduct occurs in the case of Nusseer, Khan of Khelat. This prince, after long efforts and many disappointments, was, at the close of 1841, brought into alliance with the British. His father, Meerab Khan, was killed, and he himself was deposed and exiled. Some little change in the politics of the hour took place, and political expediency, as it is termed, no matter how untruly, dictated his restoration. He was pursued, caught, and again placed on his throne under British protection, to his own astonishment and that of every one around him. The creature of European devices, the tool of diplomatical sagacity, he has exchanged the freedom of an exile for the specious title of an unreal throne—for the golden fetters of an ill-concealed dependency.

It was the existence and the consequences of matters of this nature that made Lord Ellenborough's accession to the government of India the subject of so much anxiety and difficulty. Treachery and fraud had placed a considerable number of English prisoners at the mercy of a barbarous tribe. Folly or blindness had sacrificed a vast number of lives to the cruel vengeance of an almost savage host. Besides this, the implacable hostility of a nation of warriors, consisting of not less than fourteen millions, scattered over an immense country, extending almost from the mouth of the Oxus to the Persian Gulf, had been aroused to such a pitch, that there were scarce hopes of restraining them from aggression by anything but the fear of our vengeance. To this must be added the influence that such events were likely to have upon the neighbouring Indian states. In spite of the deceitful calm which some short time ago reigned over the Punjab, who is there that can now regard the anarchy and confusion that is beginning to prevail there with anything like feelings of astonishment? The first duty, therefore, of the new government was to remedy the evils that their predecessors had occasioned. Their second was to place upon the records of history a lesson in running a very different career. To repair the mischief of the past is one thing—to be wise for the future is another. Hitherto, certainly, the present Administration has been fully justified by the choice which they have made. Our prisoners are released; the stain of defeat is wiped away; the character of our troops for bravery and humanity is re-established. No hasty advantage has been taken of the struggles between the numerous descendants of Runjeet Singh; and we have reason to anticipate that there will be no interference in that quarter upon our part, until our presence will have cause to be hailed

as the harbinger of tranquillity and happiness. But there is still much that may be done for our Indian brethren. We still owe them something for the instances of past cruelty to which supine governments have allowed them, perhaps almost ignorantly, to be subjected in days gone by. Of such actions few of the fruits have extended further than to individuals; but the actions themselves were for the most part carried on in the public name.

It is the curse of the great evils connected with our subjugation of India, that they can be followed by no restitution or return. Events of such a magnitude displace the whole fabric of society, even where they do not exterminate the very members of society itself. At every instant during which the gains of injustice are enjoyed, the duty of compensation is becoming greater—its possibility is being diminished. It is in this view that the slave trade was such a bane and plague upon our nation. We were utterly without the means of restoring the victims of human avarice to the state in which they had been before they became subject to its tyranny. The wild desert and the mighty forest, which had been the delight of the fathers of a slave population, had vanished from their recollection, or were stored only in the most vague remembrance of a rude superstition. But this was a mere trifling consideration in comparison with others. The free spirit of the African had been quelled and annihilated in fetters and with the scourge. So debasing is the nature of servitude in its effects, that the philosophers of old found in its degraded subjects scarce a vestige of humanity, and justified the practice of maintaining slavery under the plea that the barbarians whom they employed were endowed with instinct, but not with reason; that they were nothing else but *ἐμψυχα ὄργανα*—animated machines. And when at length this country, to its honour, proclaimed slavery to be absolutely illegal, though they freed the body, they could not at once free the mind; and the liberated negro was still a weakened, helpless, degenerate thing. Men there were, indeed, who felt this keenly, and who, in the conviction that we owed the negroes a long debt of retribution, have laboured, and do labour, to gain for them a moral and a spiritual liberty—an illumination of soul—as a rich exchange for that capability for improvement of which we formerly deprived them.

The case of slavery is, in this respect, akin to that of India, that in neither could our steps be retraced—in neither could we actually undo what we have done, or bring back what we have destroyed. To reinstate India in all that we have at any time unjustly gained from her, would be no less impracticable than

to recall the nation of the Rohillas from their overthrow, or evoke from the dust the spirits that passed away in the horrors of the Affghan destruction. Our withdrawal from India, could it be for a moment thought of, would leave her in a far more pitiable state than any in which she has ever yet been. For our Government there has this happy palliative—that our Indian subjects have gained much that is of the highest value from the position which we have held amongst them. Arts, and commerce, and civilization, have, in a great measure, flourished under our protection; and the example of a better constitution of society may not have been without its effects upon those who have witnessed it. Yet we have not done all we might, nor all that we ought to have done. We have not sufficiently diffused among them a gift calculated to make them forget, in the warmth of their affection, all the evils which they have ever received at our hands. In teaching them that we are a refined and civilized, we have not taught them that we are a Christian people. The Church in India stands not upon the ground which she ought to occupy. Her blessings are not as widely extended, nor her light made to shine as universally through the deep darkness of the land, as the sacred nature of her mission requires. What a scope for a career of benevolence and usefulness is presented to our view in the mighty empire of which we are speaking!

What a stupendous talent, for good or evil employment, is here entrusted to our Government and people! “What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers,” men who know their duty, and are anxious to fulfil it? To undertake the conquest of India, that we might afterwards turn that conquest to the advantage of the vanquished, would have been the folly and wickedness of doing evil that good might come; on the contrary, from the evil which has already been done, to construct a system of good, is the wisest and holiest task that could be performed. A mighty task, indeed, and one of time, and labour, and toil, in the full execution of which ages almost might elapse, and before the difficulties of which many a faint-hearted soldier of the Church might give way. But how proud a termination of our career would it be to Christianize, and thus to civilize, this mighty assembly of nations. Imparting to them our institutions, our manners, and our laws, above all, carrying among them the truths and precepts of our religion, in distant times they might learn to bless the people who were the fathers of their faith, and revere the day which first brought us to their shores. It would be in vain that the task we speak of were taken in hand unless with deep thought and prayer, with all that wisdom can afford, and with all that

supplications to a higher Power can procure, to set it on its way. But it would be something gained to have such a design recognized; it would be something to have it propounded by those in authority, that the spiritual improvement and the social amelioration of India, which two things are altogether inseparable, are a national aim, to be pursued by means nationally directed and supported. What those means would be we need not now seek to point out. We are now only occupied in directing attention to the conclusion which ought to be drawn practically from reflections upon our present connexions with our Asiatic possessions. At this time these possessions ought to be full of mournful care to every anxious mind. There is but one course, that of unflinching duty, which ought to be regarded as the possible method of removing that mournfulness or care.

There are one or two very general remarks in reference to these matters which we are unwilling altogether to forego. Among the worst characteristics of our Indian policy were formerly the Juggernaut processions and the pilgrim taxes, regarding which a better feeling has latterly appeared to prevail. Still old prejudices will constantly recur, and religious minds are too frequently hurt by hearing cases of the surrender of Christian practices in favour of those of heathenism. The idea which has been too often put prominently forward has been, that the utmost delicacy should be observed, lest we should shock the prejudices or alarm the religious scruples of a population held beneath the chains of a benighted Paganism. Our own faith has presented to the Hindoo the aspect of a mere profession, indolently assumed, yet at the same time half disowned, having little influence upon our lives and actions, but withdrawn from the sight whensoever it appeared likely to clash with our own momentary advantages, or with the tame submission of those who worshipped after a different manner. We may take an instance of this from the latest work upon India, that of Mr. Allen, the title of which appears at the head of this article. We shall shortly have to speak somewhat more directly of our author and his book; at present we avail ourselves of an extract from his diary, which carries with it its own comment. The circumstance it refers to happened during a march from Kwettah to Candahar, and shortly after leaving the Khojuk Pass. The day was Sunday, May 8th, 1842, in a village called Deh Hajee:—

“Captain Leslie, of the horse artillery, had taken up his quarters in a large vaulted building, which he kindly offered for divine service—a purpose for which it was exceedingly well adapted; but it alarmed the sensitive nerves of a political agent in the camp, lest it *might* be a sacred

building, and our reading prayers there *might* offend the religious prejudices of the natives, though not one was to be seen, the place being entirely deserted ; so the General was prevailed upon to countermand the order, and we betook ourselves to the hot-mess-tent, which could not hold half the number, where I celebrated divine service, and preached from Matt. xxii. 2. It seemed ludicrous enough, after defeating and killing the men, burning their villages and plundering their fields, to show such extreme consideration for their *feelings* in a deserted village, where not one of them was to be found. It reminded me strongly of old Izaak Walton's directions in his '*Complete Angler*,' for preparing a frog for a bait 'as though you loved him.' Between Kurachee and this spot I had seen buildings about which there could be no doubt that they were musjids, used as travellers' bungalows, private houses and hospitals, where every Mussulman's abomination, such as grilling pork, drinking brandy, pawnee, wine, &c., was practised without scruple ; it seemed that the only case in which their feelings were to be consulted, was when it was proposed to worship God. A straw, or any trifle, will serve to show which way the wind blows ; and a trifle like this may exemplify the kind of nonsense for which, under the name of political wisdom, the Government has in many instances paid so largely in these countries."

The evil of such a course as that to which we have alluded, and by this instance intended to illustrate, does not and cannot rest with the indignity which is thus offered to the only true and pure religion. It would be well if it had no other effect than to lower, in the eyes of the population of those countries, the particular individuals who are guilty of it. But the mass of mankind, in their most civilized form, are seldom able to separate the individual from the system, or to distinguish between the practice of unworthy professors and the principles to which genuine followers adhere. Whoever commences a Christian mission among those who have witnessed the concessions and compliances which have so much disfigured our treatment of Indian idolatry, commences it under the most unfavourable and disheartening circumstances. His sincerity, the greatest hold which he could possibly possess on the natives, is distrusted and denied. His hearers have been so long accustomed to see matters of this sort treated as indifferent by those of the same nation and religion as the missionary, that they cannot believe his earnestness to be founded upon a love of truth, or a zealous disinterested desire of their conversion. Remembering that the religion of Mahomet, though propagated by the sword, was still propagated as a national concern, they cannot reconcile individual fervour with national apathy, and they reasonably wait until they can perceive the weight of authority inclining the same way. It is, indeed, a fearful question to have to ask, whether our conduct has not actually had a tendency to throw delay and impediment in the

way of heathen conversion? Miserable, indeed, is the position of any country or government that contributes not its proper share to the sacred office of diffusing a knowledge of the truth, that withholds from the possession of others the rich treasure of which it is intended to be the steward and the dispenser; but tenfold more deplorable is that government, if any such there be, which places difficulties in the way of others, to prevent them from fulfilling a labour of love. Such a character and such a career is too terrible to contemplate. Yet such things may be, or may become real; and prudence, at least, requires us to bethink us that, horrible as their existence seems, it is not altogether impossible.

Nor need we confine our attention to the effect produced by such a policy upon those whom it ought to be our object to reclaim, by precept and example, from positive idolatry. There is a double blessing in legislation or government exercised under religious feeling and with a religious object. It does not rest solely in the creation of external good—in the amelioration of those for whom its benefits are in the outset intended. A good action is its own reward in another sense besides that which is generally attached to the phrase; in that, being an exercise of virtue, it strengthens and improves that from which it proceeds. It is at once an evidence of moral growth, and the food upon which that moral growth is sustained. Men cannot legislate for high and ennobling purposes, except upon high views and lofty sentiments. But there are no means so certain and efficacious for raising their hearts and exalting their internal nature, as the habitual practice of such things as flow from such a state when it is realized. A people careless and indifferent about holy things is in a downward course to a still greater carelessness and indifference: on the contrary, any assembly of men whatsoever, zealously engaged in the pursuit of religion, is at every instant warming its zeal with a new vigour and animation. To provide for the spiritual well-being of others is assuredly one of the best methods for acquiring a wholesome desire of, and disposition for, one's own. The state of religion, so far as it depends upon government, in India, prepares us, therefore, to expect no very satisfactory accounts of the personal deportment of individuals; just as the knowledge of irreligious habits, upon the part of individuals, would induce us to anticipate corresponding negligence upon that of the government. We would be understood to speak very generally, both in what we have already said and in what may follow. Doubtless there are many brilliant exceptions, public and private; and we believe their number is on the increase. At times, rousing from its torpor, and forgetting the

lower considerations upon which it too often acts, Government has presented the appearance of legislating in the character of a mighty, and free, and enlightened nation—the friends, and almost the benefactors, of the Indian race. And oftener—out of all proportion much oftener—in the case of individuals, have been found men who have exhibited the fruits of pure and undefiled religion, who have sought to assuage the baneful effects of animosity, to render lighter the yoke imposed upon the defenceless, to medicine the sorrows of suffering humanity, of what race and colour soever, and who have added to a practical benevolence that “higher kind of righteousness” which keeps itself unspotted from the world. But, with regard to many English residents in India, we fear that a true detail of their lives and actions would present a picture by no means encouraging. This is no new complaint, but as old almost as our presence among them. The edifying spectacle which Christianity first presented to a Pagan world, and which extorted, even from enemies and detractors, admiration and astonishment, finds no parallel among Christians of later day, assembled together in the midst of a religious darkness to the full as intense. Christianity, indeed, appears as an exemption from those burdensome restrictions and ordinances which besotted superstition or crafty wisdom may have imposed upon the worshippers of idols or the followers of the false prophet. Rarely does it put forward, in the outward conduct of its professors, the purer precepts springing from purer faith, which are its legitimate, and ought to be its unfailing accompaniment. However great may be the harm done, and the offence given by Christians to each other by dereliction from the path of duty, or apparent deadness of heart and indifference to what they profess, the harm is incalculably greater which must be done among those who will judge of the tree by its fruits, and who will connect individual unworthiness and public carelessness together, until the conviction become too rooted to be removed, that the faith of the European is a mockery. Let us hear the evidence of one who has lived as a pastor within the camp of the Government forces :—

“January 5th, 1842.—Poor Davis, a recruit of H. M. 40th, died during the night. He had been very sick of bilious fever from the time we left Tattah, and grew gradually weaker and weaker. He had the character of a quiet inoffensive lad, but appeared exceedingly ignorant upon religious subjects, as indeed they commonly are. The condition of the European soldiery in this country is very painful to a Christian mind. A profane and nauseous habit seems to prevail among them, of interlarding their ordinary conversation with such blasphemous and filthy expletives as renders it most revolting to be brought

into close contact with them, as one must be on the deck of a small steamer. The use of such expressions is not called forth by excitement or passion, but appears to be the ordinary habit; and its effect on the minds, especially of young lads coming from home, must be demoralizing and brutalizing in the extreme."

And again, in terms more general and of more universal application, after forcibly reminding his readers that the main object with us has not been that for which God appointed us, the propagation of his truth, he adds—

"By individual and private efforts, I rejoice to think that much has been done; but as a nation, and by legislative acts, almost nothing. Nay, there have been repeated instances in which we have plainly preferred our dominion to our religion, and have suppressed the exhibition of the rites of our faith, and discouraged the propagation of its principles, for fear of shaking our authority, as if the God who gave were unable to uphold it. And to come from nations to individuals: has the example of professed Christians in India been beneficial to the heathen to any such extent as might reasonably have been expected? Have not the heathen frequently been driven to the conclusion that their Christian rulers had no religion at all, because they could perceive no outward signs of it? And have not the violence, and swearing, and drunkenness and uncleanness of Christians so called, lowered the standard of morals of the very heathen around the stations where they dwelt? I apprehend these are things which cannot be denied."

The testimony of Mr. Allen is the more available upon such matters, because his narrative is completely of a personal character. It eschews most scrupulously everything that could be thought to bear politically upon the events of the scenes through which he passed. He was attendant upon different detachments, principally H. M. 40th regiment of foot, in the capacity of chaplain; and of course he considers the service in which he was employed with no more relation to questions of statesmanship than would be thought of by the men and officers themselves, who determine to know nothing more than that they are to perform a certain task to the best of their power. But the reflections in which we have hitherto indulged are those which we think the very name of India calculated to suggest. They may indeed be suspended in perusing the accounts of particular campaigns; and an ardent mind, like Mr. Allen's, may be forgiven for becoming absorbed in the gallantry and skill displayed in the heat of an engagement. Still they ought not to be kept completely out of view. We ought never to allow ourselves to forget, that, however noble may be the exploits, however spirited and generous the behaviour of our brave troops in general, or singularly bright examples among them, the joy felt in their deeds, and the exultation in movements of success, must be



tempered with the anxious hope that these very successes and triumphs may be profitably, and we would add, religiously employed.

We shall turn now to our author's diary, noticing, before we do so, this distinctive character of the expedition which he accompanied; that it was made for an object indispensably requisite, demanded by every human tie or feeling—we mean the release of English prisoners. So far it was a holy cause; it was for the relief of innocent sufferers, whom every sentiment of love and honour commanded us to rescue. The evils connected with it—those, namely, which concerned the destruction of Afghan cities and the sacrifice of human life, to appease the claims of the most bitter vengeance for foul treachery—were, we fear, inevitable. We are well aware that attacks have been made upon the army engaged, and upon those who directed them, upon these heads; and we are also well persuaded that the unhappy necessities of war are reasons much more easily pleaded than justified. That all warfare is more or less attended with cruelty, license, and rapine, is at present undeniable; yet, though we refuse to acknowledge the validity of such an excuse, whensoever it may be applied, we are bound to admit that it would be unfair to annex the charge of wanton ferocity and bloodshed as a distinctive mark to our Indian forces. Indian policy has sins enough of its own, beyond those which are universally the same everywhere, to induce us not to overload them with that which cannot justly be attributed. The defence of the forces under Generals Nott and Pollock has been repeatedly and ably undertaken; and the opinion of a minister of the Gospel is sufficient, we think, to exculpate them. It is not merely that they have suffered more than they have inflicted, for this might be assignable to their power rather than their intention; but the character of civilization, as possessing a softening influence over our harsher feelings, will not suffer from any contrast which may be drawn between the European armies and the tribes of the Doo-ranee empire in the moment of triumph.

And here it may not be out of place to notice that every authenticated account of this campaign exhibits the falsehood of those representations which were at the time so frequently made, both in the public journals and elsewhere, with a view of inducing the belief that the expedition was either sullied by fearful "brutalities and barbarities," or that it was, on the other hand, an utter failure. That such statements should be made by a certain class of periodicals in England is a matter of little surprise. In all the controversies of the day, religious as well as political, there is a certain set of writers whose weapons are

assertions of the most unlimited description, and who, we are afraid, consider that in this kind of literary contention any exaggeration or untruth, so that it convey the desired impression, is merely a successful *ruse de guerre*. But it was indeed a piece of matchless effrontery that such statements should have found a place in the Indian newspapers. We question whether any malevolence is equal to that of an unsuccessful political faction. And when the machinations of the anonymous scribblers who libelled them were discovered, we can well understand what Mr. Allen tells us, that the officers under General Nott were amazed, upon their return, to learn from the papers that they were flying, defeated, exhausted, diseased, and disorganized, when they had in their simplicity supposed themselves to be the very reverse.

The events of Mr. Allen's diary occurred between April, 1841, and the close of the following year. The country over which he travelled includes all that territory which has recently become so interesting, as the scene of so many triumphs and so many reverses. After a pleasant stay at Kurachee, which lies rather to the westward of the mouths of the Indus, and is the sea-port of Lower Scinde, he received orders from the bishop to proceed, by the first good opportunity, to Candahar, and join H. M. 40th regiment, which had proceeded thither from Kwettah some months before. The change from the camp amusements, the pic-nics, and the sketching parties of Kurachee, to the dreary and fatiguing march, the dangerous passes, the constant skirmishing, and at times the deadly battle, which furnish the materials of the greater part of his volume, is amusing and instructive. We certainly had but little anticipation from the two first chapters, that our quiet and amiable clergyman could have described so well, or appeared so interested in the arduous and difficult course of those whom it was his lot to accompany. From the parade ground of Kurachee, with its assembly of beauty and fashion, its evenings enlivened by a military band for those who were willing to hear, and its bright uniforms and elegantly-dressed ladies, for such as only cared to see and to be seen, from the easy and domestic style of its social intercourse, with its "long days" spent at this or that point of peculiar interest, we are transported to the music of matchlocks and eighteen-pounders, of muskets and jussauls, to the flashing sabre and glittering bayonet, prolonged fasts, and forced marches through defiles, where every bush might hide a foe. The progress from Scinde to Candahar was less eventful even than what was to follow it. Upon the separation of the forces under Generals England and Nott, the former being appointed to lead one large division down the Bolan into Scinde, and the other being destined for more active ser-

vice against Ghuznee and Cabul—though this at first was only surmised, not actually known—Mr. Allen, after obtaining liberty to make his choice from General Nott, preferred to accompany that officer's forces. Making all allowance for a love of travelling and adventure, as well as for the most sanguine disposition, Mr. Allen's decision was a brave one; and the reason which he assigns for it—the feeling, that where the greater number of Europeans was to march, there he would be most useful—adds only to his courage that which gives bravery its greatest value, the worthiness of the aim for which life and security are endangered. In utter ignorance of the advance of General Pollock, knowing nothing of any steps that might have been taken to diminish his peril or responsibility, General Nott marched an army of seven thousand fighting men, carrying with them all their supplies, through the very heart of an enemy's country, imperfectly known, because only within the last few years invaded. Add to this, that all means of retreat were cut off, that for aught he knew he might be left alone almost in the midst of Asia, in the hourly sight of some spot which had a tale of previous loss connected with it, and not far from where a force nearly as large had been utterly destroyed a few months before, and the character of Nott and his comrades must be ranked very high. It will be a further honour to him to recollect that it was mainly in consequence of his own representations that he obtained the order to advance. The reputation of Nott, as an officer, must be well-deserved; but the willingness of Mr. Allen to accompany him can have rested upon no experience of his merits, and entitles him to the praise of being worthy to be entrusted with the sacred and difficult charge which he bore.

Accordingly, Mr. Allen proceeded from Candahar to Ghuznee, and thence to Cabul. He was present at the capture of the former of these places, and witnessed the work of destruction which followed the English victories at the latter. Some of the most important engagements took place between the enemy and divisions of the European forces with which Mr. Allen was not connected; but he was an eye-witness, and in some cases almost an actor in many battles, if they may bear this imposing name, which have been the theme of glory. The great charm about his descriptions is, that they are so extremely natural. He writes, as too many only pretend and attempt to do, in a manner which seems to convince us that he had no thought of presenting his journal to the world. It is an unaffected record of his feelings, generally terse and elegant, but at times composed in that loose and almost slovenly way which an educated man, setting down adventures and remembrances mainly for his own amusement, would at all times be apt to fall into. Thus his

little annoyances at the laziness of his servants, his self-congratulation at a good bargain in the purchase of his camels, the vexation of an accidental delay in the progress of the materials and appliances of the mess-dinner, are all excessively lively and entertaining. So, too, is his account of the gradual excitement which comes over every timid person in the moment of action, and the quiet satisfaction with which he explains his own eagerness for the fray, under the philosophical idea, that man is naturally a fighting animal. The following description of a night in the camp will serve as a good specimen of our author's style, while the mention of the disturbance created by the braying of asses and the barking of dogs will illustrate the remark we have just made. It is the presence of little familiar touches like these which puts an author and his reader upon terms of acquaintance, and indulges them in something like familiar conversation :—

“A camp in a wild, hilly country, like the neighbourhood of Kutty Sung, is extremely picturesque, whether by day or night. Towering hills, of various forms and distances, surround it on every side. On the ridge of each is seen, by day, a bristling line of piled arms of the out-lying picket, the men sitting in groups or strolling along the ridge of the hills; as the sun declines, the same ridges are occupied with lines of sentries, relieved against the horizon; after dark, little bright fires light up all around, and down in the hollows the voice of mirth and laughter is loud and general; till at last all sinks into silence, and the sound of the gongs striking the hour, the occasional challenge of a sentry, or the change of guard, are the only sounds which meet the ear—except those universal nuisances of a camp, the bray of asses and the bark of pariah dogs. It seems scarcely credible that from such a sleeping host the sound of a drum would, in five minutes, or less, turn out thousands of men appointed for the field. All is still, if there be no alarm or attack, till the appointed hour, when a single bugle gives its shrill note from the adjutant-general's tent; the summons is taken up and repeated by bugles and drums from corps to corps; all spring into life and activity, tents are struck, camels are loaded, horses saddled, men fall in, and a very short time leaves the hills and the hollows as still and desolate as before.”

This scene is of a more peaceful description than many of the evenings which were spent in the long march. The early and latter parts of the diary would best supply such tranquil nights. The march between the Bolan Pass and Ghuznee abounds in adventures of a different character, increasing in frequency and violence as they advance nearer to the latter place. We must refer to the book itself for the events which rendered the Pishun Valley and the Khojuk Pass remarkable. To be constantly harassed by a foe whom it was impossible to bring to close contest, to be scorched by a raging heat without shade for man or

forage for cattle, or to be exposed to storms of wind and dust of sufficient vehemence to overthrow and overwhelm tents and baggage, would have been enough to enfeeble and weary many a stout heart, without the sad addition that every spot had a tale of slaughter, and, in many cases, presented the skeletons of men or beasts, who had fallen by the sword of the enemy or the destructive nature of the climate. Even in the town of Candahar there was the consciousness that the apparent security of the inhabitants and their submission to our Government was fictitious. Although there was no exhibition of anything but tranquil obedience, it was unsafe to walk a mile from the fort unguarded; and the army were well aware that the instant they pursued their march, the parties favourable and opposed to them would be engaged in the most bitter conflict. While the forces remained there, they were more than once called out for petty engagements in the vicinity; and on two successive Sabbaths the good chaplain had to lament the interruption given to the weekly devotions of his small flock. The son of Shah Soojah, to whom we had given the precarious title of King of the Doorannee empire, occupied a palace there; Cabul, the proper seat of government, being at that time in the enemy's power. The interview with this "shadow of succession" is entertaining and characteristic:—

"On the 27th I accompanied General England and his staff on a visit to Prince Timour Shah, the eldest son of Shah Soojah ool Moolk, and now, by hereditary right, the King of the Doorannee empire. We were introduced by Major Rawlinson, political agent, who acted as an interpreter. The prince's apartments were in the palace, the greater part of which was built by Ahmed Shah. We were shown into a large quadrangle, more completely oriental than anything I had previously seen. One side was occupied by a building three stories high, with a flat roof and balustrade; it had embayed projecting windows, with richly carved lattices, and a style of architecture of Moorish character, something like the drawings of the Alhambra. The court was completely surrounded by a grapery, forming a cloister; a light framework ran all round, the stems of the vines were planted at regular distances, and the branches and tendrils mantled over the framework in rich festoons; at the end, opposite the buildings, was a rich shrubbery, with many fruit trees and walks; the walks were broad, paved, and planted at the angles with cypresses. The centre was occupied by an oblong piece of water with a stone edging, perfectly clear and full to the brim, in which various sorts of fowl were sporting. Nothing could exceed the coolness, tranquillity, and repose of the whole scene, softened by the mild light of sunset. At the farther end of this piece of water carpets were spread, and here sat his royal highness in a chair, I suppose out of compliment to us. After our salaam, chairs were placed for us, and conversation commenced. The prince is a man

of about forty, rather stout, his countenance heavy, yet not unpleasing, and improving much when animated in conversation; he had a fine black beard and eyebrows. Those who have seen them both say that he strikingly resembles his father, the late Shah. His dress was of white silk and gold interwoven, with a loose outer vest of dark blue cloth edged with gold. His manner was serious and dignified, without *hauteur*. I looked with melancholy interest upon this representative of the Dooranee monarchs—a king without a kingdom. He is said to have the best moral character of the family, to be a man of peace, and despised on that account by the Affghans, as is natural among a people nurtured in blood and turbulence. He inclines much to the British, and professed his intention of accompanying the force, should it evacuate the country. We complimented him on the beauty of his residence; and when he spoke of Candahar as compared to Cabul, and other topics, expressed our regret that we could not converse otherwise than by an interpreter. He replied that it had always been a cause of regret to him that he had not been taught English when young, that he had made some attempts to acquire it, but it was up-hill work. He was determined, however, that his sons should not labour under the same disadvantage; they were learning English, but he was sorry to say they were very idle, and loved their swords, guns, and horses better than study. We consoled him by the assurance that such failings were not confined to princes, or to his countrymen, and requested to see the culprits."

Another curious character of distinction is that of Aga Mahomet Khan, a man of the royal family of Persia, and who, with a company of two hundred horse, was retained in the British service during the late campaign. He had been exiled from his own country for attempting to foment a rebellion, but had transported with him all his national habits; and, as an useful auxiliary, received great honours from those who employed him. He received his guests seated on his heels at one corner of a platform, which served him equally for chair and table. He was said to be the head of the assassins, the lineal representative of the old man of the mountains, and to derive a considerable income from the offerings of his sect. His name is not mentioned in the more eventful parts of the campaign, so that we are left to conclude that his services were required in a different part of the country.

On the 9th of August the regiments under the command of General Nott began their journey from Candahar; Ghuznee was taken on the 6th of the following month. Their course lay, for the most part, between dark rocky hills of a deep purple hue, and presenting everywhere secure hiding-places for the enemy, who manifested their hostility whensoever they dared. Though the villages are thinly scattered, yet the extent of country is so vast, that it appears to have been possible for them to assemble thou-

sands at any point they chose. In many places the inhabitants professed friendship to the British, and found a good market for large quantities of grain and fruit in the camp. These supplies were the produce of different plains of great verdure and beauty, fragrant with the southernwood and camelthorn, and enlivened by the presence of herds of camels and flocks of sheep, which were interspersed amid the wildness and desert which elsewhere prevailed. In spite, however, of this professed friendship, it was no uncommon case for camel-drivers, or others who strayed beyond the guard, to be murdered by the very people who pretended to claim protection. The climate to which the army was subjected was most variable and distressing. A morning excessively cold changed to a mid-day of oppressive heat, without a breath of air, which again was perhaps followed by piercing blasts and whirlwinds of sand at night. Few sights can be more picturesque, perhaps, than the cavalcade of such a party; but from those composing it, all appreciation of its beauty must be very far removed. The immense multitude, in all the variety of its costume, with the contrast between the forms and faces of its members, must present an exhibition to which we should fancy the eye could not all at once become accustomed. Several hundreds of camels, led by natives in every description of painted Scindian and Hindoostanee garb; the irregular cavalry, with dresses in which the gayest colours are brought into the strongest contrast, the dark locks floating from their swarthy brows, and the loud and wild cries with which they urge on their powerful steeds; and, on the other hand, the regular cavalry in their neat and elegant uniform, so steady and systematic in every movement, where the irregular are erratic and fluctuating; all this, in the midst of an unfeatured desert, must be an animated scene. And then appears, as a mockery of this real assembly of striking figures, the deceitful mirage, so alluring, and yet so false, presenting what the faint traveller most longs to look at—

“ὁδοιπόρῳ δειψόντι πηγᾶν ῥέον.” (*Agam.* 901).

and yet reminding those who are aware of its deceitful charms how distant is the object of their longing. But the cavalcade of which we are speaking had other work on hand than to mark the beauty of the scenery, or their own progress. As they advanced, what was at first merely a little harassing annoyance from their almost unseen foe, became much more serious; and engagements, not without loss on both sides, though that of the enemy, out of all proportion, was the greater, followed in rapid succession. Oba and Kara Barg were the scenes of two very smart conflicts on the 24th and 27th of August. The manner

in which the Affghans engaged certainly conveyed no great idea of skill or discipline ; but though it took very little to scatter them at any one moment, their movements are so swift, that they suffered very inconsiderable losses, and their hatred so vehement, that they immediately collected for fresh aggressions. On the 1st September, at a place called Chupper Khana, some horsemen of the people called Hazarus presented themselves before the English, and were anxious to further our views against the Affghans, with whom they were at high feud. They are of a completely different race, being apparently of Tartar extraction, and speak the Persian language. They also differ in religion ; the Hazarus belong to the Sheah, while the Affghans belong to the Soonee sect of Mohammedans. The difference between these is, that the latter acknowledge the first three caliphs as legitimate successors of Mahomet, which the former do not ; considering Ali as the first legally invested with authority after the prophet. The Hazarus have a tradition, that Ferang, the father of the Europeans, and Hazaru, were both sons of Japhet, and consequently saluted our countrymen as brothers. It is a melancholy satire on religious divisions, that among the matters which they wished to impress upon the General's mind the first was, that every Soonee was a wretch, whose throat they trusted he would cut without mercy. Another was, that they hoped he would level the walls of Ghuznee, and destroy the huge sixty-eight pounder gun, Zubber Jung, which they held in great awe. The General assured them of his willingness to comply with this last request, which he certainly fulfilled. In pitching their camp at Ghuznee, the forces endeavoured to select a place where this object of terror, Zubber Jung, could not be brought to bear upon them, imagining that from its immense size it could not be moved from its usual position ; they were, however, soon undeceived, though the account of their proceedings only rouses the good humour of Mr. Allen :

“ We now went to breakfast, and, as we imagined, in quiet ; but how vain the hope ! Just as I was going to the mess-tent of H. M. 40th, the most astounding report struck my ear, and whizz ! whizz ! whizz ! came an enormous shot over the top of the mess-tent ; it pitched among some camels, wounded one or two, and was carried by its ricochet over H. M. 41st mess-tent in rear, where it killed another camel. It was a message from Zubber Jung himself, and when we were just recovering from the effect produced, whizz ! came another in the same direction. We started up, for few felt any further appetite for breakfast, and rushed out. Instant orders were given to remove the camp, and as we had understood that he was fired in one direction, which could not be changed, some walked up the main street, and



fancied themselves safe—alas! in vain. One of the shots had been found and carried to the front of the General's tent, and a large body of officers were collected to view this immense piece of hammered iron, weighing above fifty pounds. We soon had fearful evidence that the group was conspicuous enough to Zubber Jung and his friends; for after a longer pause than usual, in order to bring him round, whizz! came a shot right over the General's tent, and rebounding, passed through the fly of the tent of Captain Bulton, 2nd regiment, N. I., in the rear. It is impossible to describe the horror, which seemed universal, at the really awful noise of these enormous shot, as they flew over our heads, and every one hurried towards the hills, where we hoped to be out of their reach."

On the second night Ghuznee was evacuated, and the army under General Nott entered on the following day. The noble edifices of the town, as they have been termed, meet with some ridicule at Mr. Allen's hands. He describes it as wretched above the generality of Affghan towns—as mean, confined, and dirty. Especial care was taken, in removing the sandal-wood gates from the tomb of Mahmood of Ghuznee, the hero who had brought them as a trophy from a celebrated Hindoo temple at Soomnaut, that the shrine, buildings, and garden, should not be rifled or desecrated. Far more interesting than these spoils, which have excited so much controversy and ridicule, were the traces of the prisoners which were found in the citadel. One small room, which seemed to have been at one time the prison of the whole party, had several names and sentences written in pencil, or scratched upon the wall. One inscription, dated the 20th of May, and signed by an officer of the 27th regiment, was apparently intended to give authentic information. It enumerated the names of the captives, and recorded the violation of two distinct treaties by certain treacherous chiefs, whose names are written down. It added an account of the tortures which Colonel Palmer had endured, and declared that their general treatment had been marked by insolence and oppression. It is but justice to the character of Ahkbar Khan to draw attention to the testimony borne by all, upon their recovering their liberty, to the hospitality and kindness which they had experienced when placed under his charge. The name of Shums ood Deen Khan is infamous among native tribes as well as among Europeans, and it was from his atrocity and barbarity that the sufferings of our unfortunate fellow-countrymen in a great measure proceeded. One curious artifice, devised by some prisoner, is worth noticing, which was discovered during the course of the destruction of the Ghuznee citadel. It was an inscription in English words and Greek characters on the wall of the prison-house, directing at-

tention to a certain beam, where copies of the treaties made with Colonel Palmer were deposited; the treaties were found and secured, according to its directions.

The important events which followed the capture of Ghuznee, the successes of General Pollock, the junction of the two armies, and the circumstances connected with their return to India, must be passed over. They are well known from the dispatches, and are agreeably illustrated by this diary. We prefer, therefore, to turn aside to a subject which will not be found mentioned with them. At Istalif exists a small community of Armenian Christians, some of whose children were baptized by Mr. Allen, on his march from Ghuznee to Cabul. He had previously heard of them from a clergyman who visited them in 1839, as chaplain to the Bombay army, under Lord Keane. It was with some difficulty that they were discovered, in an obscure street, but gladly did they welcome a Christian priest. Their church, though wanting an appointed minister, is sedulously preserved from dirt or decay, and numbers among its richest treasures some copies of the Gospels and a Bible. This little flock of pure believers seem, like the inhabitants of Goshen, to have light in their dwellings, while all around is a thick darkness—yea, “a darkness that may be felt.” There is a lesson for those who forget or think lightly of the privileges of a sacred ministry ordained to their high office, in the humble and pious, though mistaken behaviour of a woman among their company, who would have prostrated herself before the man of God. A man who was present with her, clasped the clergyman’s hand in both his own, and, bowing down, pressed it first to his lips, and then to his forehead. The warmth of affectionate devotion, though it may border upon superstition, has a holy beauty in it that excites our admiration and our love. The faults of coldness and apathy can never meet with similar indulgence. In a space of a hundred years, this flock has been diminished from two hundred to four families. Three of their children were lately baptized. Whether this persecuted congregation will long survive, or whether it will be destroyed, heaven only knows. It may, in God’s mercy, be reserved for great ends and high purposes. He who has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the strong, may have yet some work in store, for which these steadfast ones in the faith are the appointed instruments. Religious differences upon minor matters sink into insignificance while we read their simple story, and we feel in unison with Mr. Allen’s thoughts, as he left them for ever:—

“Farewell, I thought as I rode away—farewell, brethren in Christ—amidst much that may be ignorant and superstitious, there is a cleav-

ing to Christian ordinances, and a reverence for Christian teachers, which encourages me to hope that there is a love to the Master, as well as to the house and the servants. We shall probably meet no more on earth, but I will indulge the hope of meeting you where we shall no longer see through a glass darkly, but shall know even as also we are known. May our one Lord, in whose one faith and one baptism we are united, watch over you, and be your protector in the midst of the enemies of the cross of Christ, and cause that the blessed banner under which both you and I are enlisted may speedily be unfurled, as the sign by which the kingdoms of this world shall be subdued, and become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ, that he may reign for ever and ever."

ART. IX.—*The Repeal Agitation in Ireland.* By J. G. KOHL.  
London: Chapman and Hall. 1843.

THE historian, whose province it will be to narrate the efforts made in Ireland for a Repeal of the Union, must, if he wishes to ascertain the philosophical causes which produced them, look back through centuries, and, comparatively disregarding those that are immediate and distinct, search in more distant times for the true source from whence they spring. In a nation, wherever one class, more wise and enlightened than the mass of the population, has acquired superior power, rights, and privileges, as the intelligence of the people improves, and their habits become more civilized, there will be a constant struggle on their part at first to procure an equality with, and finally an ascendancy over, the dominant class. On the side of the patriots there is a perpetual struggle to resist encroachment; on that of the mass, too eager a desire to grasp at a power, which, if obtained, they know not how to use. The one party too obstinately deny; the other too precipitately demand. The people, often half-indifferent, and sometimes wholly ignorant, are urged on by a few of the most ambitious of their body, whose minds are galled and fretted by an exclusion from privileges to which they perhaps may be entitled, but to which their followers certainly are not; whilst the upper orders, proud of their hereditary rank and long superiority, are determined to resist being placed on an equality with the coarse and the uninformed. This principle will be found to be true in all countries where the inhabitants are sprung from the same stock; and if, in any country, to the difference of class there be added that of race, and to those two a difference in religion, the result of the three will be divisions, jealousies, and sorenesses, sometimes breaking out in tumults, and but too often presenting the appearance of an uncertain and sickly tranquillity.

In illustration of these remarks we shall take a very brief outline of the history of Ireland, which will show the constant existence of these three differences. That country, far behind the neighbouring states of Europe in point of improvement, had relapsed from being the conservatory of learning, which it is its proud boast to have once been, and from that independence of the see of Rome which it possessed and maintained until a short time before the English invasion, into almost a state of barbarism; the people were governed by savage chieftains, and were nearly sunk to the state of slaves. It is recorded, that out of two hundred ancient kings, but thirty came to a natural death; and, as is well known, the abduction of the wife of O'Ruarc by the King of Leinster was the immediate cause of the expedition of Strongbow. Ireland was gained by conquest, and her first conquerors parcelled out their grants among their English tenants, and either expelled the natives, or drove them into the worst parts of the country. So long as the distinction of races was kept up, there was enmity between the natives and their conquerors; but in those dark ages the problem was not long in being solved, whether the little ray of civilization which the latter introduced was to struggle through the darkness of barbarism by which it was surrounded, or be enveloped in obscurity. The English sunk into the rude habits and customs of the aborigines: "they intermarried with the Irish—they connected themselves with them by the national custom of fostering—they spoke the Irish language—they affected the Irish dress and manner of wearing the hair—they harassed their tenants with every Irish exaction and tyranny—they administered Irish law, if any at all, and neither regarded the king's summonses to his Parliament, nor paid any obedience to his judges;" in short, they emphatically deserved the name of degenerate English.\* The power of the crown, and the small territory called the English pale, alone preserved the semblance of English habits and laws.

In 1560 the Reformed religion was established, and being forced in by the exercise of high prerogative, and no pains being taken to make it understood by the people, it was confined to the few English; and thus, by gross mismanagement, by the want of proper teaching, and by the exercise of violence, the distinction of religion was added to that of race. Mr. Hallam says—

"That scarce any pains were taken in the age of Elizabeth, nor indeed in subsequent ages, to win the people's conviction, or to eradicate their superstitions, except by penal statute and the sword. The Irish language was universally spoken without the pale; it had even made great progress within it. The clergy were principally of that

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\* Hallam's "Constitutional History," vol. iii., p. 471.

nation ; yet no traces of the Scriptures, the chief means through which the Reformation had been effected in England and Germany, nor even of the regular liturgy, was made into that tongue."

The confiscation of lands, in 1583, in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and subsequently of five hundred thousand acres in Ulster, occasioned a fresh immigration of English and Scotch colonists ; and the province of Ulster, or the "Black North," as Mr. O'Connell calls it, from having been "the seat of the wildest natives, has become the most flourishing, the most Protestant, and the most enlightened part of Ireland." The rebellion of 1641, which commenced by the murder of the Protestants in Ulster, was crushed by Cromwell, and a fearful retribution inflicted on all who had appeared in arms ; more than half the possessions of the Roman Catholics were confiscated. The victorious soldiers remained in the country, and fresh colonists went over. The settlers of that period are known in Ireland by the contemptuous title of "Cromwallians."

Under the reign of James II. a most unconstitutional mode of proceeding was adopted—a dispensing prerogative set aside the late statutes, every office was filled with Catholics, and the Protestants were disbanded and disarmed. A Popish lord-lieutenant, doubtful of his master's success in restoring Popery to this country (he might have known that the British people would not be "the minions of Popery"), had made overtures to France, to place the crown of Ireland on his own head.\* But the battle of the Boyne effectually altered the state of parties, and again were the Roman Catholics conquered, prostrated, and deprived of all political power by the penal laws. Sunken, powerless, and abject for a century, the Revolution of France, and the independence achieved for the Irish Parliament by the volunteers, stimulated their hopes ; and a few liberal Protestants, seized with the mania of Republicanism, having joined their ranks, the Rebellion of 1798 was the result, which in many places has left such bitter stings of memory, as to require an age to lessen and subdue.

Such has been the past history of Ireland ; and whoever now examines its social condition will find the same distinctions of race, class, and religion existing, and studiously kept alive by Mr. O'Connell, who trades on the misfortunes of his country but to prolong them, and who strives to render narrow animosities perpetual, that he may gratify his avarice and his vanity.

It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the people of this country, that the present movement for Repeal is only to gain a further step—separation from England, the downfall of the Pro-

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\* Hallam, vol. iii., *Cons. His.*, p. 530.

testant Church, and Roman Catholic ascendancy. It is not the fact of a Conservative Government being in office that has caused this convulsion, which, from the nature of Popery, must have come sooner or later. Mr. O'Connell has been obliged to select the present time, because it was necessary for him, not having the favours of Whig patronage to dispense, to raise the best clap-trap cry he could, to wring from his starving dupes his lordly income; and for this base purpose he incites them to sedition, "under the veil of religion and liberty, than which nothing is esteemed so precious in the hearts of men." The Roman Catholic priesthood were well aware, that if the dawning improvement in the habits of the people were allowed to increase, and that both the power and inclination to think progressed, their own domination might be in danger: in one or two instances there was an outcry against their dues; the next step might have been an enquiry into the nature of the services for which those dues were demanded. Understanding thoroughly the character of the Irish, with whom they are identified in birth and habits, they knew they had only to raise a party cry to influence the minds of the people to a fever heat, and thus effectually prevent a dispassionate examination into the principles of Popery. The ostensible lever Mr. O'Connell makes use of is the incitement of the Celt against the Saxon, and of the tenant against his landlord.

Mr. Kohl, in his graphic description of a Repeal meeting, states that Mr. O'Connell draws out the word *Saxon* "with a peculiar lengthened emphasis on the *a*, which never fails to draw down applause." He has been perpetually harping on Lord Lyndhurst's expression of "aliens in blood, language, and religion;" and this he does, not with an expression of regret that the Celt will not amalgamate with his English fellow-countrymen, not with a desire to inspire his auditors with a love for them, not to stimulate the efforts of the Irish to equal English fortitude, perseverance, comfort, and thrift; but, on the contrary, he does it to nurture hatred and keep alive dissension.

We can understand and admire Mr. Shiel's eloquent repudiation of alienage, when, speaking of the English and Irish fighting in the same battles, he declared that "they were no aliens, who had fought in the same field, bled in the same cause, and the same dew from heaven fell upon the sod that covered them." And, let us ask, why is the term "*Saxon*" to be applied contemptuously, and as the fit designation of tyrants and oppressors? In such a sense, is it applicable to the men of Kent, whose ancestors never ceased to struggle for their ancient liberties and Saxon privileges until they obtained them? Is it applicable to

the descendants of those barons, who, on the field of Runnymede, sword in hand, procured from their monarch the Great Charter, which enacted, that "to none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay right or justice?" Is it a just term of reproach upon a people who have for centuries possessed the most stable and free political institutions in Europe, and whose enterprising and commercial spirit has pushed our empire to the utmost limits of the world?

We do not hesitate to say, that all of civilization and improvement that Ireland possesses is due to the introduction of Saxon people, laws, and spirit. Mr. Kohl's remarks on this head are just. He writes—

"When the Irish sum up their grievances, they ought also to remember the advantages for which they stand indebted to the English. It is the English that improve the navigation of the Shannon, urge the draining of the bogs, and gradually drive the Irish elves and fairies into the sea. It is the English who enrich the Irish towns with clean, comfortable, and civilized quarters. It is the English who constitute the soul and pith of the British power; and it is to them that the Irish owe it, if they are able to participate in the wide-spread commerce of Great Britain, and to share in all the opportunities and advantages that stand open to a British subject. The vigorous, speculative, and persevering Anglo-Saxons force the indolent and unenergetic Celts along with them on the road of glory and national greatness; they pull them forward, somewhat rudely perhaps, but they do pull them forward."

We ourselves can bear witness to the fact, still observable after the lapse of so many centuries, that the baronies of Forth and Bargo, in the county of Wexford—where the English, under Fitzstephen, settled—retain, and have always been distinguished for their superior habits of cleanliness and thrift; and the difference between the north, and the south, and west of Ireland, is most wonderfully conspicuous.

Mr. Kohl's book is only valuable to us as containing the opinions of a foreigner, who may be considered as uninfluenced by any local prejudices or partizan feelings. The character of the book is light, but written in a readable style; many of the writer's personal observations are pleasing and correct; his political opinions are shallow, and his knowledge of the history of Ireland is imperfect. His descriptions of places, men, and women, are often happy and graphic. We may instance those of the Irish labourer's costume, and of the beggar's hut at Bantry: the first is exceedingly humorous—the last, touching and pathetic. But these *nugæ* come not within our present design.

In page 12 we find the following extraordinary plan for ameliorating the condition of the Irish farmer;—

"In most of the civilized countries of Europe—in France by a revolution, and in Germany by wise and well-timed reforms—the nobility have been deprived of their feudal power over their peasants, and these poor serfs and slaves have been converted into small proprietors. Even in Russia measures are in progress, the object of which is to made the peasants less dependent on their lords, and gradually to give them a property in the land they till.

"In England and Ireland alone people have feared to ask themselves, whether it would not be wise to give the poor oppressed Irish farmers a permanent interest in the soil, and to take measures, as has been done in Prussia and Saxony, to pave the way for the introduction of permanent leases, for the reduction of exorbitant rents, and then first to allow, and afterwards to make it imperative, that the tenant shall have it in his power to convert the permanent lease into a freehold? No one here seems to have dreamed of enquiring how this has been done in France, in Germany, and even in the Baltic provinces of Russia; no one has yet been bold enough to raise the question, *Whether the real cultivator of the soil has not, in point of fact, a better claim to a property in it, than the noble owner whose privileges has almost always had their origin in violence and injustice?* People here have such a holy dread of touching, even in the most remote way, what they call the "rights of property," that they seem incapable of raising themselves to the level of the idea, *that circumstances may arise to make it the highest political wisdom to venture on the infringement of those rights.* The titles by which the landed nobility of Europe hold their estates and tenants are of infinite variety. In most cases they have originated in possession from time immemorial; individuals having in a dark age, of which all record has been lost, established their ascendancy, either by cunning or violence. In some states however, the dependence and poverty of the tillers of the soil has been the consequence of the conquest of the country, and its partition among the conquerors. In general, the date of this conquest went back to so remote a period, that the injustice which attached to the original title had been forgotten, or the estates had passed, in the course of time, into the possession of new families, who could not, in the most remote degree, be held responsible for the original injustice. Could the law always have come upon the original wrong-doer, or his immediate descendant, no one would have accused the State of injustice if it had said to him, '*You hold your land by an unjust title, so we shall take it from you, and restore it to the poor peasants whose ancestors were robbed by yours.*' Prussia, and the other states of Germany, did more than this. It was impossible for them to distinguish those titles that were of a vicious origin, so they proceeded against all alike, and forced them all to abandon privileges injurious to the community at large, and to accept a moderate indemnity in exchange. What we in Germany have *done* to a nobility, whose privileges rested on incomparably better titles, people in Ireland do not venture to think of with respect to a nobility holding its privileges by the worst possible titles."

And after describing the history of the acquisition of Irish property, he winds up thus :—



“In presence of such titles, what wise Government ought to hesitate to interfere—not indeed with revolutionary measures, calculated to throw everything into confusion, but to enact such salutary reforms as would enable the poor tenants-at-will and leasholders gradually to convert their tenure into a freehold, so that the millions might not continue for ever to waste away for the profit of a few oligarchs?”

It is quite true that we *have* a “holy dread of touching, even in the most remote way, the rights of property”—quite true that, for the sake of a problematical good, we will not become spoliators—quite true that the Queen of England will not deprive of their possessions the descendants of men whose forefathers acquired them by a grant from her predecessors—we hold national faith too dear to act thus—and who themselves and their families have ever since maintained their attachment to British connexion undiminished and their loyalty unshaken, though surrounded with disaffection and sedition. Happily, in this country, we *are* convinced that by preserving to every man his property, we most effectually guard ourselves from revolution and despotism: that by securing to each individual the fruits of his industry, we most strongly stimulate his exertions. We want not to treat a great nation like ours in the same way as a German prince might a few petty states, which we could walk through in a day; nor as a French National Convention, whose proceedings have been stamped with infamy by the unanimous consent of a “bleeding world.”

But let us not be misunderstood. Property has its duties, as well as its rights. We rejoice to find that a commission has opened its sittings in Dublin, whose object is to enquire into the relation between landlord and tenant. We advocate not the conduct of those landlords, harsh and cruel men, who would turn a poor family, penniless and houseless, from their properties; but we believe such instances to be of rare occurrence, and we know that many of the most enlightened proprietors, and those most prominent in improvement, have aimed at the consolidation of farms, where such an object can be obtained without injustice or cruelty. It has been well said by Sir Robert Peel, that this is a question rather “of morals than of legislation;” but what benevolent landlord can with apathy behold his property not half cultivated, from the minute subdivision of land and want of capital—can with indifference see masses of paupers increasing annually, and forming improvident marriages (because they have a hovel and an acre of ground), and not attempt to remedy such a state of things? A yet more frequent case is, where the farmers have sub-let (but this evil is diminishing), and when the lease has expired the landlord finds that he has ten families on his property, where he can only recognize one

tenant. The course usually adopted is, to remit the arrears of rent—often unpaid for three or four years—and to give in money sufficient to pay the expenses of the respective families to Canada. Mr. Kohl mentions, that in the county of Tipperary, “out of 3,400 holdings, there are 280 of less than an acre, and 1,056 of more than one, but less than five acres.” If this be true, it gives some insight into the causes which have produced the atrocious murders which have disgraced that county, naturally one of the most fertile in Ireland. It matters not how many years’ rent may be due, how many squatters may have settled on his property, if a landlord attempts to dispossess a tenant, or even a stranger, who has settled on his land, he runs the risk of being murdered. As illustrative of this branch of our subject, Mr. Kohl mentions, that in the county of Wexford “he passed the neighbourhood where, a few years ago, a landed proprietor, of the name of O’Brien, was murdered in open day, and in a field where several labourers were at work, and yet the murderer still continues unknown.” The circumstances, as we have heard them, were these:—Mr. Butler Bryan (not Mr. O’Brien) had purchased the house and grounds occupied by the late Bishop of Ferns, at whose death the see was suppressed, and having also purchased or inherited some property in the county of Kilkenny, he discovered valuable mines in it, and commenced to work them. This proceeding displeased the rustic legislators, and brought him into collision with them, and he either dispossessed, or attempted to dispossess, some refractory tenants; and for no other reasons *whatever* he was murdered on his own lawn in broad day. Two men have been in the county gaol for more than a year and a half, but owing to the fact of one of the witnesses having either absconded or been forcibly taken out of the country, no trial has ever yet been held; and if this witness cannot be found, we presume the two accused parties will be let go free next spring assizes.

It is not our feeling to defend the oppression of any class of men; we anxiously wish to better the condition of the lower orders, and to abate their destitution—to give the farmer who has capital an interest in his holding, and compensation for his improvements in case of eviction; but we cannot assent to so monstrous an invasion of the rights of property, as is designed in the passages we have quoted. We do not deny that land in many districts, from the immense competition for it, is overlet. Great care and circumspection will be necessary on the part of the commissioners before they recommend any legislative enactment; the chief good that we anticipate will arise from a candid investigation into the mode of tenure, and the probability that

some practical result will follow from the general discussion caused by the enquiry.

We did not anticipate, from Mr. Kohl's latitudinarian principles with respect to property, that the Irish Church could escape; we will, however, do him the justice to say, that he has not indulged himself in scoffs and ribaldry, and has confined himself, in his strictures, to her temporalities. The following quotation exhibits such sheer ignorance that even his translator has been obliged to note it:—

"Since the last 'clipping' of the revenues of the Irish Protestant clergy, the rector of Enniscorthy has been reduced from 2,100*l.* to about 1,000*l.* a year; but it must not be supposed that every Protestant clergyman has been reduced to the same extent. The archbishops and bishops are those from whom the least has been taken, and *the necessity of a further clipping* is sufficiently shown by a reference to the tables of the revenues of the Irish dignitaries. There are in all twenty-two Anglican archbishops and bishops in Ireland—only five less than in England. Upon the whole, the Irish bishops are better paid than those of England, for the average income of the former is 7,000*l.* a year, and of the latter 6,000*l.* Four English bishops have less than 2,000*l.* a year. In Ireland there is not one whose income falls below that amount. The two richest sees in England are those of Canterbury and Durham, each exceeding 19,000*l.* a year. The richest in Ireland is that of Armagh, with a yearly revenue of 15,000*l.* The general body of the Irish Protestant clergy is also better off than that of England. In the latter country the average value of a living is 285*l.* a year; whereas, in Ireland, it is 372*l.* The gross income of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland is 151,127*l.*, while those of England have a revenue of 181,631*l.* Eight millions of Irishmen, therefore, of whom six millions are (Roman) Catholics, pay nearly as much to their Protestant bishops as fifteen millions of Englishmen, who are mostly Protestants. This may serve as a standard by which to estimate the extent of the injustice to which the Irish are subjected by existing laws and institutions."

Where a writer lays down such statements as broad facts, it is surely not too much to ask that he will take a little pains to obtain correct information; but the refutation of the preceding paragraph must have almost stared him in the face as he wrote it. Within six miles of Enniscorthy lies Ferns, which the author commemorates as the scene of Mr. Bryan's murder, whom we have already mentioned as purchaser of the house and grounds of that suppressed see, and which was but one of ten. Here even a stage-coach conversation—for Mr. Kohl drove through the village—might have shown him his error. We very much question the statement—nay, we know it to be erroneous—of the amount of the living of Enniscorthy. If 700*l.*, clear of all deductions, be received, we venture to say it is the outside—and this

living, be it observed, is *the best* in the diocese—the greatest prize to which any clergyman in that district, no matter how great his talents, how high his pretensions, how conspicuous his learning and piety, can possibly aspire. And at what period of his life can he hope to attain so good an income? Perhaps, after a service of ten or fifteen years as a curate, on a salary of 75*l.* per annum (as Sir Robert Peel has remarked, less than the pay of a door-keeper of the House of Commons), he may be promoted to a small living, and, after as many more years, in the decline of his life, may obtain a bare sufficiency to educate, support, and provide for his family.

We wish heartily Mr. Kohl's statements of the income of the Irish clergy were not exaggerated. No one can paint more strongly than he does the destitution of the country; and who, so far as their limited means permit, are the relievers of that destitution and the sympathizers with the wretched? We answer, the parochial clergy, in some places the only resident gentlemen in their respective parishes. But the absurd and ignorant objection has been raised, "Oh, if you do give back a little in the shape of alms, you first wring your tithes from a starving people, who care not for the instruction you offer." And Mr. Kohl speaks of the six millions of Roman Catholics paying the Protestant bishops; and yet, in another part of his book he tells us, as the fact is, that nine-tenths of the property of Ireland is in the hands of English families; he might have added, of members of the Established Church. Now, in an agricultural country, as Ireland almost exclusively is, tithes are a burden on land, and therefore nine-tenths of the income of the Protestant clergymen are contributed by their own congregation. We boldly assert (putting out of the question the great moral and religious advantage of having an Establishment which teaches the word of God as it is delivered to us in the Bible, and all spiritual considerations whatsoever, and confining ourselves to mere temporalities), that, instead of the Irish Church being a grievance upon the mass of the people, she is an advantage to them, a greater distribution of property is effected, and one resident gentleman secured in each parish. "Clipped" her revenues have been; within ten years she has undergone much persecution. At one blow, in 1833, ten bishoprics were suppressed, and a heavy tax was imposed on benefices in lieu of church-cess, then abolished. In 1837, one-fourth of the income of the clergy was struck off, many of whom had for seven years previously borne privations and hardships which it is painful even to think of. And in 1838 the Poor Law Bill was passed, which imposed on the clergy an unjustly-proportioned tax, relatively double to the amount assessed on the landlords; and even yet the enemies of

the Church (who wish, by repeated blows, to work her downfall) are dissatisfied. Their miser aim is to reduce the clergy to the lowest pittance which can support a meagre existence, departing from the just principles of our fathers, who "took care that those who were to instruct presumptuous ignorance—who were to be censors over insolent vice, should neither incur their contempt nor live upon their alms." They were solicitous that the noblest profession to which man could belong should not be degraded by the exhibition of penury and dependence. How lamentably niggard is the conduct of some of their descendants.

Having traced the remote causes of the Repeal agitation—having pointed out that they are still in existence, and anxiously preserved by Mr. O'Connell and the priests for their own bad purposes—and having corrected the mis-statements of Mr. Kohl with regard to property and the Church, we proceed to notice a certain proof of the freedom of the people of Ireland, their unfitness for it, and finally the duty of the Legislature and the Government in relation to the agitation for the Repeal of the Union, and for the restoration of tranquillity to Ireland. The immense assemblages of people, brought together nominally for the discussion of a question, the bearings of which they could not possibly understand, but, in reality, to terrify the Government by the demonstration of physical force, must have impressed every man, as well native as foreigner, with a strange idea of the license which the inhabitants of the sister island are allowed to exhibit. Mr. Kohl observes:—

"It is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the British Constitution and of the national character, and one not sufficiently estimated by foreigners, that a course of agitation, so nearly approaching to insurrection, can be tolerated without any serious mischief following. O'Connell's career of thirty years, as the popular tribune, the great agitator of Ireland, much as it may be to the credit of the man's tact, who, always verging on the extreme limits of the law, appears never to have actually overstepped them, is, at the same time, still more creditable to the political liberty and to the national character of the British people, not excepting the Government. I will not stop to ask whether a man like O'Connell could, either in France or Germany, have run the career he *has* run, without passing through a prison or under the guillotine; but even in the freest republics of Greece or Rome we meet with no example of a man assuming, with impunity, and for a lengthened period, a position of such uncompromising hostility against the great aristocracy of the State, as O'Connell has assumed against the aristocracy of England and Ireland."

And again—

"With us, people have become too reasonable, too enlightened, and much too self-dependent to make it possible for an individual to step from among us, and grow up into such overwhelming dimensions..... In a well-regulated State, and with an intelligent well-informed people,

among whom all, or nearly all, have the means of subsistence, the apparition and success of a popular tribune, like O'Connell, would be impossible. It was only in proportion as the *infima plebs* of Rome sunk to a lower and more degraded condition, that the tribunes became more prominent. Ireland is a country in which there are a larger number of individuals without rights or property than in any other in the world."\*

In England, if there be any change in our polity requisite, the proposed alteration must emanate from the respectable and thinking portion of the people; there must be some practical abuse, and no imaginary *desiderata*; we must have either the evil brought home to us, or the good tangible and clear: in short, we must know what it is we want or wish. We are averse to change, because, by every change, some portion of the community is sure to lose; and because we are not by nature fickle, nor liable to be duped or cajoled. In Ireland, on the contrary, it is not the respectable portion of the people who thirst and desire after change: a few designing demagogues and self-elected leaders, either urged on by interested motives, or the zeal of devotees, stir up an ignorant and poverty-stricken mass to ask for they know not what. It is notorious that the people were whipped to the Repeal meetings by their priests—that three-fourths of them could not hear a word of what was said. It is clear, where numbers are thus misled by a few, that either the general intelligence of the people cannot be great, or that they are blindly driven by a religious supremacy; it is also evident, that when one portion of the population are at the mercy of an ignorant majority who—some of them heated with an inflammatory harangue—are to exercise their *discretion*! whether they will injure the property or attack the lives of those who differ from them, that this is a dangerous and most improper state of things. Although there may be no actual outrage where there is the power of committing one, and an inability to resist it, society is not protected. One class must be kept in a state of terror, if they see a mine sprung at their feet, and know not the moment when the train which conducts to it may be set fire to. Can we expect forbearance from

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\* Before we dismiss this work, we may observe that, although the language of the translation is sufficiently good, a little more acquaintance with Ireland, on the part of the translator, would have been desirable. No one who has ever been in that country could make the mistake of calling the "well" of an Irish jaunting car the "pit," or not have been able to correct the statement of the author, that the scholars and fellows of the Dublin University returned representatives to Parliament; the fact being, that seven-tenths of the constituency are Masters of Arts. The names of persons and places—the language and stories of the people, would have been more correctly given by a person who had a knowledge of the country: in the two last particulars, however, Mr. and Mrs. Hall's excellent work on Ireland may have rendered us fastidious.

a people who are allowed to be lashed to madness, or can we wonder that when excited and goaded on they are not tame?

We say, then, if these monster-meetings were not grossly unconstitutional and illegal—and we can hardly doubt but that they were—that for the future they should be declared to be so. An instructive lesson has been read to us in political science. It may be quite true that the present Ministry could not have acted otherwise than they have; we know the difficulties they had to meet. In the first place, the people of England might have raised an outcry—incited as they would have been by a Radical press—against the despotism of a proclamation which would prevent what they might term the free discussion of political opinion; secondly, every thinking and intelligent man in England was of opinion that a Repeal of the Union was impossible and ridiculous, and many thought that the agitation for it would have died of its own absurdity—the experiment was worth trying; and, finally, there were not sufficient troops in Ireland in case of an outbreak. All these evils the Ministry saw, and determined, taking every precaution for the safety of the Protestants, to await the progress of events. And what has been the issue? That an evil, which might have been crushed in its inception, has grown into a monster! We do not blame the Ministry; the fault lay not with them, but with the false liberality of the people of England, and their erroneous estimate of the Irish character.

It is absurd to bring the full light of English civilization to bear upon the dull glimmer of Celtic barbarism, and to treat both in the same way. Mr. O'Connell and his mob confederates only want to be opposed with vigour to be opposed with success; like every other demagogue and mob, they gain confidence when their vauntings are let pass with impunity. The alacrity with which the proclamation forbidding the meeting at Clontarf was obeyed is sufficient evidence that the power of the Executive is fully competent to crush any attempt at resistance.

Let us not be thought to wish to bridle the discussion of the propriety or non-propriety of the Repeal of the Union; on the contrary, we wish the question to be fully examined, but in its proper place—in Parliament. We are sure that if the subject were debated in a proper spirit—if the true grounds were stated for the maintenance of that Union—if it were shown how well the question stood upon its merits, and “that the soil and spot whereon the Parliament sat did not constitute its value, but its adaptation to preserve the general interests of the community at large, and that all else belonged to a childish, and not a manly ambition,” much good would be the result. It should be demonstrated that the delegated power of the Legislature is not

to be rendered a nullity by tumultuous assemblages, and that its power should not be thus usurped. The question should be thoroughly gone into; we should remember, that although in England we are perfectly convinced of the necessity of a Union, a counter-impression has been made on the populace of Ireland; and it is the imperative duty of Ministers to meet their difficulties with care, with prudence, and with vigour. They should be aware, also, how sensitive the Irish members are of not being listened to. National vanity has more to do with the question than is supposed; and if the Irish representatives conceive themselves insulted, an unnecessary wound is allowed to rankle. Let them be heard patiently, so long as they speak for the purpose of sifting the merits of the question, and let Ministers express their own sentiments with explicitness and moderation; above all, let the question not be made a party struggle, nor be prolonged to an immoderate length of the session by the obstinacy and contumacy of a few against the declared will of the majority. And if increased powers are required by the Government, let them come forward, candidly and manfully, and demand them; let them state that they are resolved to extirpate this dangerous spirit of agitation so prevalent in Ireland, and we are satisfied that Parliament will cheerfully grant additional powers, ay even to the extent of making any agitation for repeal seditious, and summarily punishable, with the full consent of the people of this country. This will be one of the earliest duties of the Ministry; at the same time let their kindly and anxious disposition to benefit Ireland be expressed; but let it be broadly stated that every attempt to obtain a Repeal of the Union must be discouraged and abandoned.

What the people of Ireland want is repose from political excitement. They labour under no oppression, no disqualification. As we have already shown, they possess almost unrestricted liberty; they have the free exercise of their religion, and no political or personal disability whatsoever. It surely is no unjust exercise of power to restrain them from losing their time at "monster meetings," and from listening to frothy and inflammatory harangues on a subject which they cannot comprehend, and the tendency of which is to embitter existing animosities, and to unsettle their minds, without putting food into their mouths. By nature they are gifted with a happy temperament; and if they were not goaded on by priests and demagogues, would be as contented a people as any in Europe.

Tranquillity is the grand preliminary; and if, by a firm exercise of the Executive, that can be restored, absenteeism will be less frequent, and destitution will be gradually changed to comfort.



If Ireland can be considered a safe place for the investment of capital, capital will be ready for investment ; and the industry, which is now half paralyzed, will be renewed with unwonted activity, and the vast agricultural resources of the country extensively developed. Destitution is undoubtedly a great evil in Ireland, were it for nothing else than the mendicancy which it produces, by which the people become servile and cringing, and the national character is degraded ; but we question whether there is not almost as much suffering from want in England. Destitution is comparative ; the want which would produce agony to a person accustomed to comfort is borne with indifference by one who is inured to privation. What startles the traveller in Ireland is the general appearance of poverty, which is not broken by any gradation of ranks ; there only are seen the rich and the poor : but enter a peasant's hut, and, except in the intervals between the "going out of the old potatoe crop and the coming in of the new," you will find an abundant supply of potatoes for the meal. We admit the food to be bad—still there is no starvation ; with us there is a gradual declension, from the highest opulence to the extremest misery, "*on voit partout l'extenuation de la misère a côté de l'embonpoint de l'opulence.*" Every day our newspapers are filled with accounts of the most pinching want, and there is more than meets the eye ; there is many a poor starving sufferer who is ashamed to beg. In our own metropolis there are privations endured greater than those of the wretched bog-trotter of Galway. We write not thus to produce heartlessness towards the poor, because misery is general—far otherwise ; but when we wish to abate the pauperism of Ireland, let us not overlook the mass of suffering that lies at our own doors.

We have abstained from alluding to the probable result of the pending State prosecutions, as well that we might not be supposed to prejudice the legal guilt of the accused, as that we fear that even a verdict of "guilty" would not effectually silence the demand for Repeal. In our judgment, the Government acted rightly in trying the ordinary powers of the law, and consistently with their forbearing policy towards Ireland, before having recourse to a strict legislative enactment.

A condemnation would have this good effect—that it would remove from the people the prestige of Mr. O'Connell's power, and their universally-received belief that his skill can outwit the Government and the "Castle lawyers." That gentleman's statement, that an "offer was made to him that the prosecutions would be abandoned if he would desist from the Repeal agitation," should be contradicted by the Ministry, for we confess that we cannot bring ourselves to believe that they had such a mis-

taken sense of lenity or compassion, and so little knowledge of their man, as to condescend to make terms of capitulation with him. When once the prosecutions were commenced, the time was past for compromise. Mr. O'Connell is too shrewd not to know, that if he openly, and for the sake of a slight punishment, abandoned "the cause of Repeal," his means for life would be cut from under him, and himself eternally disgraced; that he has the chance of a triumph from a technical flaw, or an Irish jury; and that, even if convicted, his influence over the people would be sufficiently great to induce a Government, who would make terms before trial, to remit his punishment if he undertook to desist from agitation. His policy was manifestly to refuse; and if such an offer has been made, the Ministry have been placed in a ridiculous light, while Mr. O'Connell can come forward at his Conciliation Hall, and, placing his hand on his heart, boast of this fresh instance of his incorruptibility for Old Erin!

No terms should be offered to so profound a dissembler—to a man who all his life has opposed every peaceable measure for the improvement of his native land;\* who has lived on turbulence and excitement until they have become his congenial food; and who cannot rest quietly in a country, the whole political face of which he has disfigured with the virulent scars of party strife.

We have stated the remote and main causes of the Repeal agitation; minor ones there are to strengthen it—national vanity and destitution. We have shown that they have been studiously kept in existence; and we now, in conclusion, ask—is the state of Ireland remediable, or is it always to be a garrisoned country and the hot-bed of sedition?

We believe, by judicious management, much can be accomplished, and it will be the duty of a wise Government to endeavour to remove the unhappy differences that destroy the country. The distinctions of class and race are, and must in the progress of time become less and less distinct—political animosity can alone perpetuate them; and we hope that by placing a crushing hand upon Repeal, by an impartial exercise of the power of Government, by putting the most competent men into office, by an unwearied encouragement of the industrial powers of the country, by a sufficient protection being given to the owners of property to reside on their estates, so as to allow the affections and local attachments of their children to be fixed in their own country, and by the diffusion of education, much gradual good will be effected. It has been a dreadful evil in Ireland that Protestants

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\* His last act is an attempt to impair the efficiency of the landlord and tenant commission by throwing discredit upon the commissioners.

and Roman Catholics mix up politics with religion, and foster mutual animosities under its holy name. A man is not to be hated because he is a Papist, or to be held as damnable because he is a Protestant; and though we insist that, as a Protestant State, we should not encourage Popery, we certainly do not ask it to be persecuted. The Roman Catholic clergy repudiate any provision from the State; why violate a great moral principle, and force it upon their reluctant hands? The revenues of the Established Church are derived from a source that by no possibility can press injuriously upon the people. We ask, then, the difference of religious belief to be one of reason, of morals, and of truth against error, and not to be mixed up with politics and civil dissensions.

In fine, we think, that by an attempt to amalgamate the different classes of society, by showing that there is a common interest and connexion between them, by utterly discouraging political *mountebankism* and faction, by leaving religious questions unmolested and undisturbed, and by allowing the progress of reason and truth to work their own way, the duty of Government will be best performed, and our "inconstant sea-nymph" sister most firmly united to us.

## Ecclesiastical Report.

WE have frequently remarked, that there are questions which, though not in themselves *ecclesiastical*, are nevertheless so connected with *ecclesiastical* matters, as to render it necessary to notice them in a *Report* of this character. For example, the proceedings of Dissenters are not *ecclesiastical* matters; but, as far as they are directed against the Church, they necessarily require to be considered. We think it right to offer this explanation before we proceed to notice the question which we deem it to be our duty to submit to our readers.

### DISSENTING ACTS AND DISSENTING PREDICTIONS.

Respecting the acts of Dissenters there can be no doubt whatever in the minds of Churchmen—they are open, undisguised, and most hostile to the Church; but respecting the accomplishment of their predictions, persons may very reasonably be in doubt. We certainly need not regard them as true prophets. We give the following passage from the *Eclectic Review* as an illustration of our observations:—

"Time and events are gathering together a House of Commons which is not to be counted out! A spectre will spring out of the yawning ground, declaring, with a voice of thunder, that something

must be done.....There will be a call for enlarged suffrage and vote by ballot.....Have not our fellow-subjects an indefeasible right to all this? What, according to Whiggery itself, is the true and veritable source of power? Can it now be said, without mockery, that our operatives have any substantial place, voice, interest, or influence in Parliament—in that very chamber intended for their especial benefit and advantage? Are not myriads of hearty, brawny artizans beginning to perceive that, with respect to themselves, the whole affair has hitherto been a farce and a piece of jugglery?.....The Reform Bill only broke the ice of the nomination system. Feudalism must not merely be checked or frightened, but destroyed and eradicated.....One of the remedies most required to allay the fever of the public mind is religious equality, which would quickly follow in the rear of an extended suffrage, protected from aristocratic and ecclesiastic interference.....It is folly to disguise any part of this matter. For how long, we would ask, will our hierarchy domineer in England, after the sentence upon all such institutions shall have been sealed and delivered in Ireland? The Metropolitan must prepare to quit Lambeth and Addiscombe, unless death shall eject him beforehand! Bishops must depart from their palaces, castles, and country-houses. Fines, glebes, great and small tithes, may have been, until now, the stars and constellations in their spiritual firmament, to prelates, deans, prebendaries, incumbents, and surrogates: '*but the night is far spent—the day is at hand*:' they are already waning before an orient Aurora!.....Monopoly of any sort is sufficiently atrocious; and that of a religious State Establishment must be among the very first to be put down."

Now, with respect to the *predictions* of this *atrocious* passage we are by no means anxious; for we know that they will not be fulfilled; but we are truly thankful for the plain speaking by which the extract is characterized. There can be no longer any mistake respecting the intentions of Dissenters. We trust, therefore, that none of the clergy will ever again associate, at *Bible* and *other Societies*, with Dissenting preachers, as has been too much the case during the last twenty or thirty years. We rejoice at the plain speaking of Dissenters at the present time, because it will open the eyes of those kindly-disposed but mistaken Churchmen who are never willing to admit that the Dissenting body has any hostile intentions towards the Church. Some persons appear to be fearful lest they should say a single word against Dissent or Dissenters, though they are always ready to join in any outcry against their own brethren, for offences far less flagrant than those of which the various sects, into which the seceders of this country are divided, are guilty. It is a remarkable fact, that those persons, whether clergymen or laymen, who are most favourable to Dissenters, are most violent against those Churchmen who are conscientious in complying with the directions of the Church. The persons to

whom we allude raise the cry of *Tractarianism* against all who act consistently with their solemn obligations; but whenever a word is said about the evil principle of Dissent, they immediately become very fidgetty, and allege that we ought not to be uncharitable, nor impute the errors of a few individuals to the whole body. Whence does this extreme tenderness for Dissenters arise? It must spring from similarity of views; and, therefore, it must follow, that though they remain in the Church, they are only lukewarm in their attachment to her government and ordinances. At all events, it is fair to infer that they are disposed to consider the principles of Dissent as on a par with those of their own Church.

On account of such inconsistent Churchmen, we rejoice in the fact, that the Dissenters are now giving utterance to their views in language that cannot be mistaken. Either, therefore, our squeamish Churchmen, who are so jealous of the reputation of their *Dissenting brethren*, must give them up as incorrigible persons, with whom they can hold no intercourse, or else cast in their lot with them; for sure we are that no sound member of the Anglican Church can possibly defend, or even attempt to palliate, their conduct.

We have stated our opinion respecting the predictions of Dissenters. They certainly are not likely to have much weight with the public; nor are they likely to be accomplished. The Dissenters may rest assured that all their prophecies will be as wind. Even their assertions are not regarded, much less their predictions. Before the late Marriage Act, they asserted that they were a majority of the population of the country; but the bill, a measure intended for their gratification, revealed a fact, which has shown to the world the falsehood of the assertion. The bill has proved that they are a miserable, though noisy, minority.

It is well to look back to read the history of the last ten or fifteen years. We find the Dissenters putting forth statements which were altogether false. At the present moment they boast of their power and influence, but they are not believed; every reflecting person knows the contrary.

Never did a more unchristian passage proceed from the pen of mortal man, than the extract already quoted from the *Eclectic Review*. It is in the O'Connell style altogether; and had they as much influence as the agitator, they would use it in much the same way. "*Something must be done!*" Undoubtedly something must be done; but we tell the Dissenters that the Church will be able to exert her power against all their efforts. During the last ten years, under every possible discouragement, the inte-

rests of the Church have taken a stronger hold on the affections of the people; and, notwithstanding the efforts of Dissenters, we have no fears whatever respecting the result. There are those who will resist innovation and changes, and will stand by the Church; and they are the great mass of the population of this enlightened country. They are not yet prepared for a free trade in religion; and if the Voluntaries think that their *millennium* is approaching, they are grievously mistaken. We have no apprehensions respecting the result of the present struggle. We are confident that the Church will survive as long as Dissent, and that as the latter advances in pretension, the former will advance in the affections of the people. At all events, if any injury be done to the Church by Dissenters, it will not be done by their arguments. We may apply to the present proceedings of the Dissenting body the words of a learned prelate of a former age, in reference to another party:—"Though I know not how far the policy of those who are engaged in the design of the right to overthrow all revealed religion, as nothing else but mere priestcraft working upon the corrupt affections of men, may, in time, effect what they desire; yet I dare affirm, they will never be able to accomplish it by their arguments." We certainly have no apprehension of success on the part of Dissenters in their crusade against the Church; but sure we are, that any success which may attend their efforts will be the result of violence, and not of argumentation.

The allusion to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the above extract is such an instance of cold-blooded hatred to all that is sacred, whether in religion or in social life, that we are unable to find words to express our abhorrence of the parties who could have dictated it. Nothing worse than this had occurred two centuries ago with respect to Archbishop Laud; and the same feelings which dictated the passage would also, were the power possessed, lead the metropolitan to the block. No doubt some of these gentry would delight in witnessing the spectacles of the execution of a bishop or an archbishop. Whatever may be the case in other respects, certainly the conductors of the *Eclectic Review*, and Dissenters in general, have recently proved themselves the true and genuine descendants of the fanatics of the sixteenth century, in their violence, their hatred of the Church, their extreme self-sufficiency, their hypocrisy, and their utter disregard of all order, civil, social, and religious: they are precisely the same factious demagogues as the *Roundheads* of 1643. But we are thankful, that while modern Dissenters are prepared for the work of destruction, as were their predecessors in 1644, the country, having been taught a useful lesson by the experience

of former ages, is not prepared to support them in their unholy courses ; but, on the contrary, is determined to resist innovation, and to cherish the institutions of our forefathers.

We are unwilling to dwell on such a subject, but we cannot refrain from pointing out the *profanity* of the extract. Can anything be more *profane* than the application of the text—“ *The night is far spent—the day is at hand ?*” It is even worse than the abuse of Scripture, which was so common with the sectaries under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. It is worse, because the latter had more religious feeling than the former ; the one being more enthusiastic, the other more hypocritical. It is awful to reflect on the sin of such men. Such a desecration of sacred things must surely open the eyes of all well-disposed Dissenters—the followers, for instance, of such men as Henry, Watts, and Doddridge, who, if they could rise from their graves, would denounce, as strongly as we have done, the conduct of the managers of the Dissenting press.

It may be alleged that the *Eclectic Review* does not represent the views of the great body of Dissenters ; and were this a solitary article, we might be prepared to admit the force of the allegation. But what are the facts of the case ? Is it not a fact that the whole Dissenting press concurs in the same views ? The fact is indisputable. Even within the last few weeks “ *a plan for a National Convention to seek the separation of Church and State*” has been submitted to the public. The object is in keeping with the *Eclectic*, or rather, it is an attempt to carry the reviewer’s recommendations into effect. But let the designation be observed—“ *A National Convention.*” Now what is a *National Convention*, but an assembly representing the whole nation ? And who is competent to assemble such a convention ? Are the Dissenters the whole nation ? And supposing that they constituted a majority of the country, could they, even then, assume such a title or designation for any assembly convened by their own authority ? We contend, then, that as far as words go, they are guilty of a *revolutionary movement*. O’Connell, in Ireland, never did more.

These persons must look back with longing desires to *the good old times of the civil wars*, when both Church and King were at the mercy of a rabble, similar to that which they would assemble, if they could, to accomplish their unholy projects. The race of *Roundheads* certainly is not extinct. As a choice specimen of the hostility to the Church two centuries ago, we submit the following extract from a sermon preached before the usurping Parliament in 1644. To show their hatred to the Church, the Parliament, besides abolishing *festivals*, ordered

that *Christmas-day* should be observed as a *day of fasting*. In the year 1644, Calamy preached before the Parliament on the 25th of December. He thus alludes to the day :—

“ This day is the day which is commonly called *The Feast of Christ's Nativitie, or Christmas-day* ; a day that hath been heretofore much abused to *superstition* and *prophanesne*. It is not easy to reckon whether the superstition hath been greater, or the prophanesne. And truly, I think that the superstition and profanation of this day is so rooted into it, as that there is no way to reforme it, but by dealing with it as Hezekiah did with the brazen serpent. *This year God by a PROVIDENCE hath buried this FEAST in a FAST, and I hope it will never rise again.* The Lord give us grace to be humbled in this day of humiliation, for all our owne and England's sinns, and especially for the old superstition and profanation of this feast.”

#### THE NON-INTRUSIONISTS.

It appears that *sixty or seventy Free Church ministers* are either come or are coming into this country on a general begging expedition, in order to raise funds to promote the unjust separation in Scotland ; in other words, to perpetuate, as far as possible, a most unjustifiable schism. If these persons confine themselves to their natural allies, the English Dissenters, we have nothing to say, because the two parties are, in our opinion, one and the same, and it is reasonable to expect that they should befriend each other. But we know that they intend to make the attempt to extract money from the pockets of Churchmen ; and it becomes a sacred duty to use every exertion to prevent such a misapplication of those means, which the members of the Church of England ought to employ on other objects. A Churchman may lend his support from ignorance, and therefore it is a duty to endeavour to remove the ignorance which prevails on this subject ; but we hold it utterly impossible for any man, who is really attached to the Anglican Church, knowingly to lend his assistance to the cause of *Non-intrusionism*. The reasons for this conclusion are so obvious, that nothing but a love for Dissent, and indifference to the Church, prevents men from admitting it. Let the principle of the party be brought into operation, and the Church of England must be severed from the State, the support of religion being left to the voluntary efforts of the people. Such a consequence would be inevitable in the event of the success of Non-intrusion principles in England. And we ask, can any Churchman give his countenance to opinions or proceedings which involve such consequences ? There can, we apprehend, be no room for doubt on such a subject. Yet certain clergymen of the Church of England do actually support the Scotch seceders. They are few in number, still there are



some, who are so lost to all sense of right and wrong as to give expression to their sympathy, and also to contribute of their means towards the support of a causé, which is positively condemned by every man, who enters the ministry of the Anglican Church.

Now we feel compelled to state, that, in our opinion, to support the *Non-intrusionists*, is an act of direct hostility to the Church. The reasons for this assertion are sufficiently obvious. The *Non-intrusionists* maintain principles destructive of the Church of England, and their practice shows that they would destroy the Church if they were able. To enter into a league with an enemy of our country would be considered an act of treason to the Sovereign; and surely to co-operate with the enemies of the Church is an act of hostility to the Church.

The proceedings, too, of the seceders are quite in accordance with their principles. Whenever they hold a meeting, the speakers abuse the English Church. This is done sometimes under the pretence of opposing Tractarianism; but then with these men Tractarianism is anything which does not meet with their own views. All consistent Churchmen are by these individuals set down as *Tractarians*. Were this false charge confined to the party in question, it would be scarcely deserving of any notice from us; but we know that certain clergymen of loose principles join in the same cry. There are clergymen who will unite with any body, or with any individuals, under the plea of opposing Tractarianism; but these same men immediately raise an outcry if anything is said on the subject of Dissent. Surely these gentlemen are very lukewarm in their attachment to the Church, in which they are acting as ministers. With them government and discipline are matters of perfect indifference; and they would as soon worship in the conventicle as in the church. It would be more consistent in such gentlemen to quit the Church. These, then, are the persons who will favour the *Non-intrusionists* in their begging excursion. But surely they cannot support the seceders without opposing their own Church. The Church of England and the *Non-intrusionists* proceed on antagonist principles; so that the friend of the one must be the opponent of the other. Should a licensed clergyman, or one who is beneficed, support the party in England, he would be a proper subject for episcopal censure. Nay, we feel assured that a bishop would be only doing his duty, who should proceed against such an individual for a breach of his vows as a clergyman.

In the remarks which we are about to offer we disclaim all intention of speaking harshly of the Church of Scotland. For

that Church we have a most cordial feeling of good-will ; and we conceive that the secession is most unjustifiable. In speaking of Presbytery, therefore, we must be understood to speak of the Non-intrusionists and the Presbyterians of the period of the Commonwealth. The Church of Scotland has long ceased to act on such principles ; but they are revived in all their force by the Non-intrusionists. We have often remarked that the principles of the Presbyterians of the period alluded to, and those of the Non-intrusionists, are really identical with some of the worst of those of the Church of Rome. During the Commonwealth the Independents ejected the Presbyterians from the saddle, and got into it themselves. Great was the outcry of the Presbyterians against independency and toleration. The Independents, on their part, were not silent. On the contrary, numerous works, descriptive of the principles of the Presbyterians, proceeded from the press, some of them of a very curious description ; still they contain so true a picture of the Non-intrusionists, that, in reading the character of the Presbyterians of that age, we imagine ourselves to be perusing a description of the present seceders. In the year 1651, Sterry, one of the leading preachers among the Independents, preached and published a sermon, in which he draws the character of the Presbyterians. From this production we may cite a few passages, which are quite as applicable to the Non-intrusionists.

The very title of the production is a curiosity—it is as follows : “ England’s deliverance from the Northern Presbytery compared with its deliverance from the Roman Papacy ; or, a Thanksgiving Sermon preached on November 5, 1651, at St. Margaret’s, Westminster, before the Supreme Authority of this nation, the High Court of Parliament, by Peter Sterry, Preacher to the Council of State, sitting at Whitehall. London, 4to.” The sermon was preached on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason. In the dedication, Sterry remarks, “ It may seem strange, that in the Thanksgiving on this day, I have exalted the praises of the present season above the head of this ancient mercy.” He declares his opinion, however, that the deliverance from Presbytery was greater than that from the treason by gunpowder. Accommodating the text, Sterry says—

“ Let us now say, with a loud voice of thanksgivings, the Lord liveth, who hath brought us up from the Romish Papacy, which is spiritually Egypt, by a mighty deliverance and manifold preservations, as this glorious one of the immediate prevention of a dreadful blow by gunpowder. But then let us say again, with a louder noise of praises, that may drown the former voice—the Lord liveth, who hath brought us up out of the Scotch tyranny and Scotch Presbytery, which came like a tem-

pest from the *North*. As the husband and children of the wise matron say to her (Proverbs xxxi. 29), 'Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all'; so may England say now to the Lord—in many mercies, as especially that of saving us from this bloody design of the Egyptian Papacy, thou hast done graciously and wonderfully; but this last mercy, by which thou hast saved us from the black plots and bloody powers of the *Northern Presbytery*, hath excelled them all."

Certainly, some of the worst principles of Rome are maintained by the *Non-intrusionists*. We refer especially to their views respecting the State, and that power which they claim in matters spiritual. Sterry's remarks are strikingly applicable throughout. Thus he says again:—

"The seed of God in this nation hath had two capital enemies—the *Romish Papacy*, the *Scotch Presbytery*. This nation hath had a *two-fold capital deliverance* from these two capital enemies."

We have already stated that we are not reflecting on the Church of Scotland. It is to the *Non-intrusionists* only, that Sterry's remarks can possibly apply. He goes on to say, that the *Scotch Presbytery* was worse even than the *Papacy*; and certainly the *Non-intrusionists* have revived the pretensions which were put forth during the civil wars, and which were successfully opposed by the Independents. He describes the agreements and the disagreements of the Papacy and the Presbytery. Both, he says, assert a visible judge on earth respecting holy Scripture:—

"This *Presbyter* condemns the *Papist* justly, because he suffereth not the people to read the *Scriptures* in their own tongue. But who art thou, O man, who condemnest another, and dost thyself the same thing, while thou forbiddest private persons to read the *Scriptures* with their own eyes? Thou confinest them to *spectacles* of the *Assembly's* making."

After dwelling at some length on their agreements, Sterry proceeds to their differences, which he thus introduces:—

"I come now to compare them in their *differences*; and that, only those in which the *later* enemy appears worse than the *former*; that so the *former* mercy may be made the *sweeter* to us, in being exceeded and swallowed up by this *later* deliverance, as a stream running into a greater river."

His *differences* are curious in the extreme. Thus he says:—

"Our *first* enemies pleased not God, but yet were agreeable to men in their ways. On the other side, our *last* enemies please not God, and are contrary to all men. Both these—the *Romish Papacy*, the *Scotch Presbytery*—appear like the ghost of *Judaism* raised from the dead by the *witch* of *Endor*—the fleshly principle dressed up in the form of *Christianity*. But there is this *difference*: the *former* is the *ghost* of

*Judaism* clothed with the mantle which it wore in its lifetime, appearing in the same *outward pomp*, with the same *delicious pleasures of pictures, musick, perfumes, &c.*, as of old. But the other is *Judaism undressed*, like an *apparition in chains*, or *Lazarus*, when he came forth from the grave with the *grave-clothes* bound about him."

He says another difference consists in this—that the *Scotch Presbytery* had the *purser form*. This he illustrates as follows :

"The *Scotch Presbytery* is a house which the *evil spirit* of *Papacy* had left—a house swept clean from the filth of *profaneness*, garnished with the beautiful things of the *letter*, farre beyond the *Papacy*: my prayer is, that, being uninhabited by the *Lord Jesus*, there be not found the *more devils* in it, besides the re-entry of the *first devil*, as to his *innæprinciples*, though in a more *specious form*."

We specify one other difference, as stated by Sterry :—

The *Popish plot* by *gunpowder* would have taken away our *governors* only ; but this *zeal-plot*, laid more deeply, more dangerously, than the *powder-plot*—this aimed at the ruin of *governors, government, people*, and all, by an army made up of *Highlanders*, who never knew *Christianity* or *civility*, whose rage would have blown up, have torn in pieces, all before it with a greater fury than that of *gunpowder*."

Having finished his comparison of *differences*, Sterry remarks, "You see how much the later exceeds the former in opportunity, enmity, design....."

As the *Non-intrusionists* have revived the principles and pretensions against which Sterry so singularly directs his attacks, our readers will be gratified by the perusal of these curious extracts, which certainly are just as applicable to the present *seceders* as they were to the old *Presbyterians*.

#### MR. SIBTHORP.

We scarcely know how to speak of Mr. Sibthorp ; yet still it is necessary to allude to him. A short time ago it appeared that he had again joined himself to the Anglican Church ; but now all is uncertainty respecting his views, and principles, and position. Whether he be a Romanist or a member of the Church of England is a matter of doubt. In the first place, we were informed that he had received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in our own Church. This statement was strictly true : perhaps too much was made of this fact. At all events, his old friends began to rejoice too soon. It appears that Mr. Bickersteth read a letter at Bath and at Bristol at public meetings. Now we are of opinion that Mr. Bickersteth acted most indiscreetly in making a public use of Mr. Sibthorp's letter ; and the indiscretion was the greater, if it be true, as is currently reported,

that the whole of the letter was not read, and that the unread portion was somewhat contradictory of the portion which was submitted to the meetings. Having been printed in the Bristol and Bath papers, the letter was soon circulated throughout the whole kingdom. Some time after, another letter appears in the papers, in which Mr. Sibthorp speaks of Rome in a way quite inconsistent with the language of the letter to Mr. Bickersteth. In short, the views of this letter are such as no true member of the Church of England could maintain. This is all we know of the matter, except the rumour that he is actually corresponding with Dr. Wiseman preparatory to his restoration to the Church of Rome. The subject is a very painful one; but at the same time we must declare our conviction, that Mr. Sibthorp is a man of such an unsettled spirit, that no importance can fairly be attached to his opinions or his practices.

#### THE ILFORD DEMONSTRATION.

On one account we are inclined to rejoice that this demonstration was made, namely, because it has led to an admirable letter from the Bishop of London, which completely refutes all the rumours so frequently put forth in the *Record*, and in other quarters, relative to certain changes in his lordship's views. The letter is in exact keeping with the Charge: he retracts nothing—he pursues precisely the same course, because that course was the right one.

But on other accounts we regret the proceedings at Ilford. Still it appears to us, that all the parties—the rector, the curate, and the parishioners—are deserving of censure. It is clear that the curate introduced unauthorized practices; and this circumstance naturally stirred up the people even against those things which were in accordance with the rubric. In our opinion, the rector should have immediately interfered; and had he done so, the parishioners probably would have been deprived of their pretence for appealing to the bishop.

There can, however, be no question that the parishioners, in calling a public meeting, acted in a most unbecoming manner. Indeed, their whole proceedings savoured of anything rather than of the spirit of the Gospel. But what was their course? They not only condemned the practices which the Church condemns, but those also which the Church strictly enjoins. In their application to the bishop the various particulars are specified. The result of the application was the admirable letter to which we have already alluded, addressed by his lordship to the incumbent of the parish.

In this letter his lordship distinctly states, that the parishioners

have no right to complain of practices commanded by the Church, as these parties did; and further, that a bishop cannot interfere in such cases. How these *sage* parishioners could have supposed that any bishop could have interposed to stop a clergyman from the performance of his duty, we are quite at a loss to determine. Certainly their attachment to the Church cannot be very strong. In these cases the bishop plainly tells them that he cannot interfere, and that it would be wrong to do so. In the other points his lordship censures the curate, and disapproves of the incumbent for not interfering. We think the conduct of the curate most reprehensible; but we must not in consequence shut our eyes to the conduct of the parishioners.

The letter of the bishop is so wise and temperate, that it must commend itself to all the well-wishers of the Anglican Church.

#### EPISCOPACY IN SCOTLAND.

The authority of the Scottish bishops has been set at nought by Mr. Drummond and Sir William Dunbar; and in such a manner, too, that we cannot conceive on what grounds the proceedings of those gentlemen can be justified in England by certain clergymen of our own Church. The gentlemen in question call themselves Episcopalians; yet they submit to no bishops, having set episcopal authority at defiance. They are, in fact, Presbyterians, inasmuch as they are preaching and administering the sacraments by their own authority, and against the express prohibition of the prelates of Scotland. They pretend that they are members of the Church of England; but our bishops have no jurisdiction in Scotland. These gentlemen owe canonical obedience to no bishop. On every ground, as it appears to us, they are guilty of schism, and schism of the most unprovoked description.

A question is often asked, how are these clergymen to be received in England? Are they to be allowed to preach in our churches? We reply, that no Anglican bishop can possibly allow them to officiate in his diocese. They have set episcopal authority at defiance; and until reconciled to their own bishops, they cannot be permitted to officiate in England. Should they come into this country, and attempt to act in their clerical capacity, the bishop, in whose diocese they might be, must, as we maintain, issue his prohibition against the admission of the clergymen into any of the churches under his superintendence. The Church of England and the Church of Scotland are the same; and most assuredly the Anglican bishops will feel it to be their duty to support the authority of their Scottish brethren.

## NATIONAL EDUCATION.

Since the failure of the measure for education in the last session, vast efforts have been made by the Church, and most unexampled success has attended those efforts. The Dissenters have talked largely, but they have done nothing; and if the surplus population be not educated until the sectarians undertake the work, they will remain in ignorance as long as they live. The work must be done by the Church; and if the State does not assist, she must use her utmost efforts to do what she can by means of private beneficence.

We notice the subject now simply for the purpose of calling attention to the Queen's letter on behalf of the National Society. Her Majesty has been pleased to issue a letter; and during the next few months collections will be made in all the churches of England and Wales. Our hope is, that a very large sum will be collected for this great object. It is clear that the Church must educate the poor; and we hope that all who are interested in the cause will come forward with a liberal hand when the Queen's letter is read in their respective parish churches. Let them remember the conduct of the whole body of Dissenters respecting the recent bill; and let the recollection lead to a determination, that, as the State is not likely at present to contribute, they will use the greatest exertions to supply the present deficiency. What an amazing sum would be collected, were Churchmen generally to come to a determination to exert themselves to the uttermost on the present occasion! We hope that such a determination will be general, and that Churchmen will prove to Dissenters that they do in reality sympathize with the poor.

## THE STATE SERVICES.

It is not our intention to do more than allude to this question, because it was fully discussed in our pages on a former occasion. We merely wish to direct attention to the reasons which have recently been put forth by certain parties for not using the *service for the fifth of November*. There are parties who do not hesitate to call the *revolution a rebellion*; and on this ground they refused to read those portions of the service which relate to King William.

Now, according to the doctrine advanced by these persons, her Majesty Queen Victoria has no other title to the crown of these realms than that which a successful rebellion confers; inasmuch as the present family would not have been upon the throne if the *revolution* had never taken place. It becomes a

question, therefore, whether such individuals are not guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours against our sovereign lady the Queen. We have always supposed it be treason to deny the Queen's title; yet such a denial is involved in the statement that the *revolution* was a *rebellion*.

It appears to us, that those clergymen who refused to read certain portions of the *fifth of November* service on such grounds, and who publicly stated their views on the subject, are really at the mercy of the law. They have impugned the Queen's title; and, in our opinion, proceedings ought to be adopted to bring them to punishment. If King William's title to the crown was founded on a rebellion, Queen Victoria's is precisely the same, inasmuch as her Majesty's family was seated on the throne on the principles, which were established at the revolution.

It is painful to reflect, that any of the clergy should entertain such an opinion; for it is a question whether they ought to remain in the Anglican Church. Her Majesty is the temporal head of the Church; yet they virtually set her aside, and pronounce her a usurper. It is not honest, therefore, to remain in the Church while such sentiments are entertained, for they hold their livings, or curacies, by virtue of an oath of allegiance to a Queen whose title they deny. We hope that attention may be directed to this point; we trust, moreover, that the bishops may institute enquiries respecting the men of such extreme views. In all probability they would soon cease to put forth such pestilent opinions, if it should appear that the laws of the land did not permit any man to promulgate notions, which in any way affect the title of the Sovereign to the throne.

Mr. Oldknow, of Bordesley, Birmingham, has published the sermon which he preached on the *fifth of November*. This production he most perversely calls "The Duty of Promoting Christian Unity;" and yet he himself broke the unity of the Church on the day in question, since he omitted to read the service which has been used more than a hundred and fifty years. He tells us, that he did not use it because it had not been sanctioned by Convocation. We have formerly stated the arguments in support of the service, and we cannot but express a hope that the Bishop of Worcester will commence proceedings against this self-sufficient gentleman, so that he, at all events, may be prevented from breaking the *unity* of the Church in future. If he entertained scruples, it was his duty to apply to his diocesan, whose decision ought to have been binding. Assuredly he, as a presbyter, was not at liberty to depart from the general practice. Such men as Mr. Oldknow do immense mischief to the Church.



## WHAT ARE OUR PROSPECTS ?

We put this question in reference to the Church. *What are the prospects of the Church?* is a question which during the last ten years, has been very frequently and most anxiously asked. Ten or twelve years ago, there were apprehensions in the minds of many lest the Church and the State should be separated; and it was felt that such an event would have been pregnant with great evil to the country. At that time, however, the friends of the Church began to exert themselves, and to assert the Church's claims and her privileges; and from that time our fears have been dissipated respecting the severance of Church and State. Whatever may be the political views of the Government, they will never be able to destroy the Church; for a feeling has been aroused which no efforts of politicians will be able to repress. Though, therefore, the coming times may be times of trouble, we have no fears for the Church. The mass of the people are attached to the institutions of their fathers; and that man must be bold indeed who should venture to propose the degradation of the Church, to suit the wishes of Dissenters.

In answering the question, therefore, *What are our prospects?* we at once reply, that they are encouraging, and such as to fill the minds of Churchmen with satisfaction. Ten years ago, various attempts were made to put down the Church; but every effort failed—nay, every effort to injure the Church was productive of good. The friends of the Church were stirred up to action, and her opponents were covered with disgrace. All that the enemies have gained is the satisfaction of having made an abortive attempt to pull down the Church, which had so long been the glory of the land. We are now fully aware of the intentions of our enemies, and we are prepared to repel all their attacks.

We feel assured that the Church will still make her way in the country; she is advancing in the affections of the people; her societies, both at home and abroad, are most successful in their operations. The children of the poor are generally under her training, while the poor themselves are under the teaching of her ministers. The strength of Dissent, such as it is, lies in the class just above the poor. It numbers none of the great and the noble, and but few of the wealthy, in its ranks; nor does it comprehend the poor: the poor are with the Church. New churches are rising up, and new schools are in progress of erection, among our surplus population; and every year adds strength to those sacred institutions, which the Dissenters would destroy.

Some persons may be fearful respecting our prospects; but we confess that we are not so. Difficulties we expect; still they

will be overcome. Having emerged from the gloom by which she was surrounded some years ago, when her enemies expected her ruin, the Church has nothing now to fear, provided she is faithful to her trust. To that trust she will be faithful. The multitude repose under her shadow, and though the enemy may denounce her, and mingle contempt with his threats, she will weather the storms by which she may be assailed. During the last ten years great things have been accomplished; and, during the next, we expect to witness still greater. Our hope is, then, not in the absence of attacks, for we know that her enemies will assail her on all sides; but in the affection of the mass of the people, who, whatever may be the changes in the political world, will not desert the Church of their fathers.

### General Literature.

*Modern Painters: their Superiority in the Art of Landscape Painting to all the Ancient Masters, proved by examples of the True, the Beautiful, and the Intellectual, from the Works of Modern Artists, especially those of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.* By a Graduate of Oxford. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1843. pp. 420.

HE must be indeed a dull or unobservant reader of the "signs of the times" who has failed to remark that rapid strides have been made, of late years, both in the appreciation and practice of high art. It is not our desire, had we even the space, in the compass of this notice, to speculate on the causes of this increased progression: we simply advert to the fact, of which, if proof were wanting, we should at once adduce the volume before us. There is an athletic boldness about it, admirably in keeping with the artistical learning it develops in every page—an eloquence which can only belong to a highly, we may add, a sublimely, poetical mind, with a vigour and freshness characteristic of a youthful one; albeit partaking of some of those less sober qualities for which youth is also distinguished. No man can read this book without being struck by the profound knowledge of art—the quick, keen, deep observation of nature in all her forms and phases—the refined philosophy, and the aptitude of illustration which have conspired to produce it. The book takes much broader ground than its title would lead us to expect, or, indeed, as we gather from the preface, than was contemplated by the author when he entered upon his ar-

duous, yet interesting task. It embraces all the great points of discussion which might fairly be elicited in instituting the comparison between the masters in landscape painting of former, and those of later times; and in a spirit imbued with the philosophy and coloured by the fancy of his subject, our Graduate dashes into the conflict with the fearless enthusiasm of a crusader; and if his blows are somewhat hard, and occasionally alight on the wrong pate, no one can impugn the knightly skill, dexterity, and courage with which they are dealt. There is in him so much of sterling good, that we do not wish to gloze over his faults; and if he achieve the victory, he will doubtless feel due gratitude for the buffets which will make him a more careful, and by so much a better soldier.

We know not that we can more appropriately introduce the Graduate to our readers than in the following eloquent exposition of the feelings with which he has entered on his task; and we are the more anxious to give the quotation, because, with a taste which we do not envy, it has been sneered at by a contemporary critic:—

“And if, in the application of these principles, in spite of my endeavour to render it impartial, the feeling and fondness which I have for some works of modern art escape me sometimes where it should not, let it be pardoned as little more than a fair counterbalance to that peculiar veneration with which the work of the older master, associated, as it has ever been, in our ears with the expression of whatever is great or perfect, must be usually regarded by the reader. I do not say that this veneration is wrong, nor that we should be less attentive to the repeated words of time; but let us not forget, that if honour be for the dead, gratitude can only be for the living. He who has once stood beside the grave, to look back upon the companionship which has been for ever closed, feeling how impotent *there* are the wild love or the keen sorrow to give one instant's pleasure to the pulseless heart, or atone in the lowest measure to the departed spirit for the hour of unkindness, will scarcely, for the future, incur that debt to the heart which can only be discharged to the dust. But the lesson which men receive as individuals they do not learn as nations. Again and again they have seen their noblest descend into the grave, and have thought it enough to garland the tombstone when they had not crowned the brow, and to pay the honour to the ashes which they had denied to the spirit. Let it not displease them that they are bidden, amidst the tumult and the dazzle of their busy life, to listen for the few voices and watch for the few lamps which God has toned and lighted to charm and to guide them, that they may not learn their sweetness by their silence, nor their light by their decay.” (pp. 7, 8).

Whatever difference of opinion may exist on the comparative merits of the ancient and modern painters, we conceive that there can be few who subscribe not to the sentiments expressed

in this touching passage. For those, however, who, like ourselves, have, as it were, inherited an admiration for the works of the ancient masters, there is much in this volume to startle, and even to shock; and both startled and shocked, and perhaps more than shocked, we were on its first perusal. Before, therefore, we ventured to pronounce an opinion upon its merits, we determined to glean as many materials as possible on which to found our judgment; and, with this view, visited the extensive collection of Mr. Turner's drawings in the possession of one of his most enthusiastic admirers, and, we may safely add, patrons—Mr. B. G. Windus, of Tottenham, who, with a liberality which does him honour, opens his gallery to the amateur on certain days, and, of course, under certain but reasonable restrictions. Personally, we are glad to record our sense of the patient kindness with which he accompanied a stranger during the inspection of upwards of two hundred of Turner's finest productions. The effect upon ourselves was an increased admiration of the artist; and we were especially struck by the fact of his never *copying himself*; there was beauty in all, and no two were alike. We have heard much of the mannerism of Turner, but we confess that we could discover no mannerism but that which consisted in the uniform excellence that pervaded the collection. Still we are by no means prepared to go the lengths to which the enthusiasm of our Graduate has carried him; still less to adopt the generally depreciatory tone in which he adverts to the works of the ancient painters. Our faith may be unorthodox, but we cannot see our idols pushed from their pedestals, and applaud the iconoclast that lays them in the dust. But let him speak again for himself, in an extract from his chapter on the "Truth of Tone:"

"I do not doubt that the comparison of Turner with Cuypp and Claude may sound strange in most ears, but this is chiefly because we are not in the habit of analyzing and dwelling upon those difficult and daring passages of the modern master which do not at first appeal to our ordinary notions of truth, owing to his habit of uniting two, three, or even more separate tones in the same composition. In this, also, he strictly follows nature; for wherever climate changes, tone changes, and the climate changes with every two hundred feet of elevation, so that the upper clouds are always different in tone from the lower ones, these from the rest of the landscape, and, in all probability, some part of the horizon from the rest. And when nature allows this in a high degree, as in her most gorgeous effects she always will, she does not herself impress at once with intensity of tone, as in the deep and quiet yellows of a July evening, but rather with the magnificence and variety of associated colour, in which, if we give time and attention to it we shall gradually find the solemnity and the depth of twenty tones, instead of one. Now, in Turner's power of associating cold with warm light, no one has ever approached or even ventured into the same field

with him. The old masters, content with one simple tone, sacrificed to its unity all the exquisite gradations and varied touches of relief and change by which nature unites her hours with each other. They gave the warmth of the sinking sun overwhelming all things in its gold, but they did not give those grey passages about the horizon where, seen through its dying light, the cool and the gloom of night gather themselves for their victory. Whether it was in them impotence or judgment, it is not for me to decide. I have only to point to the daring of Turner in this respect as something to which art affords no matter of comparison—as that in which the mere attempt is, in itself, superiority. Take the evening effect with the ‘*Temeraire*.’ That picture will not, at the first glance, deceive as a piece of actual sunlight; but this is because there is in it more than sunlight—because, under the blazing veil of vaulted fire, which lights the vessel on her last path, there is a blue, deep, desolate hollow of darkness, out of which you can hear the voice of the night wind, and the dull boom of the disturbed sea—because the cold, deadly shadows of the twilight are gathering through every sunbeam, and moment by moment as you look, you will fancy some new film and faintness of the night have risen over the vastness of the departing form.” (pp. 113, 114).

Take another extract on “*Truth of Colour*,” equally full of profound thought, keen observation of nature, and startling eloquence:—

“There is in the first room of the National Gallery a landscape attributed to Gaspar Poussin, called sometimes *Aricia*, sometimes *Le or La Riccia*, according to the fancy of catalogue printers. Whether it can be supposed to resemble the ancient *Aricia*, now *La Riccia*, close to Albano, I will not take upon me to determine, seeing that most of the towns of these old masters are quite as like one place as another; but, at any rate, it is a town on a hill, wooded with two-and-thirty bushes, of very uniform size, and possessing about the same number of leaves each. These bushes are all painted in with one dull opaque brown, becoming very slightly greenish towards the lights, and discover in one place a bit of rock, which of course would, in nature, have been cool and grey, beside the lustrous hues of foliage, and which, therefore, being moreover completely in shade, is consistently and scientifically painted of a very clear, pretty, and positive brick-red, the only thing like colour in the picture. The foreground is a piece of road, which, in order to make allowance for its greater nearness, for its being completely in light, and, it may be presumed, for the quantity of vegetation usually present on carriage-roads, is given in a very cool green grey; and the truthful colouring of the picture is completed by a number of dots in the sky on the right, with a stalk to them, of a sober and similar brown.

“Not long ago I was slowly descending this very bit of carriage-road, the first turn after you leave Albano, not a little impeded by the worthy successors of the ancient prototypes of Veiento.\* It had been

\* “*Cæcus adulator—  
Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes  
Blandaque devexæ jactaret basia rhedæ.*”

wild weather when I left Rome, and all across the Campagna the clouds were sweeping in sulphurous blue, with a clap of thunder or two, and breaking gleams of sun along the Claudian aqueduct, lighting up the infinity of its arches like the bridge of chaos. But as I climbed the long slope of the Alban mount, the storm swept finally to the north, and the noble outline of the domes of Albano, and graceful darkness of its ilex grove rose against pure streaks of alternate blue and amber, the upper sky gradually flushing through the last fragments of rain-cloud in deep palpitating azure, half æther and half dew. The noon-day sun came slanting down the rocky slopes of La Riccia, and its masses of entangled and tall foliage, whose autumnal tints were mixed with the wet verdure of a thousand evergreens, were penetrated with it as with rain. I cannot call it colour, it was conflagration. Purple, and crimson, and scarlet, like the curtains of God's tabernacle, the rejoicing trees sank into the valley in showers of light, every separate leaf quivering with buoyant and burning life, each, as it turned to reflect or to transmit the sunbeam, first a torch and then an emerald. Far up into the recesses of the valley, the green vistas arched like the hollows of mighty waves of some crystalline sea, with the arbutus flowers dashed along their flanks for foam, and silver flakes of orange spray tossed into the air around them, breaking over the grey walls of rock into a thousand separate stars, fading and kindling alternately as the weak wind lifted and let them fall. Every glade of grass burned like the golden floor of heaven, opening in sudden gleams as the foliage broke and closed above it, as sheet lightning opens in a cloud at sunset; the motionless masses of dark rock—dark, though flushed with scarlet lichen—casting their quiet shadows across its restless radiance; the fountain underneath them filling its marble hollow with blue mist and fitful sound; and over all, the multitudinous bars of amber and rose, the sacred clouds that have no darkness, and only exist to illumine, were seen in fathomless intervals between the solemn and orbéd repose of the stone pines, passing to lose themselves in the last white blinding lustre of the measureless line where the Campagna melted into the blaze of the sea. Tell me who is likest this, Poussin or Turner?" (pp. 116-118).

The ancient landscape painter, it is clear, has no chance with our author. We had hoped, that in sending, as he does most unceremoniously, all the *Vans* into the *rear*, he would have made an exception in favour of Vandevelde; but no, he comes in for his share of condemnation in a later chapter of the work. Has our Graduate ever seen the magnificent Vandevelde in the Stafford collection, which, with, it may be fairly presumed, something like an equal appreciation of their merits on the part of the noble owner, has been hung to correspond in position with a picture by Turner? On the subject of Chiaroscuro there is much of profound thought and observation, which cannot but be instructive as well as interesting to the artist, whatever may be his proficiency. We quote an example:—

“The second point to which I wish at present to direct attention

has reference to the *arrangement* of light and shade. It is the constant habit of nature to use both her highest lights and deepest shadows in exceedingly small quantity; always in points, never in masses. She will give a large mass of tender light in sky or water, impressive by its quantity, and a large mass of tender shadow relieved against it, in foliage, or hill, or building; but the light is always subdued if it be extensive—the shadow always feeble if it be broad. She will then fill up all the rest of her picture with middle tints and pale greys of some sort or another; and on this quiet and harmonious whole she will touch her high lights in spots: the foam of an isolated wave—the sail of a solitary vessel—the flash of the sun from a wet roof—the gleam of a single white-washed cottage, or some such sources of local brilliancy, she will use so vividly and delicately, as to throw everything else into definite shade by comparison. And then taking up the gloom, she will use the black hollows of some overhanging bank, or the black dress of some shaded figure, or the depth of some sunless chink of wall or window, so sharply as to throw everything else into definite light by comparison; thus reducing the whole mass of her picture to a delicate middle tint, approaching, of course, here to light, and there to gloom, but yet sharply separated from the utmost degrees either of the one or the other.” (pp. 147, 148).

We think our Graduate would have carried with him a far greater portion of the sympathy of his readers, without sacrificing any one point at which he aims, had he indulged less in invidious comparison. With reference to the following passage, for instance, he might have vindicated Turner’s fidelity, in giving the view from Highgate-hill, without attributing to the ancient painters the absurdities into which he alleges their attempts to pourtray the same scene would have betrayed them:—

“Go to the top of Highgate-hill on a clear summer morning at five o’clock, and look at Westminster Abbey. You will receive an impression of a building enriched with multitudinous vertical lines. Try to distinguish one of those lines all the way down from the one next to it; you cannot. Try to count them; you cannot. Try to make out the beginning or end of any one of them; you cannot. Look at it generally, and it is all symmetry and arrangement. Look at it in its parts, and it is all inextricable confusion. Am not I at this moment describing a piece of Turner’s drawing with the same words by which I describe nature? And what would one of the old masters have done with such a building as this in his distance? Either he would only have given the shadows of the buttresses, and the light and dark sides of the two towers, and two dots for the windows; or, if more ignorant and more ambitious, he had attempted to render some of the detail, it would have been done by distinct lines—would have been broad caricature of the delicate building, felt at once to be false, ridiculous, and offensive. His most successful effort would only have given us, through his carefully-toned atmosphere, the effect of a colossal parish church, without one line of carving on its economic sides,

Turner, and Turner only, would follow and render on the canvas that mystery of decided line—that distinct, sharp, visible, but unintelligible and inextricable richness, which, examined part by part, is to the eye nothing but confusion and defeat—which, taken as a whole, is all unity, symmetry, and truth.”\* (pp. 174, 175).

Singular clearness and aptness of illustration are among the conspicuous attractions and merits of this work; of this we will give an eloquent example:—

“Mountains are, to the rest of the body of the earth, what violent muscular action is to the body of man. The muscles and tendons of its anatomy are, in the mountain, brought out with fierce and convulsive energy, full of expression, passion, and strength; the plains and the lower hills are the repose and the effortless motion of the frame, when its muscles lie dormant and concealed beneath the lines of its beauty, yet ruling those lines in their every undulation. This, then, is the first grand principle of the truth of the earth. The spirit of the hills is action—that of the lowlands, repose; and between these there is to be found every variety of motion and of rest; from the inactive plain, sleeping like the firmament, with cities for stars, to the fiery peaks, which, with heaving bosoms and exulting limbs, with the clouds drifting like hair from their bright foreheads, lift up their Titan hands to heaven, saying, ‘I live for ever!’” (p. 261).

How exquisitely poetical is the concluding sentence of this paragraph.

The artistical reader will, we think, be struck by the total absence of all *theorising* in this volume. The author is evidently a practical man; he has followed nature into her heights and fastnesses, and has descended into her valleys; and thus we have in his pages the results, not of speculation, but experience. At home in every variety of landscape, he chiefly rejoices in Alpine scenery, which he appears to think, and in our opinion not without reason, has been neglected by modern artists; and if this be true, what a wide and magnificent field does Switzerland present to them!

“Let us express a hope (says the author) that Alpine scenery will not continue to be neglected as it has been, by those who alone are capable of treating it. We love Italy, but we have had rather a surfeit of it lately; too many peaked caps and flat-headed pines. We should be very grateful to Harding and Stanfield if they would refresh us a little among the snow, and give us, what we know them to be capable of giving us, a faithful expression of Alpine ideal. We are well aware of the difficulty of the subject matter—well aware of the pain inflicted on an artist’s mind by the preponderance of black, and white,

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\* *Vide*, for illustration, “Fontainebleau,” in the illustrations to Scott; vignette at opening of “Human Life,” in Rogers’ poems; Venice, in the “Italy;” Chateau de Blois, the Rouens, and Pont Neuf, Paris, in the “Rivers of France.” The distances of all the academy pictures of Venice, especially the “Shylock,” are most instructive.



and green, over more available colours ; but there is nevertheless, in generic Alpine scenery, a fountain of feeling yet unopened—a chord of harmony yet untouched by art. It will be struck by the first man who can separate what is national, in Switzerland, from what is ideal. We do not want chalets and three-legged stools, cow-bells and buttermilk : we want the pure and holy hills, treated as a link between heaven and earth." (pp. 280, 281).

Turner has, however, in two drawings of exquisite beauty, brilliancy, and truth, executed for a private collection, and, we believe, since the publication of this volume, shown how entirely equal is his genius to the difficult task proposed in the preceding quotation. They may probably exhibit less delicacy of touch than some of his earlier productions—there may be somewhat more of the mark of the brush in them ; but in power, tone, truth, and effect, they are unsurpassed—almost unequalled, by anything he has ever done ; not excepting his "Oberwesel" and "Nemi," in Mr. Windus's collection—two glorious pictures, of which their possessor is, and may well be, proud. But the space which we have already given to this interesting and laborious book, warns us that we must bring our quotations to a close. Take one from the chapter on the "Inferior Mountains:—"

"There is an expression and a feeling about all the hill-lines of nature which I think I shall be able hereafter to explain ; but it is not to be reduced to line and rule—not to be measured by angles, or described by compasses—not to be clipped out by the geologist, or equated by the mathematician. It is intangible, incalculable—a thing to be felt, not understood ; to be loved, not comprehended ; a music of the eyes, a melody of the heart, whose truth is known only by its sweetness. It will only be when we can feel as well as think, and rejoice as well as reason, that I shall be able to lead you with Turner to his favourite haunts—to bid you walk with him along the sunny slopes of the waving hills, with their rich woods bending on their undulations like the plumage on a bird's bosom, and up the hollow paths of silent valleys, and along the rugged flanks of heaving mountains, passing like a cloud from crag to crag, and chasm to chasm, and solitude to solitude, among lifted walls of living rock, mighty surges of tempestuous earth, dim domes of heaven-girded snow, where the morning first strikes, and the sunset last lingers, and the stars pause in their setting, and the tempest and the lightning have their habitation—to bid you behold, in all that perfect beauty which is known only to love, that truth, infinite and divine, which is revealed only to devotion." (p. 301).

In dismissing this volume from our hands we feel bound to state, that, making all allowance for much of which we disapprove, and which we think even the author's maturer judgment will condemn, it is one of the most valuable, because one of the most practical and philosophical, treatises on art that has appeared in modern times. He is correct in all the grand principles he promulgates, and singularly happy in his exposition of them.

Our objections to the work are not founded so much upon the author's enthusiastic admiration—approaching to, if it does not absolutely touch upon idolatry of Turner, to whom, in very many of his prominent characteristics, it is difficult for language to do justice—as upon his depreciation, and, in many instances, contempt of the ancient landscape painters, of whose productions, it may be, he has not seen the best examples. In the concluding page of the book, the author, speaking of Turner, writes—"In all that he says, we believe; in all that he does, we trust." The prologue and epilogue to the "Deluge," in the last exhibition of the Royal Academy, must have been severe trials of his faith.

Looking at the work in a literary point of view, we conceive that we have shown, in the quotations for which we have found space, that it claims a very high rank, and stands out in bold relief from the light and frivolous publications of the day. That it is the production of a poet as well as a painter, no man who reads a page of it can for a moment doubt. And it has a higher value than all that we have yet assigned to it—it leads the mind through the wooded valley, and by the winding stream, and over the blue waves, and up the "cloud-capt" mountains of nature, unto nature's God.\*

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*Lectures on the Millennium; the New Heavens and New Earth, and the Recognition and Intercourse of Beatified Saints.* By the Rev. C. BURTON, LL.D. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. One vol. 8vo., 298 pages.

THE public have shown their approval of this work by exhausting the first edition; and we are happy to find, in this fact, a confirmation of the opinion we have ourselves already expressed. We hope, at a future period, in connection with other works on the same important subject, to recur to this volume again. In the mean time, though our sentiments, on mature reflection, may not always coincide with those of the reverend author, we do not hesitate to recommend a work which has been honoured by the approbation of some of our first divines.

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\* If our quotations have failed to convince our readers of the tendency which we have thus ascribed to the work, we think the following beautiful and eloquent passage will be held to be conclusive on the point:—"One lesson, however, we are invariably taught by all, however approached or viewed—that the work of the great Spirit of nature is as deep and unapproachable in the lowest as in the noblest objects—that the Divine mind is as visible, in its full energy of operation, on every lowly bank and mouldering stone, as in the lifting of the pillars of heaven and settling the foundation of the earth; and that, to the rightly perceiving mind, there is the same infinity, the same majesty, the same power, the same unity, and the same perfection, manifest in the casting of the clay as in the scattering of the cloud—in the mouldering of the dust as in the kindling of the day-star." (p. 326.)

*The Moderation of the Church of England.* By TIMOTHY PULLER, D.D. A new Edition, thoroughly revised and corrected; with a Commendatory Preface by the Rev. R. EDEN, M.A., F.S.A. London: Piggott; Hamilton and Co. Oxford: Parker. Cambridge: Deighton. 1843.

It is often a satisfaction to an anxious mind to find that our own feelings have been experienced by others, and that the processes of thought and sensation of which we are conscious have had their counterpart in the history of persons with whom we have never had any such intercourse as might lead us to imagine that their sentiments were only the reflection of our own. Similar to this is the satisfaction felt when we find that the principles we have adopted, upon the most important subjects, are those which have been deliberately held by men who have lived two or three generations earlier than ourselves. Hence we derive the assurance that our views have not been taken up hastily, and without any foundation in truth.

The work, the title-page of which stands at the head of this review, is an instance, as well as illustration, of the truth of these remarks. Though written and published more than a century and a half ago, it will be found to contain arguments, sentiments, and facts, so suitable to the history of our Church at the *present* time, that we might suppose its author to be a living witness of what is actually going on among us. Were he now living, we should offer him our warmest thanks for so seasonable a production; but we cannot withhold our acknowledgments from the present editor, who has rendered no trifling service to the Church by republishing the valuable work of Dr. Puller.

The author's references to ancient as well as to more recent writers are multitudinous; many of them are loose, being apparently made from memory, and many lie out of the common track of enquiry. Mr. Eden, however, has, with great industry, sought out and verified these references, and has accurately stated the places where they will be found in the best editions of the authors cited. Of many passages, Dr. Puller had given only an indication; while, in quoting others, he adduced only a fragment. In most instances we perceive that Mr. Eden has given at full length these omitted or partially cited references. The reader of Dr. Puller's valuable treatise will thus be enabled to decide for himself upon the justness of his reasonings, by having the passages on which they were founded laid before him. The wide compass of his research will be evident to the attentive reader, who will take the trouble of glancing at the references which pervade the volume.

As Dr. Puller's "Moderation of the Church of England" is virtually a new work to many of our readers, a brief survey of its contents will be not unacceptable. Having investigated at some length the nature of moderation, he proceeds to develop, in fifteen successive chapters, the moderation of the Church of England, in respect to her rule of faith, and the application of that rule—the moderation of the Church in her judgment of doctrines; in what relates to the worship of God, to ceremonies, and to holy-days, or the feasts and fasts of the Church—in reference to the holy sacraments, as well as to other rites and usages—in what concerns the power of the Church, the administration of the public laws towards offenders, and towards all who differ from her, and that are in error—the moderation of the Church towards other Churches and professions of men—the moderation of the Church in her Reformation, and in avoiding all undue compliances with Popery, and other sorts of fanaticism among us. The work concludes with a chapter on the moderation of our Church, as it may influence Christian practice, and especially upon our union.

To the work is prefixed an introductory preface by the editor, in which he has vindicated the Reformation from the charge of being an imperfect work, or requiring to be reformed, or done over again. Mr. Eden successfully maintains that the "Moderation of the Church of England does not involve the idea of a compromise; and that those who settled our ecclesiastical system, did not, in fact, compromise anything; but that they acted with devout deliberation, and designed their work to remain as being—for everything *really* essential—'perfect and entire, wanting nothing.'" From this preliminary essay we select the following passage, which furnishes a favourable specimen of the manner in which Mr. Eden has conducted his argument:—

"This, then, is the rock of stability on which the English Church stands—that she is primeval. Had those who remodelled her in the sixteenth century proposed to themselves merely to 'serve their own generation,' without any regard to the 'children which were yet unborn,' the edifice which they reared would for ever have been open to the imputation of being imperfect. Like the tabernacle of old, it would appear to be a structure for a merely transient purpose; and we could show no reason why, having done a service of three centuries, it should not be demolished—with every respectful acknowledgment of its past uses, but with a conviction that the time had arrived for setting up a building of a more universal character, relieved of any characteristics of a temporary nature to cramp its space and deface its countenance. Pleas for alteration of this kind—the force of which it would not be easy to resist, were the foundations of our national Church other than they are—are for ever excluded by the primitive

nature of our Church. Whether we enquire of her doctrine, her order, or her forms, she treads in the steps of those who themselves followed closely the track of the Church's Lord: and no maturity, which the lapse of centuries can be imagined to confer, can compare with the ripeness, both in truth and in rule, which they had attained, who had learned either from the Lord himself, or from those whom he trained, what was 'the mind of Christ.'

"Within this palladium of strength—her primitiveness—the English Church is protected, not only from any danger of being overthrown, but from being troubled with any proposals for her re-organization. Ever open as she ought to be, and (we trust) is, to suggestions for the more effectual carrying out of her principles, her ear is fast closed against any such review of the principles themselves as might lead to a change thereof. How can she allow herself to be accessible to any such proposals, when three centuries ago she fixed her views upon the model of Christ and his apostles; and, following such an example, fixed them irrevocably? Grant that the divines, who dealt with our Church in the sixteenth century, adopted as the mould wherein she was to be re-cast, the period of genuine primitiveness which has been referred to, and it is a necessary inference, that the system which, from them, has come down to us—we do not say need not, or ought not, but cannot possibly be changed." (*Editor's Preface*, pp. xiv.-xvi.)

From the many passages of Dr. Puller's treatise which we could wish to have given, we select the two following, as peculiarly appropriate.

1. Statement of the view entertained by the Church of England on the right of private judgment:—

"Indeed it is the great honour of our Church, that it doth not testify, nor require attestation, unto anything but where some good reason why wed o so is sufficiently manifest: which right, as she maintains towards others, so she vindicates the same to herself—namely, of examining what is offered to her under the venerable name of the Catholic Church; and, if need be, of reforming any abuses or errors within the bounds of its own discipline, and so separating the precious from the vile: which power of examining doctrines, being forbid by the Church of Rome to her sons, seems to present the first occasion and means of reformation, and renders her even incorrigible in her errors and orruptions; and, remaining so, irreconcilable.

"But some do object, that if we allow a right of private judgment, it will be a direct means to establish among us an enthusiastic private spirit, which will rely upon its own judgment, to the despising all others: and if all may use a private judgment, why may they not follow it and profess it? Then you open a window to all divisions and heresies, and render the Church useless, and all her guides.

"We answer—it is one thing to use our faculties of discerning in a discreet manner, which includes all due reverence to all those instruments which God and the Church have given us for our direction and conduct; and another thing to rely on our own prudence, to wrest the

Scripture to our own sense (as the Council of Trent speaks), which the Church of England first of all detests, every private person being here required to hear and obey the public reason of our Church; which, being also clear and true, can allow the being searched into; and for that purpose she desires but her sons to open their own eyes. Wherefore the sober use of our own faculties ought not to be called a private spirit; which judgeth according to the general notices of truth and good, and the common sense of mankind, and the judgment also of the Church: such a spirit 'is the candle of the Lord;' not an evil spirit, nor a spirit of innovation, nor dissension, nor a spirit of pride, nor temptation, as many of the Church of Rome blazon it." (pp. 96, 97).

## 2. Moderation of the Church of England towards other Churches which are doctrinally uncorrupt:—

"The excellent temper of our Church is abundantly justified in that universal concord and friendship it desires to maintain with all, so far as may be done lawfully. Our Church separates indeed, as far as is possible, from all that is vile and impure, making herself (as is the Church) a society distinct from Jews and Gentiles; and by her censures doth separate from those that are inordinate; and in her own defence keeps herself from complying with sinful and unjust conditions of communion: yet with the whole Church throughout the world, and every part thereof to whom her communion is not displeasing, our Church, in desire and endeavour, doth maintain all inward and outward agreement she can;\* in affections and behaviour also so approving herself, that it is manifest she unwillingly differs from any, and no more than needs must. Thus the thirtieth canon of our Church: 'Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Church [es] of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those [particular] points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the apostolical Churches, which were their first founders.

"Episcopal divines (saith Bishop Bramhall),† do not deny those [Churches] to be true Churches, where [in] salvation may be had." (pp. 256, 257).

"In matters of ecclesiastical freedom, the Church of England leaves always other Churches to their liberty, and vindicates their right to the same;‡ as other Reformed Churches leave us to our liberty, and vindicate the same (Article xxxiv.) 'It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversities of

\* *Odia restringi, favores convenit ampliari.* Reg. Juris.

† "Vindication of Grotius," &c., p. 614. *Dubl.* 1676.

‡ Dr. Durell's "View of the Reformed Churches." *London*. 1662, p. 109.

countries,\* times, and [men's] manners. Every particular [or] national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church.† 'In these our doings, we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only:' according to the practice of St. Cyprian (clearing himself to the African bishops), 'Judging none, nor removing any from the right of communion, if they think somewhat diverse from us.' For which St. Austin‡ commends St. Cyprian: and as Tully|| spake of himself, with relation to Cæsar; 'I so dissented from him, that in the difference of our opinion, however, we remained entire in our friendship.'

"Of this mind also was St. Austin, in matters of different observances, as to times of fasting and days of communicating; 'All this (saith he) is matter of liberty; and no practice is more worthy a grave and prudent Christian than to act so as he sees the Church doth, unto which it happens he comes, and as the society doth in which he lives:§ and in these matters, of which the holy Scripture appoints nothing expressly, the custom of the people of God, and the institutes of our superiors, are to be held for a law; of which if we have a list to dispute, and to disprove others for their different custom, there will arise endless contests.' M. Amyrald¶ well observes the friendly moderation of the English and French Protestants; when they are in each others' countries, they readily join themselves with the communion of the Churches they are in.

"Yet such is the abundant moderation of our Church, that to merchants and strangers of other Churches are permitted their several congregations and churches: and all aliens of the Reformation have, by Act of Uniformity, an express provision made for their enjoyment of their own way of worship, at the pleasure of his majesty: which is real proof that conformity doth not prejudice trade.\*\* †† And this

\* v. Homily of Fasting. Distant inter se linguæ, sed linguarum distantia non sunt Schismata, omnes linguæ ad unam fidem. (*St. Aug. in Joan.*)

[The sentiment, though not the precise words, of the above quotation, is to be found in August. Sermons on Pentecost, cclxvii. cclxxii. tom. v. col. 1089, 1091, 1093, 1101, 1103. Par. 1679-1700.]

† Pref. of Cerem.

‡ Cujus charitas non solum illius temporis Christianis sed etiam posteris ad medicinalem notitiam signatur. (*Aug. op. Par. 1679-1700, de Bapt. lib. i. 28, tom. ix. col. 94.*)

|| Ita dissensi ab illo ut in disjunctione sententiæ, conjuncti tamen amicitia maneremus. (*M. T. Cic. orat. pro provinc. Consul.*)

§ S. Aug. Ep. 118, and Ep. 86.

¶ Quamobrem et Galli nostris qui in Anglia versantur, si linguam Anglicam callent, Anglorum cœtibus libentissime intersunt, et Eucharistiam ex eorum more participant, et Episcopis sese subjiciunt, quantum id Ecclesiæ pax et ædificatio postulat. Angli vero, qui inter nos in Gallia peregrinantur, pariter sese moribus, institutis, disciplinæ, legibus, et cæremoniis nostris accommodant, ut suam pietatem et utriusque Ecclesiæ consensionem testificentur. (*M. Amyraldi, Ειρηνικον. Salmur. 1662, p. 351.*)

\*\* v. Mod. Pleas for Comprehend. answered, p. 210.

†† Omnibus notum est quam clementer patiantur peregrinorum Ecclesias Ceremoniis et ritibus uti diversis ab Anglicana Ecclesia. (*Saravia. de div. grad. Min. cap. 24.*)

tender care of other Churches' liberty, which the Church of England with great moderation doth profess, other Reformed Churches generally return to us : which the thirtieth canon refers to, where it saith, ' This resolution and practice of our Church (namely, not to forsake and reject other Churches, only as they depart from the apostolical Churches; particularly with relation to the use of the cross in baptism) hath been allowed and approved by the censure on the Common Prayer Book\* in King Edward the Sixth [his] days, and by the harmony of confessions of later years.' And it was King James his advice to his divines, to hold a good correspondence with the neighbour Reformed Churches; but, saith the King, † ' I am resolved to leave other Churches to their liberty.' And so also King Charles I. : ‡ ' As I am no judge over the Reformed Churches, so neither do I censure them.' " (pp. 257-260).

The republication of this work is peculiarly seasonable at the present moment. Every thoughtful person is bringing himself to a stand, and enquiring what are the true views of the Church of England on the many points which are now so warmly discussed. Men, whose sentiments are as wide asunder as the poles, are each claiming the Church on their side; while others (a large multitude) are standing in the midst, almost confounded with the strife of tongues. Dr. Puller's "Moderation of the Church of England" will just meet their wants. It is not a book containing the author's private opinions on the matters treated of; but a calm and argumentative statement of the views of the Church, as conclusively set forth in her liturgy, articles, and homilies. We think that an *attentive* perusal of this book will meet the wants and wishes of many anxious enquirers; and we earnestly recommend it both to the clergy and the laity. Though the original author has supported his arguments by abundance of learned quotations (which have been verified by the editor, Mr. Eden), the style of his work is easy, and even popular. We may add, that both author and editor have preserved, in their own sentiments, that "moderation" which they attribute to our Church as her highest commendation; and, like her, without any sacrifice of the essentials of truth.

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\* "Communion Book." Constit. and Can. 1603. (*Dr. Cardwell's Synodalia*. vol. i. p. 263).

† v. in Apol. Ep. Lectori. "Non est mihi ingenium in aliena republica curiosum."

Mihi enim alioqui est decretissimum, rebus alienis me non immiscere; sed alias Reformatæ Religionis Ecclesiæ Christianæ suæ libertati permitttere. (*Reg. Jacobi. Opera*. p. 349. fol. Lond. 1619).

‡ His Majesty's third Paper to Mr. Henderson. Lond. 1649.



*The Statutes of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, recognized and established by subsequent Councils and Synods, down to the Council of Trent.* By the Rev. JOHN EVANS, M.A. London: Seeleys. 1843.

To persons but moderately acquainted with the present state of the Papal controversy, the object, importance, and originality of the work now to be noticed, if it be at all adequately executed, will be apparent from the very title. Our readers may be well assured that the present production is not, like many others of which we are called upon to give our judgment, a mere repetition, with some variety of form, of what, however valuable, they may find in ordinary works already before the public. The matter is both highly interesting and important, and will in vain be sought for in any other publication with which we are acquainted—we mean, for argument; for the materials are extant in various historic documents. The originality consists in their discovery and luminous array, as well as in their detail and conclusiveness.

The Fourth General Council assembled at Rome in the Lateran, A.D. 1215, has, since the Reformation, and particularly of late, become somewhat notorious for concentrating in one of its canons (the third) the essence of Papal persecution, especially in its exterminating form, and the arrogant assumption of superiority above the secular power by the spiritual of the Roman See. However congenial and freely acted upon might be such views and decrees at the time, in the times which not long after followed, and up to the present, they have been a rather galling weight upon the necks of their authors. Not that those authors repent or are ashamed of them; but their former power having fled, nothing remains but the odium both of their enactment and execution; and still further, the probability and just apprehension which they irresistibly establish of their future recurrence with returning power. Such an apprehension so reasonable, perhaps so necessary, stands sadly in the way of all the recent and present prospects of the Papacy. It is of the highest importance to Rome to be trusted, or not to be mistrusted, and *that* most intensely.

Hence have arisen the most sturdy, elaborate, ingenious, and persevering efforts of Roman advocates to destroy or neutralize the credit, either of the Council generally, or of the troublesome canon in particular. A good deal of stress has been laid upon the description in Matthew Paris, that the statutes which were passed "*aliis placabilia, aliis videbantur onerosa*;" as if this were not the case in all deliberative assemblies, whether civil or ecclesiastical. In the present case it was the *placets* against the

*non-placets.* The placets *had* it, and the non-placets were under the common necessity of making the best of a constrained acquiescence. And truly, however *pleasing* to the clergy might be the power and duty conferred upon them, to the lay princes it may be supposed to have been a little *onerous*, however honourable, to be compelled to be their Church's executioners. For the other pretences—namely, that the statutes were made by the Pope, Innocent III.; that the Council was unknown till first printed by Crabbe, in his collection, in 1838; and that the now obnoxious canon is wanting in the Mazarine MS. at Paris, upon the authority of the mistaken and self-contradictory credit of "the excellent Protestant historian, Collier"—we must send the reader for the most decisive and ample refutation to the pages of the valuable work under review.

This work has treated the subject in the only proper and workmanlike manner. It has brought before the reader in succession, from the time of the Lateran Council in question, to that of Trent, about twenty Councils, in England as well as in France, two of them general, recognizing distinctly and renewing (to use a conciliar term) the whole of the assailed Council, especially the third canon, *de hereticis*. Mr. Evans has given every mechanical advantage to his argument by placing the corresponding passages in his quotations in juxta-position. We might give the headings of the different divisions, but that would only be to name the different Councils whose testimony is adduced: and otherwise to condense the argument, which is so closely followed and filled up, would be almost impracticable. We will content ourselves with selecting a passage which discovers the sagacity, and, we may be allowed to say, the eloquence of the writer. At p. 65 is introduced the part which Cardinal Pole took in the Council assembled at Lambeth, A.D. 1556, when, referring expressly to the Lateran Council, and the bull "*Cœnæ Domini*," it was determined, that *all censures and punishments enacted against heretics and favourers of them, and against ordinaries and all others to whom the office belongs, negligent in extirpating heresies, should be renewed and enjoined to be fully executed.* After this statement of the conduct of a man generally reputed adverse to persecution by those who little know what his religion can make a Romanist, the author, with becoming animation, asks:—

"Had he caught the spirit of Gardiner? Had the smoke of the Smithfield fires turned his head? Or did he surrender head and heart to the imperious mandates of a power which brooks no opposition, and, contrary to the dictates of conscience and humanity, consent to do its bidding? Let the problem be solved how it may, it affords an important lesson; it shows us, that when Rome has power, even those

of her members who have a reputation for gentleness and humanity, either lose those qualities, or, in spite of them, *must* become instruments of cruelty and butchery, whilst both head and heart condemn the act : it also shows, that the time was not yet come when the circumstances had passed away which, in the eye of Rome, give 'the law of Lateran' its force." (p. 67).

Rome is still the same : it is her boast and her infamy ; and she will never become otherwise till she becomes Christian—till she forsakes, and joins us in protesting against, her own apostasy. When, therefore, the sons or advocates of the grand deceiver and persecutor warble in our ears the dulcet sounds of charity and union—when they address with the winning appellation of "dearly beloved brethren" those whom, under far more binding obligations, they curse as notorious, self-convicted heretics—let us remand them to the Lateran third canon and the bull of Holy Thursday, to show that we understand them. Rome never alters, never forgets, never tires. Nothing but absence of power, unwilling subjection to superior power, or policy aiming at greater advantages, causes her to *appear* to do either. She may slumber, but never sleeps ; or, if she does, it is with one eye open : the soul is as wakeful, ready, and determined as ever ; and should power ever return to her, especially in this kingdom, at whose freedom and spiritual prosperity she most grudges, her open and undisguised language, as it invariably in such cases has been, will again be—*turn or burn*.\*

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*History of St. Andrew's, Episcopal, Monastic, Academic, and Civil ; comprising the principal part of the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, from the Earliest Age to the Present Time.* By the Rev. C. J. LYON, M.A. Two vols. 8vo. Edinburgh : Tait.

WE have no doubt but that, to a vast majority of our readers, the old German city of Achen (or Aix-le-Chapelle) is more familiarly known than is the venerable St. Andrew's, and yet there is much resemblance between the course and fate of each. Aix has been well named "*la ville des grands souvenirs*;" it is exclusively a regal city ; and though in decay, it is evidently pre-

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\* In the preface, p. iv., and at page 23, Mr. Evans refers to an important MS. of the fourth Lateran in the British Museum. We have ourselves examined it, and believe it, from every mark, to be nearly coetaneous with the council. It is in small quarto, on vellum, 8 folia, in double columns, handsomely written, and with pretty illuminated initials. It suffered severely with the rest of the volume from the fire at the house of Lord Ashburnham, where it then was, in 1731 (that is the right date), having the edges formidably bristled, but with no injury to the text, where the third canon stands completely legible in its proper place, in the original Latin, and with no mutilation or chasm.

pared to adjust its mantle ere it fall, and to die with the dignity of bold Julius at the foot of the statue of Pompey. The now dark streets of Achen once smiled in the sunshine of imperialism, and the very houses were embalmed in the purple which poured forth its rays from the noble hall, where

*Sass König Rudolph's heilige Nacht.*

And old St. Andrew's, too, is a city of great reminiscences, dignified in desolation and decay ; exclusively ecclesiastical, when to be so was to shine with more splendour than if she had only been imperial, a line of royal, noble, and learned prelates held here an enthroned state, majestic as monkery at Malines, and as revered as learning at Louvain. All the splendour she enjoys now is from the faint reflection of the brilliancy of by-gone years : she is like an old and once revered shrine which time and man have both united to despoil ; fragments of gold and patches of bright hue still cling to her, but the uniformity of her beauty has perished, the hand of the despoiler has shivered her pinnacles and broken the delicate tracery which ornamented her, and the sun of her majesty and the fulness of her glory are to be distinguished, not so much in what *is*, as in what *is not*.

A chequered, a proud, a humiliating career has been that of Scotland's most famous city. Proud in her independence of Rome, and her refusal of even suspected subjection to England, the very vices of her bishops were all superior to common meanness ; their crimes even had nothing in them of a petty-larceny spirit ; like the servants of Fortunatus, they did nothing after the fashion of ordinary men. Her humiliation, if such a term can be applied to a defeated party, who meets nothing from the adverse faction but treachery, and who, standing alone, is overcome by a lawless multitude, who, having but a shadow of right on their side, abuse it as though they had the whole substance, and were chartered to do wrong under its name—her humiliation was great and undeserved ; and so complete withal, that she yet is sitting at her desolate hearth, on which never again shall the fire be kindled, and above which her old household gods will never more be arrayed. Certainly, the Reformation, which descended on England and Germany, as a ministering spirit, with healing on its wings, never looks so little like an angel as when we contemplate her in Scotland ; there she warmed herself at the stake of the martyrs, and smiled complacently at the gibbet on which she hung her victims, and exulted as she passed and repassed her bloody sword through the bodies of weaponless men ; her voice went screaming through the valleys and shrieking over the hills, and the words it uttered were for toleration and liberty of worship ; but that which men asked, and took for

themselves, they insultingly denied to their fellow-men; their sanguinary enmity was not only directed against the Catholicism of Rome, but the religion, the spotless faith, and the sacred rites of the primitive ages. They would not be followers of Christ, and accept the Church as he bequeathed it to his children; but masters of Jesus, and impose on him, to speak with reverence, the cold and selfish system which they invented in their cold and selfish hearts. From the day of their ill-gotten triumph to that in which we live, the spirit, though it has lain dormant, has not died; the fever of rebellion and the inflammation of republicanism have never been eradicated from the Presbyterian system. Good, and loyal, and pious men as there have undoubtedly been among the upholders of that system, they have always had among them, and been tainted by, the impatient sons of violence; and even now the old and fiery disease has been whirling through the blood and tearing at the vitals, till it has appeared at the surface in the unsightly erysipilatic sore, called the Free Church.

We have scarcely left ourselves space to speak of the author. We must not, however, conclude without offering him the acknowledgments of a wide class of readers, and our own especial thanks for the way in which he has accomplished his labour of love—for a *task* such a history could never have been. He has sent to his publisher most attractive matter, and the latter has given it to the world in a most attractive form; and henceforth Lyon's "*History of St. Andrew's*" is a sterling and a standard work.

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1. *A Short Treatise on Life Assurance; with the Rates of all the Offices in London, &c.* By F. LAWRENCE, Esq. London: Pelham Richardson.
  2. *Second Annual Report of the Committee of the Cottage Improvement Society for North Northumberland.* London: Whittaker and Co.
  3. *The Affidavits in re Cooke, ex parte Stratford.* London: Cox and Sons.

THE first of this triad is a little book useful to all classes; the second, to one very large class—those interested in the welfare of the poor, particularly with reference to an improvement in their health and habits; the third is an *ex-parte* narrative of two men about town, *arcades ambo*, a perusal of which, if it can be advantageous to any one, it can only be to the members of that class of whom it is said by the son of Sirach, that "moth and worms shall have them to heritage."

1. *The Eighth Annual Report of the Committee of the Loughborough and Ashby [de-la-Zouch] Protestant Tract Society.* Loughborough: Barker. 1843. 12mo. pp. 24.
2. *A Brief Reply to the Declaration of the (Roman) Catholic Bishops, the Vicars Apostolic, and their Coadjutors, in Great Britain.* Printed for the Loughborough and Ashby Protestant Tract Society. Ashby-de-la-Zouch: Hextall. London: Sherwood and Co. 1843. 12mo. pp. 36.
3. *Manual of Devotion for the Use of the Brethren and Sisters of the Confraternity of the Living Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, established in the Parishes of Grace-Dieu and Whitwick.* By AMBROSE LISLE PHILLIPS, Esq. Derby: Richardson and Son. 1843. 18mo. pp. 110.

THE Loughborough and Ashby-de-la-Zouch Protestant Tract Society was instituted in 1836 by some clerical and lay members of the Church of England, in order to counteract the unceasing efforts made by the Papists in their neighbourhood to pervert unwary Protestants. We rejoice to say that this Society, although with comparatively small resources, has been eminently successful; and the list of the publications circulated by them contains some of the best tracts on the unscriptural and anti-scriptural doctrines and practices of Popery which we have ever seen. Some of these tracts are adopted from the publications of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and a few from tracts printed at Dublin; but others (and they are not the least powerful in argument) have been written expressly for the Society. One of these, "A Short Enquiry into the Doctrines of the Churches of England and Rome" (which we commended in the eleventh volume of our *Review*, p. 128), we are glad to see has reached a third edition. Among others of this Society's tracts we may indicate a capital one on the penal laws against Papists, demonstrating, from authentic and generally contemporaneous history, that these laws were enacted, not for the sake of violating the rights of conscience (as papists persist in asserting), but solely for the security of the British constitution and throne. Two other tracts, originally issued for local purposes, seem to us well suited for similar occasions elsewhere. One is entitled "An Address on the erection of a Roman Catholic Chapel in Loughborough;" of which it is no mean commendation to say, that at the time of its first publication it was transferred *entire* into the columns of the *Times* newspaper, which *then* strenuously opposed Popery in every form and guise.\*

\* At the period above referred to, the *Times* was under the able editorship of the late Mr. Thomas Barnes (who was also a co-proprietor), an alumnus of "the Royal, Ancient, and Religious (Protestant) Foundation of Christ's Hospital." (*Trollope's History of Christ's Hospital*, p. 306).

The other tract is entitled "Ten Minutes' Conversation on sending the children of Protestants to a Roman Catholic School." The latest publication of the Loughborough and Ashby Protestant Tract Society is "A Brief Reply to the Declaration of the (Roman) Catholic Bishops." That "Declaration" was first published in 1826, in which year the Rev. P. Alwood, B.D., published some "Brief Remarks," exposing its specious tendency, and its false and erroneous statements; which were most completely exposed and refuted in 1827, by the Rev. George Townsend, M.A., in his review of the "Declaration." Since the establishment of the so-called "Catholic Institute," in 1838, the pamphlet of the Romish Bishops and Vicars Apostolic has been re-issued in large numbers. The "Brief Reply" to this "Declaration," published by the Loughborough and Ashby Society, is evidently the work of a veteran in the popish controversy, and is admirably adapted for dispelling the mist in which the vicars apostolic endeavour to involve Protestants.

A talented tract on what was called "the Grace-Dieu miracle," in which the presumption and double dealing of the romish church is deservedly exposed, is (as we perceive by the Society's catalogue) no longer in print. Whether the infamy, which attached to those who attempted the particular imposture against which this tract was directed, may have justified the Society in not issuing a new edition, we at this distance can scarcely judge. But we may be allowed to suggest, that it would be a valuable ally to protestants in any neighbourhood in which a similar *trick* (under the imposing name of a miracle) should be attempted.

The Eighth Report of the Society, which is now before us, besides giving a satisfactory account of their labours during the preceding year, communicates some important facts respecting the rapacity of the Romish priests in Ireland with regard to fees, and also an accurate notice of a new form of devotion which has lately been introduced among the papists in Leicestershire, under the title of "the Confraternity of the Living Rosary," for whose use Mr. A. L. Phillips has published the "Manual of Devotion," of which we shall select two or three specimens. Before we explain what is meant by a *Living Rosary*, it may be necessary to premise, in the words of the Report, that—

"The devotion called the Rosary consists of fifteen Paternosters and one hundred and fifty Ave-Marias—a plain confession that a person who uses a Rosary offers ten prayers to the creature for each prayer that he offers to the Creator. These one hundred and sixty-five prayers are somehow connected with fifteen mysteries, joyful, sorrowful, and glorious, for each of which a lengthened meditation is provided in the 'Manual.' It seems that the labour of repeating, day by day, one prayer ten times, and another one hundred and fifty times,

and of meditating at due length on each of the fifteen mysteries, holding at the same time in their hands 'a little chaplet of beads, and marking each prayer by touching a bead, and then going on to the next, and so on, till they have recited all, and so touched each bead in the chaplet' (*Manual*, p. 16), has been found by some sluggish souls a wearisome task, notwithstanding the excitement of praying in an unknown tongue." (*Report*, p. 11).

In order to lighten this drudgery, and at the same time, by a subdivision of labour, to execute the work more efficiently, a new scheme was devised at Lyons, in the south of France (whence this superstition was first introduced into England by the present superior of St. Bernard's Abbey, in Charnwood Forest), by Marie Jaricot, and by a priest, "who is the curate of the church which is dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Thomas of Canterbury, on the Hill of Fourvieres, very near the city of Lyons." (*Manual*, p. 21). On the 2nd of February, 1832, the present Pope, Gregory XVI., sanctioned this novelty in a letter to his "beloved sons, John Francis Betemps, canon of the church of Lyons, and to Benedict Marduel, vicar of the parish church of St. Rock (Roche?) at Paris;" and to this letter he "appended an apostolic brief," granting an unsparing list of "indulgences to all the faithful of Christ, of both sexes, who shall be inscribed in the guild, or confraternity of the living rosary," and who shall perform certain conditions therein specified: the most pithy of which is, that they shall "pray to God in some church or chapel for the general intentions of the [Romish] Church—that is, for the exaltation of our holy mother, the Catholic Church; for the welfare of the chief bishop; for the extirpation of all heresy and schism; for the conversion of all poor unbelievers, whether Jews, Turks, Pagans, Infidels, or Heretics; for the union of all Catholic princes." (*Manual*, pp. 21-24).

✠ Such is the origin of "the Confraternity of the Living Rosary," which was instituted for "the conversion of England." (*Ibid.* 33). But before we give any account of its machinery and devotions, we request our readers to mark well the expression, *the extirpation of heresy*—praying for which is one of the conditions on which the Pope's indulgences are to be gained; because it speaks out plainly as to the real designs of the partisans of popery. It is nothing less than to subjugate England again to that detested spiritual tyranny, which our forefathers were not able to bear, and which they shook off in the sixteenth century. Twenty years ago it did not suit the policy of the English papists to speak out quite so plainly. In the bull of Leo XII., announcing the jubilee of 1825 (dated Rome, May 24, 1824), one of the conditions on which were granted "the plenary indulgence," and "pardon of ALL sins" (what blasphemy!), was praying



“*pro.....hæresium extirpatione*, for the *extirpation of heresies*.” But in page 23 of the “Directions and Instructions addressed to all the faithful in the London District, published by the R. R. the Vicars Apostolic,” this expression is wilfully *softened down* to, and is mis-translated, praying “for bringing back all straying souls to the ways of unity and truth.” This falsification of the meaning of the papal bull needs no comment. Now, however, that the papists in this country (relying on the support they may receive from the Tractarians) anticipate the eventual triumph of popery at no very distant period, they speak out plainly. Mr. Phillips asserts—*falsely*, we are assured—that “these clergy (meaning the Tractarians) are the most learned and devout of all the Anglican clergy;” he adds, that “they are now praying for the restoration of unity [that is, of popery] in this kingdom.” (*Manual*, p. 33).

But we must give our readers a few particulars respecting the “Living Rosary,” with a specimen or two of its devotions.

The “Living Rosary,” then, is a confraternity divided into companies, each consisting of fifteen persons answering to the fifteen mysteries of the rosary, every one of whom is enabled “to draw forth into his inmost soul the celestial fragrance of each leaf of this “mystical rose” (*Manual*, p. 71), though he or she repeats only one Paternoster and ten Ave-Marias, and meditates on one only of the mysteries. In order to ascertain what portion belongs to each individual, “when they have been admitted into the confraternity, they assemble every month in their *parish church* [our readers will not fail to notice that here, as well as in the title-page of Mr. Phillips’s ‘Manual,’ popish mass-houses or chapels are audaciously termed parish churches !!] for the purpose of each individual receiving his proper ticket, on which is written one of the mysteries of the rosary, for which he draws lots with the other members of the company, composed of fifteen.....By this arrangement, each individual of the fifteen reciting his own proper deced every day, all fifteen mysteries are recited every day of the month.” (*Manual*, p. 71). On this superstitious device the Report of the Loughborough and Ashby Society has the following pithy remarks:—

“There is, however, an obvious objection to this system of the vicarious Rosary. It is easy to conceive that some one of the fifteen associates may neglect his share of the task; in which case, the stated number of repetitions being incomplete, the charm will, of course, be broken and all the labour lost; and this too, in most cases, without any of the fourteen more regular brethren being aware, for years perhaps, of the default of their negligent partner, who (even if willing to offer a remedy) may be in such adverse circumstances as not to have it in his power to imitate the example of the indolent Dublin priest,

who, having forgotten, year after year, to say a long series of masses, for which he had been duly prepaid, had the honesty, on his death-bed in the year 1838, to leave a legacy of 300*l.* to a brother priest, on condition of his supplying the deficiencies, at the rate of half-a-crown for each mass (*Bath Protestant*, vol. i. p. 159). It is not impossible that this objection occurred to the minds of the patrons of the Living Rosary in Leicestershire: for the brethren and sisters are not only allowed to perform this task at chapel, while the prayers are being read (with which, of course, they have no concern, as being in Latin), but they are expressly reminded that ‘the Rosary is a most proper devotion for simple Christians to use during the holy sacrifice of the mass.’

“In the Whitwick confraternity, the reciter offers up, at the end of his allotted mystery, a prayer to the Virgin, one or more to Thomas à Becket, and occasionally one to Dionysius of Athens or John of Damascus. In one solitary instance, in the whole fifteen mysteries, is a single petition to our only Saviour, Jesus Christ.” (*Report*, p. 12).

In order to relieve the tedium, these invocations vary a little. The following fall to the lot of the person who draws the ticket No. 1, and who is to meditate on “the first joyful mystery of our Christian faith.”

“1 Our Father.

“10 Hail Marias.

“1 Glory be to the Father, &c.

“Holy Mary, pray for England.

“Most blessed St. Thomas, glorious Archbishop of Canterbury, courageous martyr of the holy Church of England, pray for England.

“Holy St. Thomas, pray for the see of Canterbury.

“Holy St. Thomas, pray for all the churches of the province of Canterbury.

“Holy St. Thomas, pray for this mission of Grace-Dieu and Whitwick.” (*Manual*, p. 47).

These are a small specimen of the devotions of “the Confraternity of the Living Rosary;” and these prayers to “the most blessed Saint Thomas” à Becket (a perjured rebel against his sovereign, and a traitor to his country) are preceded by a fervent ejaculation, that

“The first act of England, when it shall return to that unity [meaning the Romish faith and church] will be to restore, with more costly magnificence than ever, the shrine of this our thrice-blessed patron in the cathedral church of Canterbury. Oh! what a goodly sight it would be once again to behold tens of thousands of Englishmen marching to Canterbury, for the restoration of the shrine of St. Thomas the martyr! O glorious St. Thomas! O blessed archbishop! most holy Primate of England, pray for us, that we may one day behold this blessed sight.” (*Manual*, p. 34).

“The living know that they shall die; but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten.” (Eccl. ix. 5). Consequently, Thomas à

Becket can know no more of the devotions of his deluded votaries, than Baal heard or knew the vociferations of his idolatrous worshippers. Mr. Phillips's "Manual" concludes with the "Litany of our Lady of Loretto," accompanied with a gregorian chant for it, and another "Chant for the Hymn of our Lady."

It appears that "rumours of no indistinct nature are abroad, threatening a descent of nuns and jesuits" on the towns of Loughborough and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and their vicinity. (*Report*, p. 20). Should the assault be made, we doubt not but that the Protestant Tract Society will be found at its post, and will make increased and strenuous exertions to counteract the machinations of the papists. We are sure that our readers will unite with us in fervent supplications, that the divine blessing may attend their pious and well-directed efforts in defending "the faith once" for all "delivered to the saints."

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*The Water Cure; a Lecture on the Principles of Hydropathy.*

By EDWARD JOHNSON, Esq., M.D. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

HAD not the author assured his readers that he had been for twenty years in active and extensive medical practice, we should have concluded he was a young, a very young man, escaped from the lecture-room to gape at the wonderful doings at Gräfenberg, and returned full of the "*startling*" sights he had there beheld in the effects of this, to him, "new" mode of treatment.

A large portion of his lecture consists of quotations from Professor Liebig, whose views and theories the author adopts without reserve. He commences by stating that nothing has been written on the *principles* of hydropathy, and that to supply this deficiency is the task he has assumed. He afterwards very modestly calls himself an "unskilful advocate;" and begs "that no imputation of weakness may be visited on the cause, when in truth it is only due to the advocate." But he has made himself the public advocate of a cause; he has come forward to give the world an exposition of its true principles; and had he taken the trouble to become better acquainted with his subject, by reading all that had already been written upon it, or had he gone to Gräfenberg without prejudging in favour of the cause, or with less of young enthusiasm than he displays, he might have given a lecture more logical in its deductions, and less contradictory in its detail, than the one before us. He might, we think, have found a simile more appropriate than that he has fished for among mackarel, or raked up from the "copper-hole." The author, however, puts forth his lecture as a mere introduction to a forthcoming work, the perusal of which may perhaps enlighten us too on this "new and startling" question.

*The Church in our Time. A Word to Clergy and Laity.* Die Kirche in unserer Zeit. Ein Wort an Geistliche und Laien. Rettungs, Anstalt, Düsseldorf, und Barth. Leipzig.

A "WORD" not long, but weighty, well worthy of a patient and thoughtful hearing, and furnishing matter for serious reflection to those who feel, in any adequate degree, the importance of the questions at this moment agitating the Church, and the great difficulties that encompass their solution. The original constitution of the Church, as a unity under the government of apostles—the state of incipient disorganization in which she was left by the disappearance of this ministry, and which, as soon as the conversion of Constantine placed the secular power under a new and friendlier aspect towards her, led her, with an eagerness which it is easier to censure now than it would have been to avoid partaking in then, to enter into relations with the state dangerous to her purity, and involving the compromise of her spiritual independence—the assumption, first by the emperors, and then, in the decline of the imperial power, by the bishops of Rome, of a universal episcopate, what we may call a quasi-apostolate—an assumption, so little *preense* or voluntary, so naturally arising out of the circumstances, so apparently necessary to the well-being of the Church, that we can hardly qualify it with the harsh term of usurpation, though in process of time it proved itself pregnant with evils, little less grave than those it was intended to meet—the more fatal workings of the democratic element developing itself within the bosom of the Church, and threatening, in its rapid growth, to break down into formless chaos all that yet remains in her of order and of organic life—the degenerating of rule, liberty, and protection, into tyranny, lawlessness, and nepotism—and, as the result of all, the state of "confusion and spiritual bondage under which the children of God through the whole of Christendom suffer," and in which the author sees the "Mystical Babylon" of Scripture, are traced in this little work, from the day of Pentecost down to the present day, with a rapidity, indeed, which the narrow limits he has prescribed to himself imposes on him, but with an insight and large view of his subject which enable him to reconcile the necessary brevity with great lucidity of statement, while they give to the work itself an importance far greater than its bulk would seem to indicate. An earnest tone, yet free from passion, pervades every line, and the absence of all asperity and angry speech, that characterizes the whole, gives the reader the assurance that he is perusing no emanation of the spirit of religious partizanship.

Our author, at the same time that he does not profess to have

found out any new nostrum of his own for the cure of the ills which he points out as oppressing the Church, has not taken pen in hand for the mere purpose of demonstrating, what we are all only too feelingly aware of, that great and deep-seated evils do exist; there is nothing here of the spirit of fault-finding, or of the pretension of the quack, but there is the firm belief that a scriptural remedy exists, and that it lies within reach, if it be but sought earnestly, and in the right direction. But we will let him speak for himself on this subject, at p. 51 of his essay:—

“There is but *one* Church, there is but *one* order of God in the Church, there is but *one* truth. But the *position* of this Church in the world at different times, and in different countries, is a *different* one; and the internal relations, by which the aspect of the Church and the utterance of the *one* but *many-sided* truth of God are modified, are different in the highest degree. Seed-time and harvest are two parts of *one* whole, but in themselves very different, and in their *appearance* opposed to each other. The antichrist of the sixteenth century has little affinity with the antichrist of the nineteenth. The form of godliness in the Greek Church is very different from that which subsists among the Christians of Switzerland; the work to be done for God in Scotland is quite another than that which is to be taken in hand at Rome; what the Oxford theologian needs to learn is something else than that which would be salutary for the Moravian brethren. If a work of deliverance and of building up, *for the whole Church, over the whole earth*, is to be looked for, it *cannot* appear in an antiquated or a one-sided form. The history of the Church is the development of the eternal purpose of God in those who are called to be the body of Christ and his fulness. In this development can no mere repetition of what is past find place, but only a going forward in God's order, until his will is accomplished. The principles on which the work proceeds remain the same, for God and man remain the same, but the manner of working changes. A reformation of the Church proceeding from the Lord will never be a *mere initiation* of something that has appeared in the Church before, however pure, true, and mighty that something may have been. Of the former manifestations of the grace of God we should indeed not be unmindful; they are in many ways fraught with blessing for us. But he who will have *only* that which is old, or who will lead back the Church to that which at any time past she has been, is certainly in the wrong. The measure of the Spirit, and of the life of God, by which the Church must be prepared as a bride for the marriage of the Lamb, remains yet to be attained. To obtain her inheritance of the kingdom of heaven, she stands in need of a higher and more universal government than that which she now possesses, the restoration and repartition of all her spiritual offices, a closer unity, a purer and more perfect worship, a deeper knowledge of truth, a stronger faith, a livelier hope, a more heartfelt joy, a truer liberty.” (pp. 51-54).

Our limits will not permit us to give further extracts from this

remarkable publication, which goes on to treat of the momentous topics of the priesthood of Christ, the unity of the Church, the rule of faith, ecclesiastical discipline, worship, tithes, and deaconship. There are some valuable remarks at pp. 123-125, on a project, much talked of some time ago, for the introduction of Anglican Episcopacy into Prussia—a measure which, as long as ecclesiastical and civil relations in that land continue what they are, would, we fear, tend less to raise the Prussian Church above the footing which she at present occupies, than to lower the sacred office of the bishop to the same footing; and we need scarcely say that a spiritual position, which is in no way below the dignity of Lutheran consistories and synods, may be one of insufferable degradation for bishops of the Catholic Church.

We should hail with sincere satisfaction the appearance of this little work in an English dress; we wish it as accessible to the “clergy and laity” of our own country as to those of Germany. The questions which it deals with are of universal interest; the principles which it enounces are of universal application. We will not give up the hope of seeing it translated, and in the meantime recommend it to all who can read it in its original form.

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*Essays for Family Reading, intended to counteract the Errors of the “Tracts for the Times.”* By the Rev. J. GRAHAM, M.A. London: Baisler. One vol. 12mo.

A BOOK well conceived, and much wanted; well executed, and judiciously written; showing the utility of knowledge; the value of sterling charity; the greatness of faith; the way of doing good, in opposition to the Tractarians; the nature of true repentance; the prospects of the living heart; the method of seeking God; and the vanity of unbelief. These form a portion of general subjects offered to the consideration of fire-side readers, and their mode of treatment reflects infinite honours on the head and heart of the curate of Templemore. The essays more immediately grappling the Tractarian tracts and tenets refer to the history, nature, uses, and abuses of the Scriptures; the doctrines of the homilies; the succession of the Christian ministry; the testimony of the Fathers; and the efficacy of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. These subjects are treated with no less charity than skill; and it is our opinion, that no reader can rise from a perusal of this book without having gained in knowledge, as well as in means to make that knowledge generally useful to his misguided fellow-creatures.

VOL. VX.—B

*Sermons upon the Future State of Happiness.* By the Rev. E. THOMPSON. London: Hatchard. 1843.

THIS is a more important and complete work than its size would appear to indicate, on the all-important subject of our future condition and employments; for it gives, in a narrow compass, and in simple and familiar language, the results of what is contained in Scripture and most of the elaborate treatises of the best divines, on what becomes of man in that mysterious world to which we are all so fast approaching. As the region of spirits is one which every man must pass through, it is a most interesting enquiry to every one what is known concerning it. And how may we best prepare ourselves to enter and safely pass through that region? For the time of preparation is now—only now—now is the accepted time, and the day of salvation. And beyond the region of spirits lies a reality—an eternal reality—a reality of weal or woe, of which the disembodied spirit has but the blissful anticipation or the dreadful foreboding, realized in the entire man, body as well as soul, at the resurrection. It is most necessary that the ambassadors of Christ should continually press upon their hearers such topics as these, lest men should deceive themselves by supposing that they may have a second offer of that salvation, which they neglect or delay now; and that they should be warned from time to time against undervaluing the body, by being shown that man is not complete without it, and cannot be dealt with as man without it, and that the final judgment shall wait for the body—wait for the resurrection; that the judgment may pass upon *men*, and not merely on disembodied spirits. Another topic of vast importance is handled, which is, in fact, a consequence of the above—namely, our recognition of each other and re-union in the kingdom of heaven. For as judgment passes upon the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or evil, so other men in their bodies, who have been the occasion or object of these deeds, come into judgment at the same time, and recognition becomes a matter of course; and not only so, but we shall be found to have been thus learning and practising lessons in time, which shall be reaped in their fruits through eternity. And according to the talents or pounds which a man gains now, will be the various degrees of happiness hereafter. And it is finally shown, that the heavenly rest is not a passive state of quietude, as some have supposed, but the exercise of those faculties given to man as made in the image of God. “Happiness will not be complete, if only there be an absence of worldly failings and worldly sorrows; active enjoyments must and will evidently attend it, and then will there be the perfection of the glorified state.” (p. 160).

There is an Appendix to the volume, consisting of short, but judicious extracts, from Pearson, Barrow, Jeremy Taylor, Paley, and others, in illustration of the several points of doctrine handled in the sermons.

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*Genealogy Simplified, and applied to the Illustration of British History; with a Description of the Changes which have taken place in the Armorial Bearings of the Sovereigns of England.*

By A. BARRINGTON, M.D. Genealogical Chart accompanying the same. London: Varty.

WE should have been better able to judge of Dr. Barrington's new aid to the study of history if we had been favoured with a copy of his Chart, uniting architecture and history with genealogy. Of the one before us, however, and of its accompanying descriptive book, we are happy to have the opportunity of expressing our warm commendation. If we mistake not, it will supply a new and very popular feature in home-teaching; and we hope that our expectations are not greater than the success this little work is destined to experience.

There is undoubtedly something greatly interesting connected with heralds and heraldry. A most important personage was the former, and was always a conspicuous character, whether the drama of the day represented war or peace—a coronation or a passage at arms, at the cradle of the prince, at the nuptial altar of the hero and his bride, and at the grave of dead royalty, the herald was ever present and active. The poursuivant who was transformed into the more dignified herald, by having a cup of wine poured over his head by the hand of the king, became at once an object of envy; for who would not have liked to have enjoyed the herald's privilege of being free from subsidies, tolls, and all troublesome offices? How enviable the mortal who was never called upon for a window-rate or an income-tax!

Dr. Barrington describes blazonry as the art of deciphering armorial bearings in proper heraldic terms. But he is silent as to the meaning of the term, and the method of deciphering; we will supply this defect. The word *blazonry*, then, originally signified the blowing or winding of a horn. At jousts and tournaments, when the heralds or judges explained and recorded the achievements of the knights, the ceremony was always attended by a flourish of trumpets; and this *blazoning* of trumpets lent a name to the description and signification of things borne in arms. Now, in blazoning a coat of arms, the describer must commence by naming the colour of the field, next proceed to the charge: and if the field bear several things, it is the rule



to begin with whatever lies nearest to it; and heraldry, like all noble sciences, requires, as an especial quality, brevity and expression—the essence, in short, of true wit.

Our readers, however, must not think that Dr. Barrington's book is a mere treatise on heraldry; we assure them of the contrary. It is a really useful educational book, and is destined, we doubt not, to shed amusement and instruction over many happy circles of enquiring children, and even of adult listeners.

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1. *A Series of Compositions from the Liturgy.* By JOHN BELL, Sculptor. London: Longman.

2. *Old England: Pictorial Museum of Regal, Ecclesiastical, Baronial, Municipal, and Popular Antiquities.* By CHARLES KNIGHT. London: Knight and Co.

WE place these works together, though their merits and style are widely different. Mr. Bell, in this, the second number of his "Compositions from the Liturgy," continues his illustrations of the creed. The designs are six in number, representing the Birth of our Lord—the Bearing the Cross—the Crucifixion—the Death and Burial—the Ascension—and the Second Advent, or Coming to Judgment. Each of these designs possesses great merit; and we have been extremely delighted with the simplicity, chastity, and dignity of the style. The drawing frequently reminds us of Flaxman; and we most heartily wish Mr. Bell the success which he merits in his interesting and excellent undertaking.

Of Mr. Knight's undertaking, "Old England," the fullest account is furnished by the advertisement prefixed to the present number. The work, it is emphatically declared, "is addressed to the *people*, while the popularity of the execution is not allowed to detract from the severe accuracy of the narrative. The author proposes to communicate his information in a chronological form, and hopes by so doing to recommend his work as a *companion and key to every English history*. The engravings, which are exceedingly abundant, embrace every object of interest, from the earliest times, whether Druidical remains, or the cathedrals of the middle ages, or the old castles, or the dilapidated abbeys of our land, combined with everything, however minute or unimportant, that can be reckoned among the poetical indications of the industry, the arts, the sports, the dresses, and the daily life of the people." A design so pleasing and so comprehensive deserves every encouragement that can be honestly bestowed upon it; and the taste and diligence of Mr. Knight leads us to anticipate a work in every way worthy of the dignity and interest of the subject.

*Select Pieces from the Poems of William Wordsworth.* Burns.

WE are always delighted to see the beautiful thoughts and the religious philosophy of Mr. Wordsworth reproduced in any shape, because they carry with them a healing power of wisdom and of piety. His language also is worthy of his thoughts—it is singularly clear, simple, and harmonious. We should scarcely, indeed, be prepared to echo the remark of the editor of this volume, that by no such great poet, besides Shakspeare, has the English language been used with equal purity and equal flexibility; but for the possession and the employment of these qualities, Mr. Wordsworth does undoubtedly deserve the highest praise. And in saying this, we ought not to forget—and the omission is very common among critical panegyrists—that he owes a deep debt to the works of William Cowper. It may seem a bold paradox to assert, that if “The Task” had never appeared, we should have looked in vain for “The Excursion;” but we do assert, with a perfect confidence, that the poet of Rydal Mount has drawn from the poet of Weston the most important elements of his system of versification. He has, indeed, expanded and ennobled those elements into loftier creations of genius and of imagination; but the elements are the same. Of the collection of pieces which have suggested these observations we can speak with warm commendation. The selection is excellent—the object of the compiler has been to present such poems as contain the broader features of Wordsworth’s style, and may therefore be expected to reveal their peculiar charm to all who have the capacity of perceiving beauty. Thus we find in these pages “The Birth;” “The Laodamia;” “The Reverie of Poor Susan;” “The Lines on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye;” “Michael and Me.” No friend can give an intelligent child a more attractive specimen of modern English literature than these selected pieces of Wordsworth.

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*Sunday Evening Musings, and other Poems.* By WILLIAM BALMBRO’ FLOWER.

IT is painful to us to speak of these verses in the same page with the poems of Mr. Wordsworth. Mr. Flower is, we apprehend, a very young man, and the experience of a few years will teach him the inexpediency (to use the mildest expression) of adding to a collection of miscellaneous rhymes an appendix on sacramental efficacy. We shall say nothing of the principles which Mr. Flower advocates—of their truth, or their incorrectness. With regard to his verses, we do not think them altogether devoid of talent, and they present indications of an ear not insensible to harmonious combinations. Mr. Flower will do better as he grows older.

*Selections from the Kur-an, commonly called in England the Koran; with an interwoven Commentary.* Translated from the Arabic, methodically arranged, and illustrated by Notes, chiefly from Sale's Edition. By E. W. LANE. Madden.

THIS is a vast improvement on Sale, and on anything which has been done before, for rendering accessible and interesting to general readers the creed of the Mohammedans—a faith which, next to Christianity, has exercised by far the most extensive and permanent influence over the human race; and it gives us the means of solving this remarkable phenomenon, and of perceiving that it was not by force alone, and influence over the fears of men, that this ascendancy was gained and this dominion exercised; but by influence over their spirits, gained and perpetuated by a creed which fell in with the most powerful motives that can actuate the minds of men, which had been already revealed by means of the Old and New Testaments; and availed itself of these motives to turn them only to purposes of aggrandizement and self-exaltation, instead of self-denial; and cruelty, and persecution, and barbarism, instead of benevolence, and peace, and civilization.

Mr. Lane appears to be quite master of his subject, and has rectified numberless errors in Sale, both in the text and in the notes. But we should say, that to those who wish to understand the subject thoroughly, the fuller work of Sale may still be necessary; and even the larger and drier dissertations of Hyde must be consulted: all of which may, however, be done with much greater ease and profit by using this work of Mr. Lane as an introduction. Carlyle's paradoxes, too, in his "Lectures on Hero Worship," are worth thinking on: for there is always to be found, at the root of every mighty movement like this, some individual of tremendous energy, who has begun the movement and has given the first impulse, which characters of inferior stamp may then carry on. And though we do not at all subscribe to the dogma, that there must be truth at the bottom for such a vast superstructure to rest upon, yet we think it cannot be, on the other hand, assumed that the Buddahs, and Brahmahs, and Mahomets, are all conscious impostors; they may be sincere dupes to their own deceitful imaginations, and become, by success and the contagion of increasing crowds of devotees, honest devotees themselves, in their own opinion. How far they are knaves, how far mere fanatics, is a point very difficult to determine; and a point which has not yet been determined in Mahomet's case. And these considerations we shall do well to lay to heart; for there are evil tendencies of the same kind to guard against in our hearts; and among some who profess to be Christians, fanaticism occasionally appears not inferior in its

kind to that of the heathen; and these, too, believe themselves to be in the right. "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

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*Oriental Illustrations of the Sacred Scriptures, collected from the Manners, Customs, Rites, Superstitions, Traditions, Parabolical, Idiomatical, and Proverbial Forms of Speech, Climate, Works of Art, and Literature of the Hindoos, during a Residence in the East of nearly Fourteen Years.* By JOSEPH ROBERTS. Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. London: Tegg. 1844. 8vo.

"THE Bible is an eastern book, and several of its supposed obscurities (as the author has truly remarked) do not arise from any intention in the sacred writers to be dark or mysterious, but from the customs, manners, rites, ceremonies, and superstitions to which they allude, and of which we, who inhabit a different region, and are placed in different circumstances, have very imperfect conceptions." In order to explain these allusions, various writers have collected observations on different passages of Scripture, from books of voyages and travels in the East, and thus have thrown much light upon the Bible. The labours of Harmer, Burder, and of Mr. Charles Taylor, the compiler of the fragments supplementary to Calmet, have long been known and justly esteemed in this department of sacred literature. Mr. Callaway, who resided for some years as a Wesleyan missionary in the island of Ceylon, added some illustrations of oriental usages alluded to in the Scriptures, in part from the manners and customs of the Ceylonese, in a small volume, published in 1827. But the most copious, as well as the most valuable, collection of observations illustrative of Scripture, derived from the manners, &c., of the Hindoos, is contained in the present work of Mr. Roberts. The first edition of it appeared in 1834, under the high auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, and it has not disgraced their patronage. On comparing it with the present edition, we find that Mr. Roberts has carefully revised his work and re-modelled many paragraphs; and, by enlarging his pages, he has been enabled to make numerous additions to the materials which he had formerly collected. His "Illustrations" are arranged in the order of the books, chapters, and verses of the Bible; and to many seemingly obscure or difficult passages (on which commentators have written the most conflicting, not to say contradictory notes) he has furnished satisfactory explanations, which are not more original than they are entertaining and instructive. The work is handsomely printed, and has the advantages of a good index of matters and of texts illustrated.

*Memoirs of the late Rev. John Clark, Essays, and Sermons.*  
By W. JAY. (Jay's Works, vol. viii.) London: Bartlett.

JOHN CLARK was a singular and well-known character in Wilts. He was born of parents who belonged to the Established Church. His lot was early cast under the ministry of the Rev. T. Jones, of St. Saviour's, Southwark—a circumstance which causes him to render especial thanks to God. He first took the sacrament at Troubridge, at the age of eighteen, wetting the ground with tears of joy and thankfulness when he took the bread and wine into his hands, in commemoration of the dying love of his dear Redeemer; and thenceforward he was a constant communicant at his parish church; and yet this man, attached to the Establishment, not only at first, but to the end of life, and that not only as to its doctrines, but its liturgy and forms, preached out of the Church, and gave rise to many Dissenting congregations. What is quite as singular, he appears to have been popular with the lax Established clergymen of his day, some half century back. He was, in fact, one of a class of men who rose with Wesley—men belonging to the temple, but who were only outer-court worshippers, and who refused to be accountable to any man. The class is only just extinct, as we perceive, by the death of Mr. G. Pocock, of Bristol. This gentleman, who is well known for many ingenious and useful inventions, was the brother of a late (we do not know if he were the last) incumbent of Frome Selwood. Like Mr. Clark, though of the Established Church, he took to open-air preaching, and continued it during a considerable portion of his life; like him, too, he principally laboured among the poor and common people—often preaching without doors, or beneath a tent, and passing with many for a fanatic; yet a man of substance, countenanced by persons of eminent character and reputation; and, if not as learned as Clark, yet with all his fondness for scientific pursuits. If we notice without censure the irregularity of their preaching without authority, it is because they deserve to be distinguished from the pourers forth of mingled nonsense and sedition, who have only very recently been driven from our parks and public places. Clark and Pocock were men who lived at a time when the majority of the ministers of the Church of God were much worse than asleep to the importance of their duties. In their day, they were eminently and actively useful; in ours, they deserve to be remembered with honour. Their memory must be dwelt upon in connexion with *their* times, not with ours.

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*Conversations on Arithmetic, in which all the Rules are Explained in Easy and Familiar Language.* By MRS. HENRY AYERS. London: Souter and Law.

MRS. AYERS states the objects of her work in a preface, which is not so well written as it might have been. Her design is to "simplify, and render agreeable to children, a study which is frequently looked upon as tedious and incomprehensible." Nothing can be more commendable than such an attempt. We are, however, sorry to observe, in the "Conversations" themselves, some of the negligence and inelegance of expression which we have already noticed in the preface. For example, the authoress having, alluded to the difficulty of tracing the origin of an art or science, adds this remark with regard to arithmetic—"Probably its progress was facilitated through the multiplied transactions of men in their commercial intercourse with each other, and *that its improvements* were gradual, according to *their various wants*." Where, in order to make sense of the passage, *It is probable that its* should be substituted for the present beginning of the sentence. The arithmetical illustrations seem to be copious and accurate, and to embrace the most interesting and useful branches of the science to which they are applied. An intelligent instructor might make a profitable use of the volume.

#### LETTERS.

1. *Letters on Infant Tuition.* By a LADY. London: Burns.
2. *The English Church and the Romish Heresy.* By W. BLUNT, A.M. London: Burns.
3. *Letter to Sir James Graham, on the subject of National Education.* By the Rev. G. W. SANDYS, M.A. London: Ridgway.
4. *Letter to the Bishops of the Church of England on the Necessity of Liturgical Adjustment, arising from the Principles and Practice of the School of Tractarian Theology.* London: Seeley and Burnside.
5. *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Pusey, on the true mode of the Real Presence, or Transubstantiation.* By the Rev. T. J. O'CONNELL, of Waterford. London: Dolman.
6. *The Right Way to Decide; or, the Church of England her own Expositor.* London: Longmans.

NONE of the above half-dozen Letters are important enough to call for any particular observation from us, except *that* in answer to a Romish priest (No. 2), and *that* written by a Romish priest (No. 5). The former is an address to the parishioners

of Cheadle, by the assistant curate, caused by a neighbouring Romish priest having been very seriously misleading Mr. Blunt's flock, "belonging (as he says—for he is one who seems, with some affectation, not to affect the term Protestant) to the English branch of the Catholic Church." Mr. Blunt very well declares, that he who makes an extract from the commandments, and cites the ninth as enjoining to "bear false witness against your neighbour," is correct in the extract, as far as it goes, but makes a lie of the spirit of the entire commandment. The Romish adversary of Mr. Blunt appears to have been explaining religious doctrines and history to the Protestants of Cheadle after this Procrustean fashion of mutilating the truth to fit it to his own purpose. But he has gained a loss by his conceit; for Mr. Blunt has presented his parishioners with a manual which ought to be in the possession of the multitude who are ignorant of the important truths which are here offered them almost gratis. It combines narrative, history, exposure of his adversary's opinions, and the defence of those of the author's Church. If Mr. Winter, the Romish priest, be fairly enough disposed to read the clever little book he has rashly instigated, we rather pity him, and would recommend him, for the relief of his mind, to visit the tape manufactory of Cheadle, or try to hide his mortification in studying the useful objects of knowledge he may learn at the copper and brass works. If these pursuits fail in their desired end, he has still the resource of walking over to Croxden Abbey, and seeing in its ruins an illustration of the condition of his own Church, so shattered and levelled by the antagonizing power of truth, that it is alike beyond repair or recovery.

Mr. O'Connell's "Letter" is addressed to Dr. Pusey, and written for the purpose of instructing him as to the *mode* of the real presence in the sacramental emblems; the Reverend Doctor having acknowledged the true presence, but being expressly silent on the *mode*, his Romish correspondent here undertakes to enlighten him. First, as to the doctrine, the Council of Trent teaches it; and as far as we can gather from Mr. O'Connell, it is only taught to those who are able to comprehend it—they whose understandings are too weak for such a doctrine being left in the dark. Then as to the mode, the writer enlightens his readers generally, and Dr. Pusey particularly, by reminding them of the consecrated wafer seeming what it is, and a stick in the water, acted on by refracted rays of light, seeming what it is not—crooked; a very crooked simile, by which we can never be made to understand the mystery which Mr. O'Connell strives with all his might to explain, and on

which he can, after all, arrive at no other conclusion than that it is because it is.

We must do the author, however, the justice of acknowledging that he writes with great courtesy, meekness, and charity; and it is therefore that we are the more inclined to recommend to his notice a sermon by a courteous, humble, charitable, and learned clergyman of our own communion—we allude to “A Discourse on the Real Presence,” by the Rev. Dr. Biber, of Roehampton. The perusal will well repay him.

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#### STORY BOOKS.

1. *Stories of Cottagers.* By EDWARD MONROE, M.A. London: Burns.
2. *The Bird's Nest : a Tale.*
3. *Faith, Hope, and Charity : a Tale.*
4. *The two Dogs : a Tale.*
5. *George Hengrove : a Tale.*
6. *St. Christopher : a Legend.*
7. *The Catechism of the Church of England.*
8. *Stories Illustrative of our Duty towards God.*
9. *Stories on the Lord's Prayer.*
10. *The Doctrine of the Cross, exhibited in the Faith and Patience of a Humble follower of Christ.*

To those who are acquainted with Mr. Burns' publications (and who is not?), more popular and less dangerous, as many of them are, than either the genuine or the pseudo “Peter Parley,” a very few words will suffice to inform them, that the tales included in the above list have the many excellencies and the few defects which characterize most of the like works which emanate from the same publisher. It is not every one who can write for children like Neibuhr—even Sir Walter Scott could not; nor could Miss Edgeworth; though, in one particular, that of being at once very clear and very attractive, she has hitherto stood unrivalled. Captain Marryatt has failed in this respect. Mrs. Hofland was for ever wide of her mark; Mrs. Trimmer occasionally drew near to it; and Madame Guizot has, like her prototypes, the will, but she has not found the way. Neither can we say that Mr. Burns' authors, when they address themselves to children, are more successful than those we have just mentioned; but their aim is good—very often achieved—and deserving of all the praise we can afford them in the space we can here spare.

The value of “The Catechism of the Church of England” is greatly increased by the explanations of words given at the end.



## PAMPHLETS, ETC.

1. *A Voice from the Vintage*. By the Author of "The Women of England." London : Fisher and Co.
2. *The Veil Lifted*. By MRS. PAXTON. Britain.
3. *Thady Brady's Memorial*. Seeley and Co.
4. *Nature and Benefits of Holy Baptism*. By F. GARDEN, M.A. Burns.
5. *Tractarianism Compared with the Prayer Book*. Seeley.
6. *A Review of Professor Sewell's "Christian Morals."* By H. WALTER, B.D. Seeley and Co.
7. *On the Agency of Satan, as the Author of Evil*. By a MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Seeley and Co.
8. *Armageddon, or the War of Opinion*. A Political Tract for the Times. Seeley and Co.
9. *A Few Plain Words on the Second Coming of Christ*.
10. *Considerations on Religion*. By a LAYMAN. Edinburgh : Grant and Son.
11. *Moral Effect of Irregularities in the Ritual of the Church*. London : Burns.
12. *Quem é o Traidor ?* Nisbet.

HERE are a dozen pamphlets, which, more or less, bear upon each other, without any of them being of great importance, or very felicitously written. The first two on the list refer to the social evil of intemperance, "on which subject (says Mrs. Ellis) no one has felt more than myself the want of a small and popular book." Such a work, too, we recommend to Thady Brady, who must have been under a particular influence when he made a blow at national education, without offering a substitute for it. Mr. Garden considers that education ought to be conducted with reference to baptism; from which the author of "Tractarianism" would dissent, as he shows that the opinions of the school to which Mr. Garden appears to incline could not be safely taught to members of the Church of England—those opinions having a very Romish tendency. Those sentiments are combated still more in detail in Mr. Walters' onslaught against Professor Sewell, where Tractarian views of by-gone days are shown by him to be as ill-founded as those by Mr. Bosanquet are by the writer of the third article in the present number of our *Review*. The three following writers ascribe most of the evil in the opinions and actions of men to the agency of Satan—a foe still malignant, though he was bruised at the crucifixion of Christ; and active, as the author of "Armageddon" thinks, in the patriotism of the Oxford theology; and too little considered everywhere, as is maintained by the writer

of "A Few Plain Words." The author of the tenth pamphlet on our list, silent upon this head, advises that the subject of religion be seriously considered, with the fixed design of running the Christian race; while his successor is inclined to look to the regularity of the ritual of the Church as a means of improvement; at least, he ascribes many evils to a neglect of it; and where the neglect is in essentials, we heartily agree with him. As to the writer of the pamphlet with a Portuguese title, he can be hardly said to have any connection with any of the preceding subjects, or their authors; he is, in short, very angry at a review, written somewhere, upon a poem of which we never heard; and to show that the critics are wrong, he writes a pamphlet "*De omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*," upon anything in the world, and a few other things beside.

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SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

1. *The Principles of Christian Membership exhibited in the House of God.* By the Rev. W. J. DAMPIER, M.A. London: Burns.
2. *The Duty of Promoting Christian Unity.* By J. OLDKNOW, M.A. London: Rivingtons.
3. *A Course of Lectures, suitable to the Times, on the Contents of the Book of Common Prayer.* By the Rev. F. DUSANTRY, M.A. London; Nisbet and Co.
4. *The Church of Rome proved to have the marks of Antichrist.* By the Rev. HUGH M'NEILE. London: Hatchard.
5. *The Pope and Popery Exposed in their Present Power and Plots against the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Empire.* By the Rev. R. J. M'GHEE, A.M. London: Baisler.
6. *Devotion towards God and Union among Ourselves the true and only Remedy against impending dangers of Popery.* By the Rev. G. E. BIBER, LL.D. London: Rivingtons.
7. *The Judgment of Solomon, applied to the Question of Educating the Children employed in Factories and Mines.* By the Rev. C. GIRDLESTONE, M.A. London: Rivingtons.
8. *The Liturgy a Bond of Brotherhood.* By the Right Rev. M. RUSSELL, Bishop of Glasgow. London: Burns.
9. *A Sermon, preached by the Rev. W. S. GILLY, D.D., at the Visitation of the Archdeacon of Lindisfarne, at Berwick.*

HERE is a collection of detached Sermons, forming, in their whole, sources of comfort, guidance, warning, or reproof to all classes of men. The cause of the infant is ably advocated (No. 7) by the well-known vicar of Alderley; and the duties and privileges of manhood and the brotherhood of men are well

defined in Nos. 1, 2, and 6. The Sermon by the Bishop of Glasgow, admirable, convincing, and christianlike in itself, is also further remarkable, as being the first sermon preached in London by a Scottish bishop, since the disabilities were removed. The arguments against Rome and the doctrines of Rome are treated, in Nos. 4 and 5, with a spirit and ability peculiar to the authors, who are well-known to most of our readers, and which will be acknowledged even by those of the latter who may be disposed to differ from them. Dr. Gilly's Visitation Sermon we need not recommend; his well-known and honoured name is sufficient warrant that it abounds with piety, charity, gentleness, and truth.

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SERIALS.

1. *History of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the Present Time.* By T. STEPHEN. Part 7. London: Lendrum.
2. *Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.* Part 6. Edinburgh: Black and Co.
3. *Foxe's Book of Martyrs.* By the Rev. J. CUMMING. Parts 27, 28, 29. London: Virtue.
4. *Scriptural Communion with God; or, the Holy Bible arranged in Historical and Chronological order.* By the Rev. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A., Canon of Durham. London: Rivingtons.

THE first three of the periodical publications which we have named above close the year very creditably indeed; and we believe and hope that the public patronage is fully equal to their high pretensions. The fourth on the list is the opening number of a new and important undertaking, the title-page of which is explanatory of its contents, as well as of its object; and the name of its author is a sufficient guarantee for its being carried on and accomplished worthily, assuming as a certainty that the succeeding parts will not disappoint the expectations raised by the one before us. We have no hesitation in predicting that this admirable work will take a very high position among those, the object and nature of which are the same, but different, and for the most part inferior, in their arrangement.

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*The Two Kingdoms: an Allegory.* London: Seeley and Co.  
A VERY long way after Bunyan, but with considerable merit nevertheless.

THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
Quarterly Review.

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APRIL, MDCCCXLIV.

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- ART. I.—*Sylloge Confessionum sub tempus Reformandæ Ecclesiæ editarum, videlicet, Professio fidei Tridentina* 1564, *Confessio Helvetica* 1536, *Augustana* 1531, 1540, *Saxonica* 1551, *Belgica* 1561. Editio altera et auctior. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1827.
2. *Sacro-Sancti et Œcumenici Concilii Tridentini Canones et Decreta.* PHILIPPI CHIFFLETH. 1687.
3. *Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evidenced by their Symbolical Writings.* By T. A. MOEHLER, D.D., translated by J. B. ROBERTSON, Esq. Dolman. 1843.

THE leaders of the late Oxford movement, in apologizing for what they were doing, asserted that "there is a great progress of the religious mind of our Church to something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century..... That the age is moving towards something; and most unhappily the one religious communion among us, which has of late years been in possession of this something, is the Church of Rome. She alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings, which may be especially called Catholic:" and that it was in the desire to prevent members of our Church from straggling in the direction of Rome, that they endeavoured to introduce more of that something into the Church of England. They endeavoured to satisfy the cravings of the religious mind after something deeper and truer, by having recourse to the Catholic Church—its theology, its traditions, its liturgies and ritual; believing that thus they might

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also obtain possession of this something supposed to abide now in the Church of Rome alone, and obtain it without any of the errors and evils of her practical system. Alas! they know not the mystery of iniquity. The mystery consists in so confounding truth and error, that the deeper the mystery appears to be, the more false in reality it becomes; and it cannot be solved off-hand, or by hasty and superficial consideration. The mystery has been the growth of ages; it has been a long-continued work of a large body of very clever men to construct that practical system of "errors and evils;" and truth is so incorporated with falsehood in the system, that no individual standing alone will disentangle them. It is *AS A CHURCH* that we must cope with Rome, and *not as a sect* or party. Only in the unity and enlargement of Catholic faith shall we discern Catholic truth, so as to embrace all that is true, and reject all that is erroneous—all that springs from, or tends towards, falsehood of any kind.

We have no intention of calling in question the fact, that a progress is making towards something more deep and true in the Church: there is a great progress in sciences of all kinds, and it would be strange indeed if in theology—which forms the highest exercise for the mind of man, and which in this lower aspect may be regarded as the first of sciences—there were no progress at all; strange if the highest branch formed the only exception. And the assertion, being made by men who are professors and teachers at an university, comes from those who have the best opportunities of knowing the fact, and leads to the inference, that it is especially observable amongst those young men who are preparing for holy orders, or are just entering on the solemn and responsible duties of the Christian ministry; and the character of the men who make the assertion precludes the idea of the fact being either mis-stated or overcharged. And we would further go along with these gentlemen in saying, that the right way to satisfy this desire after the deep and the true is by turning to the Catholic Church, and by bringing from thence whatever latent depths or recondite truths the yearnings of the present time may need; assured that in the Church all true religion and all correct theology may be found; that within that sacred pale alone can free scope be safely allowed to the feelings alluded to above, as especially Catholic; and that out of its pale all is darkness and error, save only as from that glorious orb some rays of light, some sparks of truth, have been diffused and scattered around in other spheres and regions beyond her proper boundary.

But all the difference lies in defining what is the Catholic Church, and what is meant by turning to such a Church—

what is the object towards which we turn, and with what *animus* the act is accompanied ; whether it be first necessary to forsake our own Church, as incompatible with such an object, in order to turn to the Roman Church ; and whether we shall yield ourselves blindly and implicitly to the new guidance under which we place ourselves, despising the mother that hath borne us, forsaking the guide of our youth, and forgetting from whence we have acquired that spiritual discernment and appetite for holy things, out of which the desire for a deeper insight into, and further knowledge of, the same heavenly truths has itself arisen. If the craving can only be satisfied by such things as are different in kind, or opposite to the things which we have learned, it is a morbid, may be, an unnatural craving.

Men are perfectly right in seeking from the Catholic Church a solution of all their spiritual doubts and difficulties, and in expecting to acquire from thence deeper and truer knowledge of God himself, and of the right way of serving him, than they already possess. But they must go, firmly convinced that they themselves are of that Church—that they are free citizens of that heavenly *πολιτευμα*—that they are privileged, as sons, to be made partakers of all the treasures in their Father's house and all the counsels of his heart. And they must enter upon every *Catholic* question disembarassed of *private* questions ; not being incapacitated by personal questions not previously decided, from deciding on the abstract, and far more deep, and wide, and difficult questions which we are now alluding to, as those which can only be satisfactorily resolved by recourse to the Catholic Church. The primitive Church, acting upon this principle, manifested extreme jealousy of communicating anything beyond the mere elementary truths of Christianity to the unbaptized ; and even after baptism kept the members of the Church a long time under probation, and receiving further instruction, before they admitted them into the band of the faithful, to whom all the privileges of the Church were conceded, and all the deep mysteries of our faith were made known. And it is sanctioned by the example of St. Paul, who, in writing to the Hebrews, declares that he was unable to proceed to the higher and deeper things which he wished to teach them, because, when for the time they ought to be teachers, they needed to be taught again the first principles of Christianity (v. 12 ; vi. 1, 2). It was not in a grudging spirit that they acted thus, still less from having any duplicity in their reserve ; nor was it from fear of profanation alone, by the betrayal of these holy things to the scoffs of the irreverent, that they were thus cautious : they knew that to the unprepared these mysteries would be

unintelligible at the least, and might be misunderstood, and so become injurious ; and therefore, for the sake of the parties themselves, they withheld the communication of the deeper mysteries of Christianity, until they were well established in the doctrines which concern our personal salvation. And we, who may have, by means of books, access from the beginning of our religious course to all these mysteries of the Church, need to exercise something like that discipline over ourselves ; at the least, so far as not to mingle personal and elementary matters with the deep abstract truths of theology. For these last can only be rightly apprehended by a mind at peace with God, and also at peace with itself ; are only to be spiritually discerned, and that by a spirit undistracted by minor considerations ; and, above all, require that supernatural assistance of the Holy Ghost, which can only be attained at all, or in the least degree, in the Church ; as to the Church alone, and not to the world, the promise of the Comforter is given ; and can only be enjoyed in full measure by those who are admitted to and habitually using all the means of grace provided in the Church—provided for the specified end of strengthening and enlarging the several members of the body, till each grows up in unity of faith, and knowledge of the Son of God, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. It is through baptism, which is the sacrament for our regeneration, that we obtain the Spirit, and are enabled to discern the truths of Christianity : “ Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.” (John iii. 5). It is through the second sacrament—the communion of the body and blood of the Lord—the heavenly food of the heavenly or spiritual life, that we grow up into capacity to receive all the otherwise incomprehensible and heavenly mysteries of the kingdom of God. And all the gifts of God, whether bestowed upon us personally, or put within our reach in the endowments of the Church, are stewardships, for the diligent use and improvement of which God holds us responsible, and of which we shall know the value by the loss, as God will not bestow the same blessing in any other than the appointed way. We are required to devote body, soul, and spirit to the service of God, and in that service shall find the true improvement of all, and lose all if we neglect the means of grace.

But, regarding the mysteries of religion only in the lower and merely intellectual point of view, which some are disposed to take, errors are to be pointed out in the course pursued by those who have professed, and in all sincerity intended, to go for

information to the Catholic Church. Some persons mistake investigation for thought; and others are prone to regard a mere imitation of practices found in the records of the Church, as though this imitation were following primitive and Catholic faith. If thought and reflection on the meaning of ancient practices do not at all times accompany our investigations, we shall not only miss the truth, but shall confound all things to that degree, that falsehood, both in doctrine and practice, will overbear and extinguish the truth; for it is quite as observable in doctrine, as among persons, that in this fallen state of things truth is generally in a minority. The Church, compared with the world, is a "little flock;" in the Church "many are called, but few chosen;" and among the notions and opinions recorded as traditions of the Church, few, comparatively with the number, can be regarded as Catholic; the larger portion, if they are regarded as one whole, and include both the Eastern and Western Churches, will not stand the test of Scripture, and are irreconcilable with correct principles of theology. The study of Church history is nearly useless, and may be very pernicious, unless we so investigate the past, as to ascertain what portion of scriptural truth formed the basis of the thoughts and opinions of those amongst whom special doctrines and practices were found; that we may assure ourselves of sound faith corresponding with correct practice in such traditions. The imitation of any ancient custom, where this precaution is not attended to, will be profitless and vain, and may become a sinful mockery of God; deadening true devotion, by a routine of unmeaning forms, and turning us from God, instead of leading us to him—making us rest contented with forms alone, instead of seeing God in the forms.

It is not through the ingenuity or wisdom and learning of man that truth has been preserved in the Church; and it shall not be rediscovered through such qualities as these alone, when at any time it has fallen into obscurity by our negligence or sin. Christ it was who brought truth into the world, and the promise that he would be with the Church always, even unto the end, is our assurance that truth shall never wholly fail, and that when it seems to languish it is but the failure of our faith; for he abideth faithful—and he is with the Church—and all truth is there, ready to be brought into manifestation, as the straits and necessities of the Church drive her to look to him, and quicken her faith, and point it in any particular direction. We may very often observe how straits, into which the Church is brought, have shut up her prospects, and concentrated her energies on one particular object of anxiety; upon this her



attention being fixed, and her hopes and fears excited, deliverance has come from that very quarter whence the greatest danger was apprehended ; and a bulwark of safety has been erected on that very spot where a mine had been projected and a fatal breach contemplated—so that out of the greatest peril the greatest triumph has come, and this by the interposition of Providence, and not by the sagacity or fortitude of man.

For the providence of God is often seen, in a very marked manner, preparing for, determining, and succeeding the course of the Church—preparing the whole world for the kind of work which at every great epoch of the Church is required—giving to the Church herself enlargement of means and strength of hand commensurate with her part in the work to be done—and producing results in the world, through the exertions of the Church, which no human sagacity could foresee, or would expect to obtain by such means. As at the first introduction of Christianity, the time chosen was the Augustan age, when the whole world rendered peaceful obedience to one dominant power, dispensing the same laws to all ; and not only in these external circumstances was the way prepared for Christianity, as the religion of mankind, but in the minds of men the way had also been prepared in the information and advance of that generation, by the cultivation of all the arts and sciences which tend to give accuracy and refinement : these were carried to the highest pitch of excellence which was then attainable, by the choice spirits, not only of Italy, but of Greece and Alexandria—all resorting to Rome, the acknowledged mistress of the world. And when again, in the fifteenth century, God was about to extend the sphere of the Church, and lift up the veil of darkness which had hung over her for so many ages of corruption, he prepared for this revival of light in the Church, by the revival of letters in the world. In the providence of God, also, a very large portion of Western Europe was united under one head, and all the other states were brought into such acquaintance with each other as to form a commonwealth of letters—ready to take the religious impulse about to be given—able to appreciate justly the truths then brought to light—and so to fix and embody them in the mind of enlightened Europe, as to secure the Church against any second obscuration of the truth, unless the intellect itself should become enfeebled in that large portion of the human race, and the whole continent become the prey of Goths and Vandals again. Nor should it be omitted in this enumeration of facts, that a new world was then discovered, and such an impulse given to navigation thereby, that England, which took the foremost place in the religious impulse, also

took her natural place of mistress of the seas, and by this combination has become qualified to waft the truth to every region of the globe. How the power of England rose or fell, according as she was faithful to her religious trust, was very strikingly shown some years ago by Dr. Croly.

It was at the time of the revival of letters that the languages of modern Europe began to take a fixed form, and to receive their last polish; and this perfection was greatly accelerated, and rendered more complete and permanent, by many of those nations requiring to have the Scriptures translated, and the services of the Church conducted in the vernacular tongue. This is a curious and important philological subject of enquiry, which we will not now turn aside to discuss and pursue; but it is a remarkable fact, in favour of our argument and the obligations we are under to the Reformers, that wherever their doctrines have most prevailed, the greatest precision and force has been given to that language, and wherever there has been an authorized version of the Scriptures, it has become the model and standard of ecclesiastical style, and thus has both formed and fixed the language of the people. In Germany, as well as England, this is the case; while in France, where there never has been an authorized version, their language, with all its beauty, and variety, and point, wants gravity, clearness, and precision; and has been perpetually changing, and as often for the worse as for the better. Yet France was at work, cultivating letters of a lighter kind, with perhaps greater assiduity and success than any other nation of modern times; and fertile in invention, and ready in apprehending and applying skilfully all the resources of art and science to any new subject, the French have most prodigiously enlarged the boundaries of our sphere of knowledge, and furnished materials for thought which the more accurate reasoners of Germany and Britain have been enabled to profit by, and put into the true relative places.

Reason, falsely so called, seemed at one time our greatest danger; when, in the height of the Gallic frenzy, infidelity and moral turpitude spread like plague-spots from land to land, threatening alike prince, priest, and peasant; portending the subversion of order, religion, and virtue. But in that very reason, of which these maniacs boasted as their goddess, and which, among them, was an empty name, the providence of God had elsewhere provided an antidote for their poison, a corrective of their folly, a means of preparing a new and wider sphere of exertion for the Church; and, for the Church herself, a school of preparation for entering upon these enlarged and ex-

alted duties. The highly cultivated intellect and prodigiously improved science of modern Europe could not shield it from the infectious sophism of revolutionary France ; but this advanced state of knowledge did provide means whereby the Church, under the guidance of right reason, might the more readily detect and expose the fallacies, and also place the truth itself on a broader and more solid foundation, on which it may securely rest, and bid defiance to a second shock from such a quarter.

But it should be observed, that human reason alone, even at its best, and however highly cultivated, affords no sufficient guarantee, and opposes but a feeble barrier against the inroads of infidelity. On the contrary, it was among the *literati* of all classes—mathematicians and astronomers, as well as journalists and poets—that the infidel mania found its subjects ; and these, either arraying it in the garb of philosophy, rendered the fiend respectable in its appearance to men of gravity, or, tricking it out in the ornaments of genius, caught, by these lighter attractions, the imaginative and the gay. And when we said above, that in the enlargement of the human mind Providence had prepared the world for the reception of a larger measure of truth, it was truth of another kind than that in which the minds of worldly men find occupation ; it was divine truth—it was revelation, in short, to which we alluded—a truth which man cannot *discover*, but which man may either receive or reject ; and which, therefore, man may be the better prepared to receive and turn to good account, by the right use of reason and science. The revival of learning, in the fifteenth century, preceded the Reformation by a whole generation ; yet that revival prepared the world for that reformation of the Church, though it had to be carried out by men of quite another class from those who took part in the revival. And so the spread of science in the eighteenth and beginning of the present century only prepared the way by which other men, of quite another stamp, are now labouring to advance the Church, in order that wherever Commerce hoists the sail, or Civilization plants her foot, there a trophy for God may also appear, and men everywhere acknowledge from whom they receive blessings, and render to Him continual homage and praise.

For though God, in his providence, doth prepare the minds of men, so as to render them fitter instruments for carrying on the enlarged operations of the Church, at epochs like those which we speak of, it is from the Church itself, from within, and not from without, that the impulse, yea, the direction of the course, must come. The Church began in simple, unlearned

men, like the Galilean fishermen ; and is generally best guided and governed by men simple as they were, but, like them, full of faith ; such plain, and, in a worldly sense, uninstructed men, have been the successful propagators of Christianity in new lands in almost all cases. And when men of other mould are to be used, like Saul of Tarsus, for instance, it is not by their natural bent, however improved by learning, that they are rendered available for the service of God, but by receiving a new and quite a different impulse—by light from heaven, striking the man to the earth, so that he is arrested in mid career, and in a course where he thought he was doing God service, with the appalling charge—“ Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ?” And when we next hear of him, it is in the words—“ Behold, he prayeth !” From God he sought the guidance which he could not attain through his own mind, however enlightened. And so, in all cases, it must be shown indisputably—it must be acknowledged without reserve—that truth comes by revelation, and is from God alone, and not from the reason of man ; and therefore the weak and foolish things of the world are chosen for its introduction ; but being thus introduced, it is found to be in agreement with reason in its highest exercises, and as developed among the most intellectual and refined of mankind. It is the truth of God adapted for all men ; so simple as to be within the reach and comprehension of fishermen and shepherds, and all those classes who, in man’s estimation, are accounted ignorant ; yet, because it is adapted to all, so full, likewise, that those who have cultivated their minds to the highest pitch may find enough to exercise all their faculties ; and the more they investigate, they will find it the more in accordance with right reason, and furnishing a key to universal truth. So that while they are improving the intellect, they are also acquiring new and higher truths, which bear upon and illustrate all subjects in those wide and varied regions of metaphysical or scientific research wherein they have been accustomed to expatiate.

The truths which we especially need to know, for coming to a right judgment in all things, are those truths concerning God and ourselves which we learn from the Church—they are the facts necessary towards our making right deductions, and they are facts not discoverable by man, and only to be known through revelation from God. In the things which we behold around us we may trace design, and may thence infer that an intelligent agent was the Creator ; but it is only by revelation that we can know—it is only by faith that we can apprehend, what are the moral attributes of that Creator—what

he is in himself, and what man was at first creation, or what further purposes, than those which now appear, man has served to manifest in past ages, or shall yet have to accomplish in the invisible and future—in the ages to come and in the kingdom of heaven. These things are not within the province of reason—are not discoverable by intellectual investigation. The heathen, in their fabled olympus for gods, and their elysian fields for departed friends, have shown how little conjecture will avail in these matters. And when we remember that the world, as it is, falsely represents creation and the Creator, inasmuch as man has fallen, and the creation has been cursed for his sake, and things are now the reverse of what they were at the first; and, further, remember that a restitution of all things is promised in the kingdom of heaven—which is unseen as yet, and therefore unintelligible as yet—but where suffering innocence shall be rewarded, and triumphant wickedness shall be punished, can we wonder at the mistakes of the heathen? We must see at once that these things, which are so essential for our coming to a right knowledge of God and of ourselves, can only be got at by means of revelation. If in this life only we have hope, we are of all men most miserable, and, we may add, should be the most mistaken also; not only from the false estimate which, under these circumstances, we must necessarily form of the truth, but from being called upon to disregard and abandon the little which remains of good in this fallen creation. But thanks be to God for his unspeakable gifts revealed to the Church, when the earthly house of this tabernacle shall be dissolved, we have an house, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. We look not to the things that are seen and temporal, but the things that are unseen and eternal.

It is for these reasons, and not only in order to form a correct estimate of *the highest things*, but in order to form a correct estimate of *anything*, that revelation is necessary, and a Church is necessary;—revelation, because we cannot get at these truths in any other way, and a Church, because we can only disembarass ourselves of the prejudices which cleave to each individual while he is isolated, by submitting our private opinions to the collective judgment of the whole body. And separate Churches, in like manner, may contract their view of truth, and warp it by national partialities; and this peculiar colouring, derived from their peculiar bent or genius, must be corrected by continual recurrence to that standard of Catholic truth which has always abiden in the Catholic Church, and is to be found nowhere else. The Church of Rome, including in

its communion so many of the nations of Europe, might, on a superficial view, seem to have so far a claim to Catholicity; but it is only apparent, for these nations impart nothing of their character to Rome, modify none of her peculiarities; the faith held throughout all the Churches in communion with her is absolutely and uncompromisingly Roman. But the Roman-Catholic is not the Catholic Church; it is, at best, but a part of it. The Catholic Church includes all the faithful of all ages and countries; and in combining these as one whole, to ascertain Catholic truth, we have to separate everything of a local, temporary, and peculiar character, dependent upon accidental circumstances, and to lay hold on those universal truths which have been constantly maintained, and by all. In so far as the theology of Rome, or Greece, or England is peculiar or local, it is to be received with distrust; in so far as they are all agreed, it may be received with confidence: but even here it must be tested by principles of theology derived from the word of God. For, "as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." And, on the other hand, there is no faithful congregation "in the which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same," in which some great truth is not specially and prominently witnessed for, from the Waldenses and Albigenses in the south, to the Lutherans and Presbyterians in the north; and most of truth will be retained where there is most of primitive order.

The Romanists have studiously arrogated to themselves the title of the Catholic Church; and others have most unguardedly conceded this title to them, without considering either the facts or the consequences: and thus no small discredit is brought upon the principle of appealing to Catholic testimony at all, and upon the expectation of finding any unity of doctrine in the Church, since the Roman Catholic witness is often so manifestly false, and always one-sided and partial. It is from not perceiving the distinction between the particular and the universal, that Dr. Pusey, Mr. Newman, and their followers, afforded such ground of triumph to Dr. Goode, Mr. Garbett, and the other advocates of private judgment. They mistook the opinions of individuals for Catholic truth, because those individuals happened to belong to the primitive Church; and they conceded to the Romanists their claim of having all the truth amongst themselves, adding merely a faintly-expressed saving clause, that probably there was a considerable mixture

of error in the Roman system. It would not be difficult for a Romanist to force them to the further concession, that Rome alone has retained all the truth—that everything she has retained is Catholic truth—that the denial of it by Protestants arose from misunderstanding—and that if Romanists and Protestants understood each other better, they would be quite agreed in substance, and ought not to wrangle about terms and forms of expression. Something very like this has been conceded by the writers in the late *British Critic*, and is really at the bottom of all the puling and whining over the schismatic evils attributed to the Reformation; and it is the only excuse which can be tolerated for such a mad wish as they have expressed—the wish to unprotestantize the Church of England: we can only avoid accounting them very mad by supposing them a little foolish. For it is not from ignorant men, who utter they know not what, that these expressions come; it is from men who mean the things they say; and the only charitable, the only sane interpretation of their meaning is, that they think the Reformers were cavilling at things which were really good, mistaking them for evil things; and that the Church of England is protesting against truth which she has misunderstood, and therefore supposes to be falsehood. If those who lament over the Reformation, and seek to unprotestantize the Church of England, saw what we see in Rome, that there is a false principle beneath every practice which is peculiar to Rome, and that she has sanctioned deadly errors, and tolerated in consequence the most demoralizing corruption, they could not think and act as they have done. They would then see that everything which is characteristically Roman—all that serves to distinguish that Church from other Churches—the whole of that system which is called the Papacy, and acknowledges the Pope as its head, is *toto celo* false, and ought to be resisted to the utmost. They would also see, as we do, that this false system has not only put the Roman Church into a false position towards the State, so that one or other must be crushed, and a false position towards the members of the Church, in their civil and religious standing, separating the clergy from the laity, and exacting from all obedience and services incompatible with their duties as men and as citizens; but that it has also introduced false theology and erroneous doctrines in support of this false system, as without such a support it must long ago have broken down; and every true exposure of the system requires therefore an exposure of this false theology and these erroneous doctrines. Yet, notwithstanding all this, we may not regard the Romanists as not belonging to the Church, or so far gone in apostasy as to have

no truth among them ; they still form an integral portion of the Catholic Church, and we may receive help from them in the truths which they have retained, towards determining and maintaining the Catholic truth, not of this or that portion only, but of the whole Catholic Church—Greek, Roman, and Protestant—primitive, medieval, and present—the Church alike of the first and of the nineteenth centuries—the truth in all of which must be one and the same.

Upon this principle the founders of the Church of England acted ; they sought for truth wheresoever it was to be found, not in the Church of Rome only, or solely in the fifteenth century, but in all Churches of all ages. They took from the Church of Rome without scruple whatsoever in her they found to be true, and whatever was in analogy with the faith of the Gospel ; making it rather their endeavour to retain as much as possible, than to reject all they might dispute ; and not insisting on scriptural proof and primitive authority for all things, content to receive some things on tradition and for decency sake. In the sacraments, and other points essential to salvation, they required the evidence of Scripture and the sanction of the primitive Church ; but they held it lawful to comply with all the established customs, when these were not contrary to the faith ; and they required that none should from “ private judgment openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority.” Yet they also held, that it is not on this account necessary “ that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like.” (Art. xxxiv.)

And it should be remembered, that although this nation, in common with the rest of Europe, professed the same faith as Rome before the Reformation, the Anglican Church had always protested against the Papal usurpations and exactions, claiming an independent standing, and an origin earlier and purer than the times of Gregory and Augustine. Augustine is entitled to the praise of converting the Saxons, and thus introducing Christianity among those heathens who had possessed themselves of the eastern parts of our island ; but Christianity had long existed among the British inhabitants, and was at that time professed by them in the western provinces, and in Wales, as we know from their contending with Augustine against the Roman practice in the computation of Easter. And long before that time the names of three British prelates had appeared in the records of the Council of Arles, A.D. 314. (Stillingfleet, 96).

It is not easy to show in statements brief as ours, and it



would be of little present benefit to enumerate, all the points of difference between the Anglican Reformers and the Church of Rome. Some of the points are so much changed, by change of circumstances, as to have lost their interest; and others are scarcely intelligible now, and men would greatly wonder at the heat which was manifested on both sides in questions apparently trivial. Yet, setting aside all temporary topics of excitement, and all questions of minor importance, we may find enough in the writings of Jewel and Bilson, and those who were most eager among the controversialists, to vindicate them; and from the writings of the more calm and temperate of the Reformers can gather the principles of Catholic truth which guided them all, and gave them so decided an advantage over their Romanist antagonists. Their principles were clear, straightforward, and consistent; the Romanist principles are always ambiguous, tortuous, and equivocal. This we ascribe mainly to the very difficult task which the Romanists have to perform, in reducing into anything like consistency the contradictory decisions of that Church by which they profess to be bound; we do not ascribe it to original dishonesty of purpose, and principles intentionally loose, in order that they might be accommodated to any case that could possibly arise.

The Reformers had a simple task to perform, requiring nothing more than acquaintance with theology and competent learning; they had only to ascertain the true sense of Scripture, by the help of the writings of those fathers of the Church who lived before the Roman innovations and corruptions began; and by this pure and primitive light they could follow truth, and it alone, through all succeeding ages, dispelling the mists and obscurities which the sin or ignorance of the dark ages had brought into the Church. *Scripta manent*—the foundations of their principles are immoveable, and they could rest on them as on firm ground, assured that any advance of the Church would be only a further development of the same principles—that none of them could be shaken, for they are founded on the word of God. The Romanists make the traditions of the Church the first thing; on these they rest to tell them what is the word of God, and to tell them what the word of God contains; and following modern tradition, in contradiction to the unanimous testimony of the primitive Church, they include the apocryphal books in their canon, and make them part of the word of God, and keep the whole in the hands of the clergy, and in the Latin language, that they may put upon it their own interpretation (*Conc. Tri. Ses. quart. Chif. 13*).

The reliance placed by the Romanists on their traditions has wrought precisely the same effect in the Christian Church,

as the liké practice amongst the Pharisees had wrought in the days of our Lord, and which was rebuked by him as hypocrisy and making void the law through their traditions. The Pharisees professed, and we think without duplicity, great reverence for the word of God ; and they did not set out with the intention of making it void by their traditions, nor would they have acknowledged that they did make it void, even in the instances charged home upon them by Christ. They would have said, that in those cases they showed reverence for the highest requirements of the law, in making its minor injunctions give place, if the two classes of duty were incompatible ; that the filial and domestic duties ought to give place to the higher duties towards God ; and that honouring father and mother was a good thing, but honouring the house and altar of God a better ; and that tithes of mint and cummin, or the least things in the service of God, were of more importance than widows' houses and orphans' possessions. But it is the deep, stealthy, unconscious hypocrisy, which such practices as these indicate, and such sophistries infallibly generate, that our Lord stamps with his strongest reprobation. And every one who has studied the workings of Romanist tradition must have noticed precisely the same results—a continual exaggeration of everything in which the service or interests of the Church are concerned—a continual disregard of every private, social, and domestic duty, where these are supposed to come in competition or clash with any supposed duty to the Church.

The whole system of compulsory celibacy, and all the monastic institutions which Rome glories in, rest upon such traditions and generate such hypocrisy ; while in the abominations wrought out through its secret working, it produces far greater evils now than it did formerly amongst the Pharisees : crimes of so deep a die that it is at this very time a question, both in Germany and Italy, whether human nature, even among the Romanists, can bear to be thus outraged any longer. We will not pollute our pages by reference to the horrible disclosures of the confessional and Roman ecclesiastical courts ; but we will mention what took place where a Protestant young lady had been left in the hands of Roman Catholic guardians. It was earnestly desired that this lady should embrace the Roman faith, but having been well instructed in the Protestant doctrine, she continued firm and inflexible against all their arguments. After a time, an accomplished gentleman, of her own age, came to visit at the house ; he danced, he sang, and made himself so agreeable to the young lady, that he gained

her affections, and then proposed marriage. This was too much for her faith ; for he made it an indispensable preliminary that she should abjure the Protestant and embrace the Roman Catholic creed, to which she at length consented. She made a solemn renunciation of her former faith, and, after public profession, was received to her first communion in the Roman Church ; and then, when she expected a full reward for the sacrifice she had made, in becoming the wife of the man who had gained her heart, he pulled off a wig which he had worn to conceal the tonsure—avowed that he was an ecclesiastic in disguise—and though thus precluded by his vows from fulfilling the expectations he had raised, he triumphed in the thought that he had now recovered this young lady from heresy, and that she would henceforward be espoused to Jesus. Not so the poor girl—she felt that she had been tricked into an abandonment of her faith—that she was an object of mockery to others—of scorn to herself: and, worst of all, abandoned by God, whom she felt that she had abandoned—all for what ? For a mere phantom ! if not worse—a very fiend of hell, in the most engaging of human forms—one whom she had regarded as little less than an angel of light. No marvel that her reason should give way under the shock ; she became an incurable maniac ; and this was thought a lawful method of saving souls and of doing good service to the Church of Rome ! But what can we say of the villain, who for months practised this hypocrisy, who told and acted lies thus unflinchingly, without one touch of immediate compunction or subsequent remorse ? What can we say ? What need we say ? This is the deep and deadly kind of hypocrisy to which we allude, as generated by such systems as these—violating every ordinary principle of right and wrong under the false but specious pretext of doing service to the Church !

Those persons who are acquainted with the records of the Jewish and Roman doctors are aware that the form and appearance of the Mosaic and Christian traditions are almost the counterparts of each other. The Hebrew rabbis are not agreed as to the time when their traditions began ; some modestly stopping at the time of Ezra, others going up to the time of Moses and the seventy elders, and some even insisting upon tracing things back to the times of Abram and Noah. And after reading the Mishna, or any Jewish collection, if we turn to the Decretals, or any Roman collection, it seems only like a continuation of the same work, written in Latin instead of Hebrew, and the names of Pope Leo or Pope Pius substituted for Rabbi Joseph and Rabbi Solomon. And as in the Mishna

the authority of one rabbi is qualified and often contradicted by that of another, and from the one or the other of these the Jew might extract almost any meaning he might desire; so, from the Roman traditions, a vast variety of meanings may be extracted, and skilful casuists are never at a loss in supporting, from some of these heterogeneous materials, just any doctrine which at any time it is most convenient to maintain. These traditions spread over so large a space of time, and are referred to so long a list of popes and fathers of all the intermediate years, that ample room is left for escape from close definitions and exact specification, and the words *semper et ubique* are found to signify *at no one time* and *in no one place*. But should all these shifts fail, a last escape from any difficulty remains, in the practice, not unfrequently resorted to, of denying that the imputed doctrine is *at present* held, and asserting that it is in the living body and the now acknowledged traditions that the true faith is to be found, and that Christ and the Holy Spirit are with the Church to the end, to save from all error, to lead into all truth, and such universally admitted truisms.

Previous to the Reformation, and as long as possible after that time, when life and truth awakened after ages of death-like slumber in the Church, the staunch advocates of tradition refused to entertain any question; lest, by coming to close quarters with those who questioned it, the flaws in their argument should be detected and exposed by the scrutinizing eyes of the Reformers; and that which they had palmed off as standard gold, on being analyzed, should turn out to be only base metal and tinsel. And even when forced to do something, and, after long delay, calling the Council of Trent, they on the meeting of the council procrastinated as much as possible; and it was at length, not by arguments that they met the arguments of the Reformers, but by the *brutum fulmen* of assertion: assuming that assertions made by them necessarily rested on orthodox prescription, and carried with them the weight of apostolic authority, without at all attempting to show the grounds of that assumption, or the warrant for that authority.

Moëhler finds this delay on the part of his Church a very tender subject; he cannot say all that he thinks and knows on the matter, and passes over it with allusion to the numerous obstacles of a *peculiar* kind, which have seldom been impartially appreciated:—

“Soon after the commencement of the controversies, of which Luther was the author, but whereof the *cause* lay hidden in the *whole spirit* of that age, the desire from many quarters was expressed, and by the Emperor Charles V. warmly represented at the Papal court, that a

general council should undertake *the settlement of these disputes*. But the very *complicated nature* of the matters themselves, as well as *numerous obstacles of a peculiar kind*, which have seldom been impartially appreciated, did not permit the opening of the council earlier than the year 1545, under Pope Paul III. After several long interruptions, one of which lasted ten years, the council in the year 1562, under the pontificate of Pius IV., was, on the close of the twenty-fifth session, happily concluded." (p. 17).

And to the same reluctance we ascribe the remarkable fact concerning Moëhler's own work, that though the Protestants have been for nearly three hundred years throwing down the gauntlet on this question, Moëhler is the first Romanist who has had the hardihood to take it up; and he has met with the applause which might be expected from such an act of chivalry, but with what success he will come out of the conflict remains yet to be seen, when an answer as full and elaborate as his book shall appear on the other side.

"The present work (says Moëhler) has arisen out of a course of lectures, that for several years I have delivered on the doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants. On this subject it has been the custom for years, in all the Lutheran and Calvinistic Universities of Germany, to deliver lectures to the students of theology; and, highly approving of this custom, I resolved to transplant it to the Catholic soil. ....The Catholics.....have put forth a great multitude of apologetic and such like works, having for their object to correct the misrepresentation of our doctrines as set forth by non-Catholics; but any book, containing a scientific discussion of all the doctrinal peculiarities of the Protestant Churches, has not fallen within my knowledge. Accordingly, in communicating to the public the substance of my lectures, I conceived that I should fill up a very perceptible void in Catholic literature."—*Preface i.-xiv.*

There is no doubt that Moëhler has managed his cause with great skill, and the defects are rather those of the cause itself than of the advocate. The want of firm footing, the slipperiness of the ground on which everything in the Roman Church rests, and the consequent difficulty of making a bold, determined stand anywhere, is the grand difficulty with Moëhler, as it has been with every other champion of Rome. He cannot stand to the creed of Pius, though every ecclesiastic is required to subscribe it; he cannot stand to the Tridentine catechism, though it is the manual of instruction for every Romanist; and he is obliged to fall back upon the orthodox creeds, which Protestants hold as well as Romanists, and which by his own confession touch not upon the peculiar and distinctive doctrines of the Roman Church:—

"It is a matter of course that those formularies only are here under-

stood wherein the peculiar and opposite doctrines of the two confessions are set forth, and not by any means those wherein the elder class of Protestants, in accordance with Catholics, have expressed a common belief. The Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, and in general all the doctrinal decrees which the first four general councils have laid down in respect to the Trinity and to the person of Christ, those Protestants, who are faithful to their Church, recognize in common with Catholics.....These formularies constitute—the common property of the separate Churches—the precious dowry which the overwise daughters carried away with them from the maternal house to their new settlements.” (p. 16.)

But the first important act of the Council of Trent was the recognition of the Nicene Creed, placing it as the text at the head of its proceedings, Feb. 4, 1546; all its subsequent decrees and canons being only to be regarded as professed expositions and comments upon this orthodox creed. And this is all that Moëhler will undertake to abide by; for after praising highly the Tridentine or Roman catechism, he says:—

“But now it may be asked, whether it possess really a symbolical authority and symbolical character? This question cannot be answered precisely in the affirmative; for, in the first place, it was neither published nor sanctioned, but only occasioned by the Council of Trent. Secondly.....it was not, like regular formularies, to be made to oppose any theological error, but only to apply to practical use the symbol of faith already put forth.....In the third place, it is worthy of notice, that on one occasion.....the Jesuits asserted, before the supreme authorities of the Church, that the catechism possessed not a symbolical character; and no declaration in contradiction to their opinion was pronounced. The *Professio Fidei* Tridentina stands in a similar relation. ....It is evident from what has been said, that the Catholic Church, in fact, has in the matters in question but one writing of a symbolical authority. All that, in any respect, may bear such a title, is only a deduction from this formulary, or a nearer definition, illustration, or application of its contents, or is in part only regulated by it, or in any case obtains a value only by agreement with it, and hence cannot, in point of dignity, bear a comparison with the original itself.” (p. 18-21).

Thus the novelties of the creed of Pius IV., and of the Tridentine catechism, Moëhler cannot stand to; nor will any able advocate of the Roman Church maintain them, so as to enable us to bring them to issue on these grounds; they always escape into the vague generalities of the Catholic traditions, as they call them, which, after all, we have only their assertions to show that they are traditions, or Catholic. Not only do those who make assertion assume that these are traditions of the Church, but that themselves alone are competent to pronounce whether they are so or not—that they alone are the Catholic Church, and consequently their traditions, and theirs alone, are the

traditions of the Church. Yet the Eastern Churches claim for themselves pre-eminence of the same kind in orthodoxy as well as antiquity, and assert that their traditions are entitled to greater respect than those of the West: and with some show of reason, too, since Christianity was first planted amongst them, and many of the Eastern Churches can trace their origin to the apostles, with far greater certainty than the Roman Church can be traced to St. Peter; and the substantial parts of their liturgies most probably belong to apostolic times, if not actually referable to St. James or St. Mark.

The creed of Pius IV., which Moëhler would fain shake off, is bound by the Roman Church on the neck of all its clergy. It sums up and embodies the transactions of the Council of Trent: the difference between it and the Nicene Creed, with which the council began, shows the alteration which was made in the faith of the Roman Church by that council, and consequently the difference between the Catholic and the Roman-Catholic Churches. The council began with the Catholic creed; it concluded with a creed exclusively Roman. The new creed begins by requiring that all the traditions of the Roman Church shall be implicitly received and constantly held, and this in the most absolute and comprehensive sense, and without defining what they are, or making any limitation or exception whatsoever. "*Apostolicas et ecclesiasticas traditiones, reliquasque ejusdem ecclesiæ observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto et amplector.*" And then, after enumerating the most characteristic of the Roman doctrines, and especially that which affirms the absolute supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, as the sole vicar of Christ upon earth, it determines, in the last article, that all these things are to be interpreted and governed by the decrees of the Council of Trent; that everything contrary to those decrees is heretical and to be condemned; and that by this faith alone can any one be saved:—

"*Cætera item omnia a sacris Canonibus, et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, et declarata indubitanter recipio, atque profiteor, simulque contraria omnia, atque hæreses quascumque ab Ecclesia damnatas, rejectas, et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, rejicio, et anathematizo. Hanc veram Catholicam fidem extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsentī sponte profiteor, et veraciter teneo, eandem integram et inviolatam, usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum, constantissime (Deo adjuvante) retinere, et confiteri, atque a meis subditis, vel illis, quorum cura ad me in munere meo spectabit, teneri, doceri, et prædicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum.*"

So strictly is every Romanist pledged to the novelties, as

articles of faith, and as essential to salvation, which were first promulgated as Catholic truth by the Council of Trent, and first made articles of faith in the year 1564, more than thirty years after the first confession of Augsburg, more than forty years after the time when Luther stood up for the doctrines of the Reformation, or, in other words, the doctrines of the Catholic Church—doctrines embodied in those creeds from which Rome departed at the Council of Trent, and, in departing, ceased to be truly Catholic.

The Reformers, on the contrary, retained entire and uncorrupted the creeds of the Catholic Church—that precious dowry of the maternal house, as Moëhler says—that common property of all orthodox Churches; and they defined the sense in which tradition is to be received, and separated between things that differ in those traditions, which the Romanists are ever confounding, and gave tradition its true place and value in the Church. They did not reject Catholic tradition, or the Catholic use of the same, but would have only such as was Catholic, and only allow such use to be made of it as had been made of it at all times by the orthodox Church:—

“Nos enim et ceremonias divinitus institutas summa pietate conservamus, et ut earum reverentiam augeremus, tantum novos quosdam abusos sustulimus, qui contra scripturam, contra veteres canones, contra veteris ecclesiæ exempla, sine ulla certa auctoritate vitio temporum recepti sunt.”—*Sylloge conf.* 191.

The Reformers held that an orthodox faith, in conformity with the Catholic creeds, was the foundation of everything else in the Church, as without such faith the Church would cease to be; and they endeavoured to add to that faith Catholic practices, when derived from unexceptionable sources and according to the analogy of faith. And the revival of these questions in our own times, turning our attention towards the Reformers, that we may avail ourselves of their wisdom and experience, has convinced us that there is no other true way, no other satisfactory procedure, than by settling the principles of faith in the first place, and making all external things, concerning rites, ceremonies, and practices, subordinate to and conformable with the faith; so that nothing shall be introduced without a meaning, and that meaning in analogy with Catholic doctrine.

Thus, instead of continuing endless and profitless discussions concerning traditions in general, or the separate discussion of this or that point, which men may endeavour to bolster up by vague tradition, if they cannot find authority for it in the word of God or the canons of the Church; we may be more profitably employed in referring all things to those



fixed general principles which are deducible from the word of God; as he is revealed therein, and his intentions towards us are recorded, in constituting the Church as a means of blessing for mankind. To such general principles, as a test or standard, all doubtful points might be referred. And thus, in the one Catholic Church, theology and practice, knowledge of God and present duty, faith and worship, might always be in harmony and always advance together; the introduction of forms being only allowable where they are significant of advance in the knowledge of God and progress towards perfection in the Church, and not as mere forms; as in the progress of the Mosaic dispensation, from the tabernacle in the wilderness to the temple of Solomon, all the forms were significant, because appointed by God, and typical of Christ and the Christian Church. We must first know what God is, and abide in the firm conviction that he hath ordained all things to enable us the better to know him: and as we can only know God by revelation, that which he hath revealed concerning himself is the first thing to consider; as by this knowledge alone can we put all other things into their true places and relations, and keep them there; and this gives us the key to use them, and understand their meaning, and apply them continually, only and entirely to their proper purposes. The triune God, as revealed in Scripture, is the foundation of our faith; without the knowledge of him there is no true faith, and unless we acknowledge or recognize a continual reference to him in all the traditions and services of the Church, we become the slaves of human authority, or the sport of men more ingenious and imaginative than ourselves. The Romanists groped upwards through obscure and doubtful traditions, hoping, at some time or other, to reach some light of truth thereby—the Reformers laid hold of the light of truth to dispel the darkness and doubt, and by this light detected and cast away that which was false, and superfluous, and vain. But that, with such a safeguard, the Reformers did not reject tradition or the authority of the Catholic Church, is manifest from their repeated declarations, wherein they profess to have no other desire than to put tradition in its true place, and to strip it only of falsehood and contradiction, or of those corruptions and follies of mere human invention, known to be so, and of comparatively modern introduction.

All are agreed that man is not now what he should be—not in the place where God at first set him, and not in the place where God would have him to be; and the question is, how to set man right with God. Therefore the means of justification is the first practical question discussed

Council of Trent. Luther asserted that man was to be justified by faith alone, and it is this assertion which the Romanists mean to take up, and would represent as an unmeaning truism, or, if not so, as a false assertion. They argue that all Churches which have any creed (and without a creed they cannot be Churches) require faith in that creed; and, of course, without such faith there is no justification. But they forget, or conceal the fact, that faith is an intermediate term, and such as forms a link or channel of connection between the object of faith and the believer; and if the object of faith be a living being, and that Being the living God, the effect of faith upon the believer becomes a very different thing from the effects produced by faith in a Church and its dogmas, or even faith on an abstract and objective being, however exalted, instead of faith in an ever-present God. 'We believe in a Church; but, more than this, we believe in God; and, more than this, we believe in the God of the Scriptures, who hath therein revealed himself as the justifier of every one that believeth in him. (Rom. iii.) We believe that God cannot be known aright save by one who is thus set right with God; and that therefore justification by faith is the first step in theology, if we may not even call it an indispensable preliminary; as Christ is the door of the Church, as well as the all-in-all of everything in the Church; and so a knowledge of Christ is preliminary to any right knowledge of the Church, or of anything which is contained therein. And in the knowledge of God is included all that he hath done for us in the gift of his Son, and all that man has gained through the work of the Second Person of the blessed Trinity, and by the abiding presence of the Third in the Christian Church.

Every point of theology, every question that can arise, is affected more or less by our faith in the doctrines of the Trinity; and that not merely as to the relations which the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost bear to each other, but also as to their several modes of operation, or forms of manifestation in the Church, and the several degrees of advancement to which man has attained in consequence of these operations or acts; so that by the death of Christ mankind were redeemed and brought into a state of acceptance beyond that which they had ever known before, and by the gift of the Holy Spirit to the Church she is brought into a state of nearness to God beyond that which men had ever known before, or can know now out of her pale; all their responsibilities, as well as their privileges, being exceedingly increased thereby. Not apprehending these truths, theologians of the Roman school are generally

quite beside the mark. The Council of Trent mistook the point, and argued vaguely, and laid themselves open to the suspicion of Jesuitism; and Moëhler has also mistaken it, and is therefore combating a man of straw, not perceiving that the antagonist he means to destroy is altogether untouched by him. For assuming, as they do, that regeneration by the Holy Spirit is only the restoration of man to the original condition of Adam before the fall, they make the first act of God to have been a failure, and Christianity to be virtually only a wiser or better repetition of the same act, which therefore may possibly fail; while Adam would really have committed, in that case, the sin against the Holy Ghost which is declared to be unpardonable, having already received eternal life, which regeneration includes, and an unction from the Holy One to know all things, yet being prohibited an approach to the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The supposition is too absurd for an instructed theologian, yet it is put forward by Moëhler as the fundamental proposition on which all his reasoning proceeds, and therefore we must give his own words on this point:—

“We begin with the original state of man, speak next of his fall and the consequences thereof, and then enter on the very central ground of the controversy, as we proceed to consider the doctrine of the restoration of man from his fall through Christ Jesus.....The first point, accordingly, which will engage our attention, is the primitive state of man. Fallen man, as such, is able, in no otherwise save by the teaching of divine revelation, to attain to the true and pure knowledge of his original condition; for it was a portion of the destiny of man, when alienated from his God, to be likewise alienated from himself, and to know with certainty, neither what he originally was, nor what he became. In determining his original state, we must especially direct our view to the renewal of the fallen creature in Christ Jesus; because as regeneration consists in the re-establishment of our primeval condition, and this transformation and renewal is only the primitive creation restored, the insight into what Christ hath given us back affords us the desired knowledge of what in the origin was imparted to us..... Such a relation to God as that of the paradisaic man is no wise to be attained and upheld by natural powers.....This relation of Adam to God, as it exalted him above human nature,.....is hence termed a supernatural gift of divine grace, superadded to the endowments of nature.” (pp. 35, 36).

And in a note the author refers to Pius V. and Gregory XIII. in confirmation, observing that—

“The opinion put forth in the earlier editions of this work, that the doctrine of the *donum supernaturale primi hominis*, though generally received among theologians, and grounded in the whole Catholic system, had not, however, received a formal sanction from the Church, must now be corrected.”

So that Moëhler himself can find no authority earlier than 1566—no sanction so old even as the Council of Trent, for a doctrine “grounded in the whole Catholic system,” and held by all their theologians!

The only difference of opinion on this point which Moëhler notices among the theologians of Rome is this, that some maintain, “that on Adam the supernatural gifts were bestowed simultaneously with his natural endowments—that is to say, that both were conferred at the moment of his creation.” Others, “that he was favoured with the supernatural gift of a holy and blessed communion with God at a later period only—to wit, when he had prepared for its reception, and by his own efforts had rendered himself worthy of its participation.” (p. 38). To this latter opinion Moëhler gives the preference, and truly it is a choice specimen of Romanist doctrine, grounded in the whole Catholic system, that God can do nothing perfectly without the help of man—that God could not, or did not, create man sufficiently worthy to receive these supernatural endowments, but man did, by his own efforts, render himself worthy, more worthy than God had made him—more worthy than when in a state of innocence! We cannot comprehend the Roman system; its folly seems so great that we doubt our own senses and are puzzled by its absurdity, while shocked at its blasphemy.

This supposed ability in man to render himself, “by his own efforts,” acceptable to God, pervades the whole Roman theology. “It is asserted (says Moëhler), with as much brevity as truth, through faith is the grace given to us, not to be absolutely acceptable to God, but to enable us to become so.” (p. 168). Thus man takes part in his own justification. And the good works which follow such a justification are of course considered meritorious, and as having a large share in man’s salvation:—

“By good works, the Catholic Church understands the whole moral actions and sufferings of the man justified in Christ, or the fruits of holy feeling and believing love.....As in the man truly born again from the Spirit, the Catholic Church recognizes a real liberation from sin, a direction of the spirit and the will, truly sanctified and acceptable to God, it necessarily follows that she asserts the possibility and reality of truly good works, and their consequent meritoriousness.” (p. 223).

And thus we might continue our quotations through all the several points of doctrine on which the Reformers and Romanists differ; but it is unnecessary, for where fundamental principles like these are erroneous, they must, as Moëhler says, be “grounded in the whole system.” Yet the statements are

often very plausible, and often, by their ambiguity, so very near the truth, that the reader who has Protestant principles only in his mind, might, on a first perusal, put a true interpretation on those statements; when, having his attention alive to the all-pervading Roman principle of human sufficiency, he will easily detect their fallacies.

These lectures were undertaken by Moëhler, and the book is now published, with the intention of refuting the opinions of the Reformers on these important points. Luther and his illustrious coadjutors held, of course, the opposite doctrines to those above referred to; but without imputing to Moëhler any deliberate intention of misleading, he has not stated the doctrines of the Reformers with sufficient fulness or fairness to satisfy us, and we forbear making extracts from his work in proof of what Protestants believe. Besides, he imputes to all Protestants those loose and diversified opinions which may be scraped together from all the various sects down to Quakers, Swedenborgians, and Socinians; for which diversities the Reformers are no more responsible than was the early Church for the errors of Arius, Pelagius, and Nestor. Instead, therefore, of referring to the controverted doctrines piecemeal, and one by one, we will give the best connected statement we can put together of the primary or fundamental principles of the Reformers.

The Romanists and Protestants are agreed in maintaining, that no true knowledge of God, or of ourselves, can be obtained save by revelation; and that from the Scriptures alone can we learn what man was at the first, and what is the end whereunto all things are tending. Reason, unassisted by revelation, cannot teach us these things, because neither man nor the creation are now in the condition they were in before man fell, and the whole creation became deteriorated through man's sin. The great difficulty in the way of forming any just opinion of God from reason alone arises from apparent contraries in the phenomena around us, and in the course of Providence. A heathen philosopher looking at nature would observe very admirable contrivances in the structure of each creature to supply its wants and conduce to its enjoyments, and from hence would rightly infer a wise and benevolent Creator; but he would also see that most of these contrivances are called into action for inflicting suffering upon other creatures, or escaping it from them, and that the instincts and wants of most animals are destructive to other species of animals: this would seem to be neither in accordance with wisdom nor benevolence. And in morals he must reasonably

infer that God will reward the good and punish the wicked ; yet he would see vice frequently prosperous, and virtue apparently abandoned both by God and by man. We needed a revelation to inform us that present appearances cannot teach what the creation was at first, and what shall be its final condition ; we need to be taught by revelation that the evil is not of defect in the creature, from insufficiency of wisdom or power in the Creator, but was brought in by sin ; and that the removal of the sin shall be the removal of every other evil, and that all has been foreseen and provided for by the Creator. And Christ, the eternal Son of God, coming into the midst of creation, becoming Son of Man, under the same conditions as other men—made of a woman, made under the law—showed that all had been foreseen, and *in Him* provided for. If any one could claim exemption from the common lot, on the ground of goodness or virtue, He was pre-eminently entitled to be exempt from suffering ; but He was pre-eminently the sufferer. And this, apart from the necessity of a vicarious sacrifice, showed that God has his own time for making all appear plain, and that men must believe and hope as Christ did. And the faith and hope of Christ had to rest on the naked word ; while we have, in addition to this, the fulfilment, in the person of Christ, of the promise made to man, as an earnest and pledge of the certainty of its fulfilment in every one that believeth : by which we have an advantage not only over the heathen, in having a revelation, but over the Jew, who had a revelation ; in the word of promise being made more sure by the glory which Christ has received of the Father. (2 Pet. i. 19).

The creation and fall of man, redemption accomplished by Christ Jesus, and the restitution of all things in the kingdom of heaven, shall make God fully known, by bringing out the fulness of the image of God in man. And in proportion as we believe and study what God hath already done, as recorded in Scripture, so do we now know God. None of these elements of knowledge can be omitted without loss, certain loss of so much knowledge of God, and it may be peril of our soul's salvation. The knowledge of the creation is necessary to understand the wisdom and goodness of God ; the knowledge of the fall to justify these attributes under present appearances ; the knowledge of the redemption to understand his holiness, mercy, and truth ; and the knowledge of the final restitution to understand fully the immutability and almighty power of God. In short, we cannot form any true conception of God from abstract speculations concerning his attributes ; he is known by his acts, and those acts were wrought for the express purpose of

making himself known—therefore they cannot be dispensed with. And these acts are also the only means whereby we can truly know ourselves—our first standing—our miserable fall to the present degraded condition—and the glorious destiny which awaits us, as children of God, in the kingdom of heaven : sons by regeneration—and if sons, then heirs ; heirs of God, joint-heirs with Christ Jesus. God designed to teach us, and we need to know, more concerning himself than that he is the great First Cause of all things, or that he hath wrought wisely and consistently in originating, and ordering, and governing the things which we behold. We need to know the invisible things of God, that we may regulate our conduct and conform our spirits and affections according to the mind of him who hath made us, to manifest his own image. He would therefore reveal to us, that we may make known to the rest of creation his personal subsistence, and all the various moral attributes which we associate with the idea of personality. An old writer says, unless you learn, from yourself, what God is, you shall never understand God, for like is to be understood by its likeness. In order, therefore, to reveal God in his personal subsistence, man, having similar personality, and capable of the comprehension and also of the expression of acts of personality towards others, was created. One class of the attributes of personality we feel within, as the workings of will, affection, and desire ; which may exist in full strength without any correspondent acts or external expression of their existence. Yet even these imply more than unity—they imply other beings towards whom the will, affection, and desire are directed, or an object to kindle and draw them forth. And this is no doubt one of the things intended when God said, “It is not good for man to be alone.” Moreover, not only are the personal attributes of the Persons of the blessed Trinity brought into manifestation by the expression of such affections in man towards man, but the relationship of God to the whole creation, including man, is also shown in the relationship of man to the inferior creatures, as seen at first in this goodly world, before sin entered, and when man, as the image of God, held dominion over all the works of his hands. (Psalm viii., Heb. ii.) All which relationships are only faint representations, as creature resemblances must be ; yet among themselves, and taken as a whole, they gave the best idea then attainable—or attainable before the incarnation—of the higher and divine relationships ; of the subsistence and supreme dominion of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And when man fell, and thus made himself incapable of showing this in his fallen condition, the purpose

of God was not thereby to be frustrated, nor was God circumvented, and foiled, and rendered incapable of attaining his end—that end he shall attain, even by the same instrumentality which thus seemed to fail. God shall yet be justified in the display of the wisdom and sufficiency of the work wrought at creation, when man was made in the image of God. Man fell, it is true, and so lost the image of God, and with it lost the dominion that God had given him: but God lost not his dominion over man and creation; and by the failure of man, it reverted to God, only to be brought out at a future time through Christ Jesus, and that so as to manifest still more clearly and conclusively the infinite wisdom and almighty power of God in the recovery of man; together with the attributes of wondrous grace and condescension in God, and the stupendous height of perfection and glory in man renewed; of which no conception could have been formed if man had not fallen. For if man had not sinned, Christ had not come—had not entered heaven for us—had not given us the hope to be like him, and see him as he is.

From inadvertence to the true intent of man's creation, even the meaning of the name Adam has been misapprehended, as if it were derived from the ground, or redness, like Edom. The true etymology of Adam is from *damah*, to be like, not *edom*, red, or *dam*, blood: as it evidently appears from Gen. i. 26, where *likeness* of God, *damouth*, is the declared intention of the creation of man; and *the likeness* is consequently his name—the *one* on earth, who was the likeness of the *One* in heaven: and that one unlike any other created being, yet holding of them all; *trine* in his *single* subsistence, having body, soul, and spirit; linked to earthly things by his body—to heavenly things by his spirit; and by his soul or reason capable of apprehending both, and rendering praise to God thereby. The likeness was not of form—God has no form; not of creature properties of any kind, as if God had any of these; but rather of moral and intellectual capabilities, which we can conceive of as predicable both of God and man; in somewhat the same, though far lower sense, than that in which the Son is called the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person. For in the creation of Adam, such a body was prepared as the Son might assume, in the fulness of time, to do the Father's will and manifest his glory; therefore man must needs have been framed, with such creature adaptation of form and subsistence, to this purposed manifestation; and to the uncreated Word, through whose incarnation it was to be accomplished; that the eternal Son of God might make such a body his own throughout eternity, and in



that form as God-man fill the throne of the universe. Oh ! it fills us with gratulation and triumph to think of what man is ! —to think of all that was meant when those words were spoken in the counsels of Godhead, before the creation of Adam, “ Let us make man after OUR likeness ! ”

God made all things in the beginning for his own glory, and overrules them still for the same end. They were made in infinite wisdom, and are overruled by almighty power ; in foreknowledge of everything that has happened, and with provision for securing glory to God under every possible occurrence. The purpose was made known by revelation long before any steps appeared to be taken for the attainment of the end ; faith believed that it would be accomplished, since God had declared it ; and in the fulness of time Christ came, in answer to the expectations of the faithful, and to clear up the mystery of God, hid from ages and generations. Great was the mystery of godliness which was then revealed, when God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory. And greater still shall be the final consummation of the mystery, when God shall declare, “ It is done,” and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.

This it is which makes it so important to us that we hold right doctrine concerning the creation, as being by Christ, and for him, that is, as constituted to prepare for, and bring out in due time, such a manifestation of God as would truly represent him though in creature form, which manifestation should be the counterpart of that higher manifestation which was not in creature form, but in the person of the eternal Son. And to show that the two manifestations are identical, a body was prepared in the first Adam, which body the second Adam would in the fulness of time assume, that in it he might reveal the invisible God : and to any that might say, “ Show us the Father, and it sufficeth ; ” it might be replied, “ He that hath seen me, hath *seen* the Father.” All that was *seen* in Christ showed to men the Father, and was seen in the form of man. All the powers of Godhead were put forth through that form. In that form He overcame death and hell, and rose again, leading captivity captive ; and in that form Christ now sitteth at the right hand of God, waiting until his foes are made his footstool. The form of man, therefore, must needs be the most Godlike of all creature forms ; and essentially the same form at *creation*, and *now*, and in the *kingdom of heaven*.

“ God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in

time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had, by himself, purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high: being made so much better than the angels, as he hath, by inheritance, obtained a more excellent name than they....But one in a certain place testifieth, saying, What is man, that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet.....But *now* we see *not yet* all things put under him. But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that he, by the grace of God, should taste death for every man. For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings. For both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren." This sets the dignity of man very high indeed—above the angels, and next to the throne of God, we being brethren to him who sits upon the throne. And Christ is called the Captain of our salvation, since all is done and suffered to bring many sons unto glory—many of those whose nature he took into union with his own, in order to purge away the sin of mankind and be our forerunner. He is also called the beginning of the creation of God; and, as prototype and head of the creation, it is declared of Christ that all things were created by him and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things consist—that is, Christ was the container or depositary of all the mind of God, before it came into manifestation through creation. According to that eternal Wisdom, the eternal Word came forth; first, to create all things as materials for the future accomplishment of the purpose; and then, as the Word made flesh, and dwelling amongst us, full of grace and truth, to give present effect, and future realization of the same in the kingdom of heaven. The things so created are still in the same Almighty hand; God hath not given power greater than his own to any other being, to wrest the government of the universe out of his hand; all things are still ordered by him, so that in the dispensation of the fulness of the times the purpose shall stand out accomplished—headed up and gathered into Christ, that through him God may be seen to be

all and all : God being seen in every one of his acts, throughout all time, each having contributed to, all being combined in, the one original and final purpose ; which, being of God, and carried on by him, must be, from first to last, ordered in all things and sure.

In this view, even the fall may be considered as taken into contemplation in the purpose of God. Not so contemplated as to make God, in any degree, the author of evil, or as being in such sense inevitable and necessary as to lessen the sin of Adam, or diminish our abhorrence of the crime. But as St. Peter charges home upon the Jews the sin of crucifying Christ, whilst he also regards it as fulfilling the purpose of God ; so may the fall be regarded both as involving the highest guilt in man, and also bringing out the predetermined grace and mercy of God. " Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain : whom God hath raised up." (Acts ii. 23).

Regarding the kingdom of heaven as part of the determinate "counsel and foreknowledge of God," it does not appear how man could have attained the kingdom of heaven if Adam had stood in his innocency ; for man was made for this world, and this world for him : the heavenly things are supernatural, the earthly are natural ; yet the natural was perfect in its kind when it came forth at the word of God—Adam the perfect man, the world his perfectly suitable dwelling-place ; and God looked down upon all the works of his hands, including man, the chief of all, and pronounced the whole to be very good. All was then in perfect harmony—the world good for man—man himself very good. The whole creation, thus approved by Him that made all things, was necessarily *at its best*, as coming immediately from the hand of God ; and it is quite absurd to suppose that it could better itself, or be bettered by another ; as this would be to suppose that other wiser and better than God. Such a creation must remain as it was while free from sin ; it could only change for the worse, and no creature but man had power to effect that change—without man's disobedience Satan could not have effected it. The creation must have stood while Adam stood, and he could not have passed on to the kingdom of heaven in reward of obedience ; by his fall the great mystery of redemption was brought out—he fell to rise higher than before—to receive, by resurrection, a life immortal—glory supernatural, such as "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive."

Adam was doing his *duty* only while he kept his first estate ;

and there seems to be no place for *reward*, or for advancement to a higher station. "When ye have done all, say, we are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do." And while all things were in harmony, there can be no doubt that the duty, far from being hardship, was a pleasure, a delight, was its own reward. Nor, with reverence be it suggested, does it now appear how man could be lifted into a higher than the creation-standing without the semblance of grudgingly withholding at *first* the better thing afterwards given, or changeably giving *more* than was at first intended. The supposed trial of Adam's constancy can scarcely be allowed a place in this line of argument; for God not only made Adam, and knew his power to stand, but knew also every temptation by which he could possibly be assailed; and therefore gave him strength to resist and power to overcome in every species of trial. God is righteous, and will not suffer us even now to be tempted above that which we are able to bear; but will, with the temptation, make a way to escape. And if now, much more then, before sin had found an entrance.

Thus a higher state than that of nature was out of the question, even before the fall, on the score of good works; since obedience could give nothing more than continuance of that state of blessedness which man already enjoyed, and which was the highest man could conceive. And after the fall, when sin became our state of nature, it is perfectly and ridiculously absurd to suppose that the two steps can be taken through good works—first, that of surmounting the consequences of the fall; secondly, that of passing beyond the condition of Adam, into any state implied by regeneration or the kingdom of heaven. And, moreover, upon our whole race a word of death has passed through the sin of our first parents; and this word cannot be set aside by anything which we can do; it is become the law of our being, and must be fulfilled in every man, or in some one capable of undergoing the death, not only of some other one, and redeeming that individual, but undergoing and triumphing over the law of death common to all mankind; and also capable of bringing out a new law of life, which should become the common property of the new race, of which He was the head; giving to those, who are the sons of God, a new and far higher standing.

If it had been possible to lift man above the fall, above the creation-standing, so as to bring out the purpose of God in any other way than by the death of Christ, he would not have died; for he prayed to his Father, who was always ready to hear—"If it be possible, let this cup pass from me." But how then

should the Scriptures be fulfilled? How should the revealed purpose be accomplished? The law could not do it; for if a law of life could have been given, verily righteousness had come by the law. But the law was rather unto death, marking out transgressions and annexing the penalties: and keeping the law is but evading its penalties. Obedience obtains no higher reward than continuance in that standing or condition already attained. Immunity from premature death is all it promised—"thy length of days thou shalt fulfil"—"he that doeth these things shall live by them"—no promise of regeneration, or eternal life, or the kingdom of heaven.

Man, as a creature, was framed to be an image of God—that is, to show the attributes of another Being who is not a creature. These attributes, therefore, the creature does not inherently possess; as then they would be his own, and not the attributes of another Being. And the two must be distinct, that the one may be the negation of the other; so that in the creature alone all the fallibility and sin may be manifested, and all the power and goodness and truth may be ascribed to God alone, and not to the creature; and yet, to be a perfect likeness, the creature must be so constituted as to manifest all the attributes of God. But it is obvious that this distinctness between Creator and creature, and this perfect manifestation of God, could not take place while man remained in his first estate. The distinctness could only be shown through creature fallibility; and even if it were possible to conceive of creature infallibility, this could not bring out all the attributes of God—could not manifest all the capacities of renewed man. God, in creation, showed his wisdom and goodness, and man reflected these attributes in the endowments of his body and mind. But there remained other attributes which only redemption could display, and other still, which required the gift of the Holy Ghost consequent upon the glorification of the Son of Man, which, while they exalt the creature in a manner otherwise inconceivable, by making the Church the dwelling-place of God, have also brought out such manifestations of the divine attributes as were otherwise impossible—boundless in extent, transcendent in glory, inexhaustible in duration. In the Church is a full display of the wonders of grace, mercy, and condescension to the undeserving through Christ Jesus—combined with uncompromising truth, spotless holiness, and love unwearied—carried out through long-suffering, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to the knowledge of the truth and live. The truth becomes known concerning God by his acts towards those in the Church, who, being renewed after the Creator's image, are

taught by the Holy Spirit; all consequent upon the incarnation, and resurrection, and by regeneration, or our becoming partakers of the divine nature. And to show that all goodness came from God alone, and that not a particle of it is inherent in the creature, and to strike at the root of self-sufficiency and independence, man was left to himself when *at the best*, and proved to be altogether vanity, if disobedient to God. And then, after the fall, and when man was *at the worst*, God sent forth the Son of his bosom to seek and to save—to save, by taking upon himself the load of our sins, and bearing the punishment thereof: which sins, being in their number and character infinite, none but an infinite being could underlie or cancel; He alone, who was God as well as man, could endure infinite wrath or make infinite atonement. And in order at once to glorify God and save man, He, the eternal Son, threaded every fibre of our nature with his divine nature; occupied every region of mind; energized the entire spirit of manhood with his own divine life of holiness and power; showing in his own person the first perfect example of what God designed when he said, “Let us make man in our image.” And then He, the true Man, the second Adam, offered himself a spotless sacrifice for the sins of man—for the fallen creation—for the whole world. “God hath commended his love towards us, in that, when we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ; for where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign, through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord.”

To assure us that Christ was sufficient for all this, and that there was nothing in him on which death could lay hold—no deficiency in the full, perfect, and alone sacrifice for sin; and to assure us of eternal life as the consequence of his death, to all that believe: he, the Man of God's right hand, sounded the depths of death and hell—saw no corruption in the grave—spoiled the principalities and powers of the regions of darkness—showed himself to be God as well as man *there*—led captivity captive, and rose again from the dead, making a show openly, and triumphing in it. And thus having accomplished the work of redemption, he ascended up to the throne of God, there to present the sacrifice as our High Priest, and, in token of the Father's acceptance of the atonement, received the Holy Spirit to bestow, as Man and for men, yea, even for the rebellious, that the Lord God might dwell amongst them.

The sacrifice was spotless, for Christ was the Holy One—it was infinite, for he was God as well as Man; it was com-

plete, for he rose from the dead ; it was accepted in heaven, for he bestowed the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. The world was ransomed by his death—propitiation was made in heaven on his ascension—justification ensues by our believing in him—and he never withholdeth the Holy Spirit from any who do believe, and ask in faith.

These are the main foundations of Christianity, and are universal principles common to the whole body in all its members ; and, properly speaking, they belong alike to all : the differences being, not in the things to be apprehended, but in the capacity to apprehend it ; and this depending upon place or opportunities in some members of the Church more than others, and strength or enlargement of faith in them to apprehend the more. Our fuller apprehension makes no addition to the work of Christ, but only enables us more largely to manifest the fruits of faith to the glory of God. For the Holy Spirit is One, and the Lord whom he glorifies is One—the same Spirit in every one of the members, which abides in Christ, the Head. But our capacity or measure for receiving the Spirit is limited, and varies in each individual, each adapted to that place we severally occupy, and therefore each dependent for help upon the others, and upon the whole Church, and altogether upon Christ, the Head. For he alone has the fulness of the Holy Spirit, and all derive from him, and receive continually from him ; yet the residue of the Spirit is with him, and we all have received of his fulness, and grace for grace.

Christ is the Alpha and the Omega of the purpose of God ; he it is that the whole creation bodies forth, while regeneration at length comes in, to animate, and energize, and lead up, and recapitulate in him again. All things were made by him and for him : he fixed the creature condition, and capacity of each according to its destined place, either in his body the Church, or in the world—the *kosmos*—the adorned sphere, of which the Church is the centre and the soul. The Holy Ghost coming into the Church makes no alteration in the bodily condition of its members, but only quickens, energizes, sanctifies, according to their capacity and measure of faith. Christ sanctified himself for our sakes—we are sanctified through the truth for the sake of the world. Our sanctification is not in any sense of ourselves—we cannot sanctify ourselves as he did—our sanctification is solely and entirely by the Holy Ghost. And this may teach us the difference between Christ and the work of God in us : he *began*, having everything, as Son of God, and brought that abundance into our nature, by impersonating it with himself : we *begin*, having nothing, as fallen men, and

are made partakers of the divine nature, not by any species of incarnation, but by the gift of the Holy Ghost. By incarnation everything which the Son of God possessed became the endowments of his body, excepting only such attributes of divinity as would make it cease to be a body, by contradicting its creature properties. We, by the gift of the Holy Ghost, lose not our proper humanity with its limitations—we become not spiritualized into angelic or superterrestrial beings. Christ came both to redeem mankind and to set them the example of holiness; and for both these ends it was necessary that he should be truly man. And for still higher ends it was also necessary—for the vindication of the wisdom and power of God it was necessary, in order to show that the man whom he had created in his image was wisely created, and could show forth his praise.

Man had yielded to the tempter and had fallen; the tempter, in atheistic triumph, might say, that God had been then defeated—that his purpose had failed—that there had been want of wisdom to foresee, or of power to prevent, the fall. To justify God in creation, the Son of God became incarnate, and in that very nature which had fallen showed what it was that God expected of man, and what he intended all men to be, and how he can even now reasonably expect and require obedience to his commandments; since he sent the Son in our nature to do them, and showed that in our nature this might be done. All these great ends required that the very nature which had fallen should be assumed by the Son of God, that we might be redeemed thereby, and know ourselves capable of doing all which our Creator has required.

And here we break off for the present, not carrying on the statement, or deducing from what has been said the many necessary consequences. We have dwelt especially on this one point, because Moëhler asserts, and we believe truly, that this difference of doctrine concerning the primitive state of man lies at the root of all the other differences between Protestants and the Roman Church. Moëhler gives a very clear statement of the Roman Catholic doctrine, the contrary of the above, as we have already observed; to which he adds, "Moreover, this more minute explanation of the dogma concerning the original holiness and justice of Adam is not merely a private opinion of theologians, but an integral part of that dogma, and hence itself a dogma." (p. 37). And he appends to it a note, with a formal sanction of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. to this doctrine, adding his own declaration that it is grounded in the whole Catholic system: the doctrine being, that Adam, before



the fall, was in a state of supernatural grace, similar to that called regeneration in the Christian Church; and that this supernatural grace was not bestowed at first, but "when he had prepared for its reception, and by his own efforts had rendered himself worthy of its participation." (p. 38).

From this doctrine of modern Romanism it follows that man, by his own efforts, prepares for and precedes God in the work of regeneration; and that Christ is wholly lost sight of, either as the procuring cause of regeneration, or as the baptizer with the Holy Ghost. But thus speaking, the Catholic doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as from the Father, will be nullified, and the expression *filioque* might be struck out of the Nicene Creed; for the Catholic truth, so long contended for by the Western against the Eastern Church, is thus virtually abandoned by modern Romanism. And even procession from the Father can scarcely be said to be, in reality, held by those who maintain such a doctrine; for by it man himself is made the originator of this work of supernatural grace, and by his own efforts is supposed to have rendered himself acceptable to God before the work of regeneration can begin; nay, it is virtually denying the power of God, and that confessedly in the highest divine act—it is making the creature its own creator. "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature," say the Scriptures; he must by his own efforts take the first step towards becoming a new creature, says the Romanist. The germ of the new being is attributed to man in the Roman creed, whatever part God may afterwards have in bringing it to maturity. And really they ascribe to man far more than the beginning of salvation throughout the whole course of their system: man is put before God everywhere in that Church, and under all the great heads of doctrine, as the author and finisher of his own salvation. Nay, more, man is supposed by them to be capable of doing more by his own good works, than to save himself; he can do works of superelevation—works not only sufficiently meritorious to demand reward, instead of punishment, at the hands of God for himself; but superabundant, enabling him to demand the same acquittal and reward for others—to create a stock-in-trade, which others may get the use of for money.

Miserable doctrine! which, by seeking to exalt man improperly, thrusts him out of his true place, and so incalculably degrades him. For man cannot go to God as he is; his very instincts and mere natural feelings demand a mediator. And if the true Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, be kept out of his sight, he will form or feign other

mediators for himself—men like himself, if he can get no better. And so the Roman heaven is peopled with mediators, to the grief of the spirits of the departed, making them glorified saints. And on earth the priests stand as mediators; and altars, relics, crosses, or lifeless things, are looked to as substitutes for Christ Jesus, or become blinds to conceal him from the view. The Protestant doctrine is at least right in this, that its whole efforts and tendency are directed to exalt and honour Christ Jesus in every possible way; and this desire brings with it the correspondent reward; for as Christ is the centre to which every doctrine must tend, Christ being held and honoured will guard against any material error in the whole doctrinal compass or sphere. For what the Father hath said, that also will the Son say, “Them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed:” and, “If any man serve me, him will my Father honour.” “For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father, which hath sent him.”

ART. II.—*Roman Fallacies and Catholic Truths.* By the Rev. TOWNSEND POWELL, A.M., Vicar of Stretton-on-Dunsmore. London: Painter.

2. *Mariolatry; or, Facts and Evidences demonstrating the Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary by the Church of Rome, derived from the Testimonies of her Saints and Doctors, and from her Breviary and other authorized Books of Devotion.* Second edition, corrected, with additions. By the Rev. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D., Canon of St. Paul's. London: Painter.
3. *England under the Popish Yoke, from A.D. 600 to A.D. 1534.* By the Rev. C. E. ARMSTRONG, M.A., Worcester College, Oxford. London: Painter.
4. *The Church of England independent of the Church of Rome in all Ages.* By the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS, M.A., Curate of Llanfor, Merionethshire. London: Painter.
5. *Increase of Popery in England, and the Errors of the Roman Church.* By the Rev. J. RUDGE, D.D. London: Painter.

THE great contest of the present day throughout Christendom is between Absolutism and Liberalism—a contest presenting different modifications of form, according to the difference in circumstances, localities, and temperament of the parties en-

gaged in it. The advantage has hitherto been clearly on the side of Liberalism ; she has triumphed, at least for the present, over Spain, Portugal, and Belgium ; Papal Italy, whence the secret springs of Absolutism have been fed, is feeling her influence ; Greece will probably yield her another victory. She has not left the northern nations untouched ; and even Turkey, grave and inflexible Turkey, with her Mohammedan code of tyranny and fatalism, has been made to feel her power in ways more curious than dignified. In France, the people placed a monarch upon the throne to be the exponent of the Liberal principle, who, with consummate skill, though with questionable honesty, has made it succumb for the moment, and taken advantage of the position afforded him to carry out the principles of Absolutism ; but as, in the course of nature, he cannot hold his power long, there is every probability, at his decease, the country which he has so well governed will become the scene of anarchy and confusion, and that Liberalism will amply repay herself for the temporary defeat she has sustained. Russia is perhaps at this moment the most powerful representative of the Absolute principle in government ; but if it be true, that to subserve her own interests she has secretly fomented the republican movements that have of late disturbed so many of the aristocratic states, especially those that have taken place in the dominions of the Pope, she has, for once, adopted a mistaken policy, and will find, ere long, her machinations recoiling upon herself, to the dismemberment of her own overgrown, and in so many respects miserable and oppressed empire, as the just reward of her dishonesty. In England, Absolutism has long ceased to be a principle of government in the State ; Liberalism has gained the ascendant, and the only political contest existing is now between the Liberal party and a party called *Conservative*, whose object is rather to retain what is left, than to assert any positive principle of its own. But the struggle between Absolutism and Liberalism, though it has ceased in the State, has been renewed in the highest ground on which it could be fought, viz., in the Church ; and the Tractarians on the one hand and the Evangelicals on the other—the exponents ecclesiastically of these two principles—are bringing into the strife all the strength and talent which they can muster. No one can be an indifferent spectator of this struggle, because upon the issue of it depends the fact, if there be none to interfere or mediate, whether in this land there be any Church at all (using the word *Church* to express its proper constitution, *visible* as well as *invisible*), or whether that Church become, as of old amongst us, the enslaver of men's minds, the oppressor of their consciences, and, through

the inevitable tendency of some of the tenets openly avowed—a tendency of which the world has had such bitter experience—the final extinguisher of all spiritual vitality. A third party has, however, arisen from the very necessity of the case, which, recognizing as much truth as either the Tractarians or their opponents may hold, is endeavouring to maintain the great principles of the Reformation, with due regard to all that is venerable and worthy of attention in ecclesiastical antiquity, apart from superstition, and with a proper estimate of the claim to Christian liberty, apart from licentiousness—the advocacy of which two things forms the characteristics of either party.

There are those with whom the use of the words “the Reformation,” “Protestantism,” and the like, is sufficient to ensure, by anticipation, a condemnation of all that they who use the words may have to say. It is at once observed, “Such an one is full of Protestant prejudices; he is wedded to a system, and he cannot, therefore, be expected to say much that is worthy of attention upon truths and subjects which are purely Catholic.” As it is probable that we may have already incurred the infliction of such remarks by the use, at least, of one of the words, it is perhaps as well to deprecate, by an observation or two, the hasty condemnation which they too commonly carry with them.

It is a very difficult thing, as all must admit, to approach the discussion of any subject, especially if it be one involving the spiritual interest of mankind, so dispassionately as to ensure a strictly unbiassed judgment for the result of its consideration. No doubt a freedom from prejudice is most desirable at all times; but we think men require more from each other in this respect than it is either possible to grant, or good to exact. It is not in the nature of man so to separate himself from the things which affect him, either in heart or spirit, as to maintain that impassibility which some seem to consider so absolutely necessary to the constitution of an unbiassed judgment; nor would any judgment be of much value for the purposes of life which did not proceed upon an experience of, and sympathy with, the things considered. A bias to some extent is a law of nature; no man can think, write, or speak without it; all are influenced by the nature of the education which they have received, the circumstances under which they have been brought up, the position which they occupy in the world; and it is in the peculiar modes of thought and expression, constituting the personality by which every man is distinguished from his fellows, that the whole truth is best seen and illus-

trated. The judgment of every man is therefore valuable, as being, in some respects, such as none other can offer; and what is so commonly called a bias, is nothing more than a law of our being, to which all must yield, more or less, and to which he who condemns another because he manifests it, is just as liable as the man whom he condemns. Whoever, in the discussion of Catholic truth, omits, in the consideration, the true value and influence of Protestantism, is unfitted for the task. If he find a place for Protestantism, considering only its evils, he ought also to find a place for its opposite—Romanism; for when any man or party makes frequent allusions to the prejudices of the one, without also stating and taking into account the bias of the other, we may be sure that, whatever be their claims, such persons are not in a condition to ascertain and assert what is, or what is not, Catholic; and we think that the greater number of those who, in the present day, especially in our own country, are accustomed to write such bitter things against the Reformation and its promoters, against Protestantism and its principles, are in this dilemma. *Audi alteram partem* is an old and useful maxim, and every controversialist must learn to debate, if he would arrive at the truth, not only with a proper allowance for the prejudices of his antagonist, but with a due remembrance and estimate of his own.

There are many who can see nothing but sin in the Reformation, and who have no eye for anything in Protestantism but its evils; it is certainly incumbent upon all such to show how the one might have been righteously avoided, and to point to some better system than the other. We may as well remark here, in anticipation, that, properly speaking, in the Church, as the Lord gave and constituted it, there is no place for systems, as far as these are of man's invention; but as systems have obtained, and we have to deal with things rather as they are than as they ought to be, we are under the necessity of using the words which best express the actual condition under which we find ourselves. We say, then, if men complain of Protestantism, as a system, they are bound to point to something better; if they cannot do this, they do but sow to the wind, to reap the whirlwind.

We hold the Church of England to be, in its canonical constitution and its actual influence, the purest fruit of the Reformation, and the truest exemplar of the principles of Protestantism; and whilst we are fully prepared to admit and mourn for what is amiss and defective, yet all that we have ever read or heard against her does but convince us, after a careful consideration of the grounds upon which she stands,

and of the polity by which she is regulated, that she is upon earth, as a portion of the Church Catholic, the best *known* exponent of the truth of God. That there *can* be no better we do not assert; for what it may please the Lord to do in times to come for the purification of all that is true in her principles, and the supply of all that is defective, no one can tell. Hope for the future must not be exactly measured by the experience of the past; yet the experience of the past must guide us in our judgment of the present; and it is no man's duty to relax his hold upon the things which God has permitted him to attain to, though they be not perfect, in unprofitable speculations as to what might be better: "The *secret* things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us and our children." And whilst we know there is much, even in the Church of England, that might be amended, which only the Lord can amend, whether he may seem fit in this dispensation to do it, remains with him. We are dealing not with probabilities, but with facts as they are and have been; and again we say, we believe there is no better known exponent of God's truth upon earth than the Church of England.

The objection commonly urged against Protestantism, *in general*, is the multitude of sects or heresies, as they are called, to which it has given rise; and against the Church of England *in particular*, that she is powerless to repress dissent and compel union. It must be owned that there is a great show of truth in this objection; but it must also be remembered, that it is one to which Protestantism and the English Church are not alone obnoxious. No period in the history of the Church can be pointed out in which dissensions and heresies have not abounded. The divisions that existed amongst the Corinthians were sufficient to hinder the apostle from teaching them as fully as he desired, "the things which eye had not seen, nor ear heard, and which had not entered into the heart of man to conceive; the things which God hath prepared for those that love him," but which nevertheless he had revealed to the apostle and his brethren by the Spirit; he was compelled to forego his desire to deal with them as men, instructing them in "the deep things of God," and to feed them with milk, instead of meat, because they were carnal; and it was dissension that constituted this carnal condition; for whereas, he says, "there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions (or factions), are ye not carnal?" And none can say how much through this dissension the Church has lost—how much fuller knowledge of the doctrines which are but darkly hinted at in some places in the holy Scripture, and of the gracious and

merciful purposes of God concerning the close of this dispensation and the revelation of the next—a knowledge which it seems clear the apostle possessed in that revelation of the deep things of God by the Spirit of which he speaks. As to heresies, they were rife in the earliest ages. From those of Cerinthus and Ebion downwards, time and space would fail to enumerate them here. If the Church of Rome, in the middle ages, be referred to as a model of unity, it must be recollected that her uniformity was not union, and that in order to preserve even that, she wielded a power as illegitimate as it was oppressive and tyrannous. The bow bent beyond its proper capacity of pliancy will ultimately break; and the moment the secular governments, goaded beyond lawful endurance and urged to excess of cruelty, ceased to be obedient to the Romish Church, men, as a natural consequence, escaped from her thralldom on every hand; and the terrible reaction of religious liberalism took place, at once the true fruit and just reward of an unprincipled abuse of spiritual power. Whatever gave rise to Protestantism, and not Protestantism itself, must properly be considered as the parent of the numerous progeny that goes by its name; and though there were many causes which, as auxiliaries, contributed to bring this system into being; yet the chiefest of all—the first in order of time and greatest in influence—was, without doubt, the fearful corruption of the Romish Church. If the Church of England be powerless to compel uniformity, it is from no defect in her constitution, but from the just repudiation on her part of the principle, that men's consciences may be coerced by the arm of secular power; and from the growing spirit of anarchy, which was first conceived and brought to birth in Romanism, and for the fostering of which to the present time the Church of England is not chargeable. But there is one answer to the objection, that Protestantism is the fruitful parent of all heresy, which is too often forgotten. Of all the heresies with which the Church of Christ has been defiled, undoubtedly the heresy which is constituted by Romanism is the most fearful, whether we regard the almost universal perversion of divine truth which marks it, the length of its existence, or the amount of its influence; and this is no intemperate and monstrous assertion made in anger, but the result of a sorrowful conviction, that, notwithstanding all the world owes to her, whether for the measure of truth preserved in the midst of her errors, or the amount of charity bestowed in the midst of her luxury, such is actually the case.

It is very clear that the Reformation was *inevitable*; it was impossible for the Church of Rome to go on in the path she

had hitherto trod ; it was impossible for her to maintain the sway she had so long exercised. The mind of man had, of a sudden, taken a step in advance, which no effort of the spiritual powers then existing could repress. For a long period the reasoning faculties amongst the generality seem to have been in abeyance ; and when, by one of those moral impulses which marks an era and wakes up the dormant masses into intellectual life and energy, these were suddenly brought into activity, men exercised them with a boldness and freedom proportioned to the length of their disuse : a great discovery had been made, and there were not wanting adventurers on every hand to take advantage of it ; they seized with avidity upon every subject that offered a prospect of mental gain, and pursued their researches more eager for the result than scrupulous as to the means by which it was attained. The moment, therefore, there was question of theological truth, a region hitherto untrod by the multitude, many rushed to the discussion, of whom some were sincere and some were not ; but all were earnest, if not to learn the right, at least to gain the victory.

Many causes have been assigned for this great revolution, the forerunner of the Reformation. It was, however, by the union of all, rather than the influence of any one in particular, that it was effected. The art of printing, then newly invented, contributed no small share ; the revival of learning, the study of the Greek and Roman authors, the natural capacity of the Saxons for abstract science and philosophical research, acted upon by increased facilities in the communication of knowledge, all tended at one and the same time to strengthen and encourage the minds of men to an onward movement, and help them to break the trammels in which they had been bound ; whilst the Court of Rome itself, under the influence of the luxurious, elegant, but religiously indifferent Leo, and yielding to the general movement in the magnificence of its tastes and its patronage of literature, fostered a spirit whose ultimate developments it had not wisdom enough to foresee ; for however, as subservient to her polity and as an attribute of her rule, this spirit was employed, to use it in the service of *true* religion (we are not forgetting St. Peter's) was the last thing thought of. In consequence, it took a direction that was not dreamt of by the rulers of the people, and in an exactly inverse ratio to the advancing movement of the spirit of enquiry that was abroad, was the downward progress of the Church of Rome into corruption of doctrine and practice. Men, having the Scriptures in their hands, and no longer ignorant of divine



truth, as far as they could gather it from them, refused to receive as its exposition the pernicious dogmas of the priests. The spirit of questioning, once evoked, is not easily laid ; the fear of offending God, in the way in which that fear had been of old imposed, had ceased to operate ; the dread of punishment in many yielded before the greater love of truth ; and the result was, discoveries that rendered honest men on every hand indignant, gave a pretence of right to all that were disaffected or insincere, and raised up champions who were far more concerned to maintain the truth of God as they read it, at all hazards, than to observe the scrupulous niceties by which it was asserted the great questions at issue could alone be lawfully discussed. The cry, "*Dieu le veut !*" with which the Church had herself stirred up all Christendom to the crusades, now found an echo of terrible significance in the hearts of her children ; though it was not to Jerusalem and the infidel that men looked for the Lord, grieved and dishonoured in his people, but to the very centre of that city where rule was administered in his name, and to the altars where he was professedly worshipped.

Whether there should be a Reformation or not ceased to be doubtful ; the only question left for the Church of Rome to decide was, whether she should be herself the originator and director of the movement, or, obstinately refusing to acknowledge its necessity, leave it to others, at whose hands she could expect no mercy. She chose the latter ; she made the sad mistake of all, who have held power unquestioned, and abused it unresisted, till they have come into a false position : she affected to despise the complaints of her children, when they first arose, as too insignificant to be heeded, till the handful of murmurers became a multitude, and that which was whispered in the secret closet was proclaimed in loud accents from the house-tops. If the Reformation has proved a sword of punishment, inflicting continual torment on the Church of Rome, she has none to accuse for the infliction more than herself.

There is something, humanly speaking, unaccountable in the blind infatuation of that Church at this period. It was the licentiousness of her priests, with but few exceptions, her burdensome exactions, and her abuse of spiritual power, that first awakened men to resistance ; and these were grievances which she might at that time have redressed, without any infringement of her true claims and standing. It is not impossible, had she done so, that the Reformation, in the form it ultimately assumed, might have been avoided ; there was neither questioning of her authority nor doctrines, but just com-

plaints of abuse; and it was not till she had refused to entertain them that the spirit of enquiry touched vitalities that left her no longer free to adopt or benefit by any half measure, and the whole contest thenceforward became as determined as the opposition of principles, mutually claimed and denounced as those of truth and error, could make it. She could not plead ignorance as to facts; some of her highest dignitaries saw the danger, acknowledged the justice of the general complaints, and counselled that they should be attended to. So early as the twelfth century, Grossteste, the upright Bishop of Lincoln, warned the Court of Rome of the probable end of its venality, and did not fail to bear an honest testimony to the wickedness of the greater portion of the clergy. Wickliffe *first* preached against the vices of the friars; Luther himself, for a long period, confined his condemnation to the dissolute lives of the priests; he did not dream of questioning the authority of the Pope, or the doctrines of the Romish Church: his first step in the course which led him to such memorable results was occasioned by what he witnessed at Rome, when he was sent there for the sake of bringing a dispute, that had arisen between the Augustinian convents and the vicar-general, to an amicable termination; and the glaring corruption and licentiousness which he then beheld on every hand aroused him to the actual condition of the Church: "I have seen (he said) the Pope and the Pope's Court, and have had opportunity of observing personally the morals of the Romish clergy. I performed mass there, and I saw it performed by others, but in such a manner that I never think of it without horror." He said also, that "he would rather have parted with a thousand florins, than have lost the instruction afforded him by that journey." That these complaints were not without foundation is manifest from the testimony of many, who cannot for a moment be suspected of any hostile intention in giving it. Cardinal Bellarmine confesses, that for some years before the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies were published, there was not (as contemporary authors testify) any severity in ecclesiastical judicatories, any knowledge of sacred literature, any reverence of divine things; there was scarcely any religion remaining. The Council of Constance admitted the evil, and made a few ill-directed, but insincere and abortive, efforts to amend it. Adrian VI. observed, at his accession—"Many abominable things have been committed in this holy choir for a long time past, especially in spiritual things; indeed every thing is changed to the worse;" and his Nuncio, Cheregato, was empowered to own explicitly to the Diet of Nuremberg—

"That all this confusion was the work of men's sins, particularly of the clergy and prelates; that for some years past many abuses had been committed in the Court of Rome, even in the holy see itself; that everything had degenerated to a great degree, and that it was no wonder if the evil had passed from the head to the members—from the popes to the bishops and other ecclesiastics."

The noble and honest confessions of Adrian, contained in the "Breve," which he gave his nuncio, came however too late. The Church of Rome had been indifferent alike to the warning of friend and foe; and, as a natural consequence, objection to her doctrines speedily followed the unheeded remonstrances against the licentiousness of her practice. Men had reached a stage in the discussion which the admissions of Adrian, however honest, could not affect, because the points they touched had ceased to be the major proposition in the controversy; and whether they were admitted, or not, now mattered little in the settlement of the greater questions that had arisen.

How little the Church of Rome was able to profit by the warnings she had received is manifest from the fact, that the memorable sale of indulgences, which was the act that brought that universal movement, ending in the Reformation, to a crisis, was subsequent, by nearly a century, to the Council of Constance, wherein both Huss and Jerome of Prague had been condemned for heresy. Time had been given to her to learn something to her profit. The stand which these men made for the truth of God; the spiritual movement of which it was evident they were the pioneers; the open questioning of dogmas which, till then, had not, since their adoption, been disputed, save in solitary instances; all should have taught the Court of Rome to look to her goings and be wary in her acts;—but in spite of all this, in the face of the admissions made by the Council of Constance, and in blind or wilful ignorance of the advanced condition of men's minds, the shameless Tetzel was sent with his bale of indulgences, to win, by the prostitution of all that is high and holy in the Church, money for his elegantly-minded, but unprincipled master. We are not writing a history of the Reformation; it does not fall within our province, therefore, to enter into the details of this miserable transaction. That the epithet "shameless" is, however, well applied to Tetzel, no one will doubt who has the least acquaintance with the contemporaneous history of the period—his sayings and doings are notorious: his doings are in no wise profitable to speak of here; of his sayings, one or two may well be recalled to the recollection of our readers. In his "Theses" he says—"A soul may go to heaven in the very moment in

which the money is cast into the chest." "The man who *buys* off his own sins by indulgences merits more than he who gives alms to the poor, unless it be in extreme necessity." He boasted "that he had saved more souls from hell by his indulgences, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching." Again: "The moment the money tinkles in the chest, your father's soul mounts up out of purgatory." Truly, that such a man should have authority for such an errand, and at such a time, is a proof of the blind infatuation of the Romish Church, which nothing can gainsay.

It has been remarked, that at the first the question was as to the practice, and not the doctrine, of the Roman Catholic Church; the one, being unheeded, was followed by the other. What, then, is the lesson that the history of this most interesting period, especially in this particular, teaches us? It is one which the Romish Church refused to learn, until destruction had come upon that power which she had so long loved and exercised; it is one which the wrong-doers of every age and nation have only learned when it could not any longer avail them. It is this—that man cannot be dealt with by abstractions—he cannot be influenced by, nor will he yield obedience to, abstract rules alone. If men claim to have authority from God, they must give some better evidence of their claim than the reasoning out an abstract proposition; for to an abstract proposition man will not give other than an abstract consent. The Church cannot ask for faith in dogmas which have no practical exposition, nor impose a rule upon others which it is clear has no influence upon herself; wherever her ministers manifest such conduct as arouses men into resistance, their claim to speak with authority will be far less heeded than their attempt to act with impunity. It is by realities, and such realities as they can have cognizance of, that men are affected, and one *fact* in evidence of a proposition is worth whole tomes of scholastic definitions and deductions. It is of little use to contend that this is not consistent with the principles of sound theology; it may not be so, as far as they are contained in the dead letter of an article; but that will not alter the fact—a fact which the history of all the revolutions that have shaken states to pieces, and of all the changes which have rent society asunder—which the history of the period we have briefly glanced at will prove—that men will not heed the precept of him who does not in his own conduct show its influence; nor can they so far separate between the *place* of authority and the *man* who stands in it, as, for the sake of the one, to take no notice of the transgression of the other. Call it what you

will, call it a sin, call it an infirmity, it is the inevitable tendency and result of the constitution of men's minds ; and even he, who admits that it ought not to be, is found intuitively and unconsciously acting as though it were unavoidable. The Church of Rome contended that whatever might be the conduct of her priests, that had nothing to do with the doctrines of the Church : it was argued, on the other hand, that the corruption of that Church in doctrine must be very great, whose priests were either allowed by their rulers, or could allow themselves, in such excesses ; and whilst there was truth in the first, there was equal truth in the second, with the additional advantage in the discussion, of its being coupled with an evidence that all could comprehend. The language of fact is more powerful than the language of theory—the latter is, to the many, an unknown tongue ; the former finds a capacity of comprehension in every part of which man's being is constituted : all theological truth must have a living exposition to render it comprehensible.

God is not an abstraction, but a person ; and his personality is in this, that he is of none. The faith of men under the Christian dispensation is in him, *the Father*, as he is revealed in Jesus Christ, who, when he brought life and immortality to light, was himself the living exponent and exemplar of his Father's will and law. Our faith is required to be exercised in living realities, and must have an evidence of its right nature in the continual exercise of Christian virtues—its true and proper fruit : doctrines are not the object of our faith, but one form in which it is expressed ; and however beautiful they may be in themselves, as propositions of theological truth, unless their exposition and application be in such ways as men can experience and understand, we cannot expect them to be received and held. The Church is, or ought to be, a body instinct with spiritual life—as much the declarer to the world of the Lord Jesus Christ, as he was of the Father ; and as he, not by word and precept alone, but in every act of his existence upon earth, in his sufferings and death, in his resurrection and ascension, declared the will and purpose of the Father unto men, so the Church is called to fulfil her office unto all around her, not only in her formularies and creeds, but in each of her ministries. These carry out continually some one or other part of the divine purpose, and bear witness, in their exercise, to the several offices of the Lord ; and, in order to do this completely, they must be filled with spiritual life. It is true, that in one sense they are so, independently of the condition of the man who is ordained to them. The virtue of the sacra-

ments, for instance, is not hindered from flowing to the recipient by the wickedness of any one who ministers them; but since it was never intended that the ministers of holy things should be unholy men, it is both consistent with the purpose of God and the health of the whole body, that they not only convey the virtue contained in their ministries, by their office, to others, but also be partakers of it themselves. The virtue is in the office, and not in the man, that none of God's children may be deprived, through the wickedness of another, of that which they seek in faith; but it is not therefore either a rule or an excuse for such wickedness: whilst, on the other hand, assuredly that portion of the Church which, by the corruption of her practice, or the unfaithfulness of her priests, leads men to charge upon the spiritual office that which should be charged on its abuse, will be answerable before God for the fault of the people, though that fault be, according to the *abstract* rules of right and wrong, properly the error of their own judgment and want of clear spiritual perception. The Church is called to sit with Jesus in heavenly places, to live by faith in Him from day to day, and to carry forth to the world, in the fruits of that faith, the revelation of his will—wisdom for the foolish, knowledge for the ignorant, comfort for the afflicted, and blessings for all—to be the daily minister of life to the children of God, at once their example and guide in treading the path unto the kingdom of heaven. Assumptions of authority, without the benefits that are designed to flow from its exercise to those in subjection; imposition by precept of duties which we ourselves neglect; burdens hard to be borne, laid upon others, in the bearing of which we take no share—this is what men never have endured, and never will endure. This was the practice of the Roman Catholic Church—and the consequence was, the Reformation and Protestantism.

The chief objectors to Protestantism, as a system, are, as a matter in course, the Romanists themselves, and that portion of the Anglican Church whose tendencies have of late been so manifestly Romish. That the former should have an instinctive horror of all connected with Protestantism is not surprising. Both the priesthood and laity have been bred up to regard it as a system wherein all that is true is denied, and all that is holy is desecrated. There are few exceptions to this, and to such an extent does the conviction obtain, that with a great portion of the less intelligent, Protestant and Atheist are synonymous terms. Nor is this chargeable to any real want of charity or benevolence in the majority of instances, but to

that ignorance and uncatholicity which the system itself engenders. There are very many amongst the Romanists, most honest and conscientious children of God, who, having no other notions of Protestantism and Protestants than what they receive from their spiritual teachers—themselves, for the most part, believing what they teach—cannot therefore but abhor the one and pity the other. They have no place in their faith for any compromise, nor for any admission that may soften the repulsive aspect with which they have been taught to regard this so-called deadly heresy. What the natural benevolence of their heart may lead them to hope, the austerity of their creed sternly commands them to deny; and every attempt to look upon the Protestant heretic, and love him for his virtue, is at the expense of a conscience, which seldom, in such a case, sleeps, and is continually whipped into watchfulness by all the scorpion terrors which ignorant fear knows how to invent. Such individuals have ever a claim upon our Christian forbearance; but there are others who, from the position they occupy in the foremost ranks of theological controversy, as the giant opponents of Protestantism, cannot be allowed the benefit of such an ignorance; and we think these ask too much of their Protestant brethren, when they require their aggressive movements to be submitted to in meekness. They at once forget the cause for shame to themselves, which their system has created, and the grounds of just complaint and irritation which it has afforded to others. Using the language of invective themselves, they hold up their hands in affected astonishment at the measure of Protestant abuse which they get in return; too commonly running a reckless career against all truth and honesty, they are eloquent with virtuous indignation at the discovery of some harmless forgery, palmed by a witty scholar upon unlearned innocence; and the greatest agitator of all Europe, the political mountebank, who spares no art of trickery, however base, to stir up the unthinking thousands of his poor countrymen into violence and bloodshed, has not words sufficient to express how much his pure soul is grieved and all his finer feelings wounded by the excitement that causes emotion to so many respectable gentlemen, and gives employment to so many cambric handkerchiefs at Exeter Hall! We are not of those who think that the truest exposition of Protestantism is to be found in that locality. The way in which the controversy is carried on by both parties is, doubtless, a shame to Christian men, and a most deplorable evil; yet, whilst the champions of Romanism are equally guilty with their opponents in violence of spirit, they are certainly more arrogant in

their claims, and less open to the honest conclusions which may be deduced by fair reasoning from the propositions agreed to by both.

*Tractarian* objectors to Protestantism stand, however, upon somewhat different grounds, whether we regard the position which they occupy, or the nature of their objections. They are—at least, the clerical part of them—ministers of a portion of Christ's Church whose articles and formularies have been expressly framed for the repudiation of all that essentially constitutes Romanism; and their objections to Protestantism arise chiefly from the opposition it offers to absolutism in spiritual governments. With those of them who object to a human *system*, as being no *real* and *true* part of the constitution of the Catholic Church, we perfectly agree; for though all human systems have had their uses, either for the inculcation of some good, or as examples of some great evil, only permitted to be shown that it may be avoided, yet in the proportion in which they are of man's invention, they are obscurers, if not opposers, of the truth of God; which truth, to be perfectly shown forth, needs for its exponent the Church, in the unity and completeness of that constitution given unto it by the Lord. But there are some, we fear, who consider the Protestant system as evil, merely because it is opposed to the Roman system; who would do away with the one, that they may substitute the other. There are so many points, which clearly are not Catholic, in which this class of persons sympathize with the Romish Church, that it is no exaggeration to state this as the true nature of their objection.

We have said, that all who object to Protestantism are bound to substitute something better in its stead. If by Protestantism they mean that spirit of wilfulness developed in so many forms of spiritual division, which the corruption of the Roman Catholic Church engendered; and if they point us to the Church as it truly is, and as it ought to be seen, in fact—One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic—then there can be no dispute upon the subject. If, however, they offer to us Romanism instead of Protestantism, it becomes them to show that the former is less fertile in error and evil than the latter; more accordant with, and preservative of, the truth of God and the spirit of the Gospel. The one is chargeable with evils which are authoritatively recognized and inwoven with its constitution; which evils the other as authoritatively denounces, and so in spirit rejects, that whenever they are manifested, as undoubtedly they have been, they are seen as accidents, and not as integral parts of the system.



Whether we regard Romanism in its political or moral influences, it is, of all systems that have obtained under the Christian dispensation, the most deadly. Let any man look abroad—let him look at those kingdoms over which she has held the most unbounded sway; he shall find them at this present moment manifesting the ultimate fruits of that influence which she so long exercised, though that fruit be in a form which, it may be, she never contemplated, and which most certainly she disowns. She cannot, for instance, recognize infidelity, anarchy, and liberalism; but she has prepared the way for them all by her spiritual tyrannies. She sowed the seeds of these with her own hand, in the fertile ground which her own pride and wrong-doing had made ready. She poisoned the springs of spiritual life; the infection spread from the Church to the State, till all social bonds being weakened, and all true nobility of principle eaten out, the body politic became at last the easy prey of the foul offspring whom its disease engendered. Thus France in its revolution, Spain in its anarchy, Portugal in its liberalism and fatuity, the beloved children of the Papacy, are each striking proofs of the sure results of Romish dominion. What is Italy, where the Papal system reigns triumphant, but a society of elegant *dilletanti*, with many recollections, it is true, of ancient glory, but scarcely one responsive echo, save in the republican struggles of an insignificant party, to the bold spirit which achieved it—the pride and haughtiness of her forefathers, without their valour or their strength. Germany holds on her way, because she is not strictly Popish; whilst poor Ireland owes less of her misery to English misgovernment than to the influence of Maynooth. If feudality was the destruction of individual liberty, the system of Popery was equally subversive of national freedom. In the latter it was contended that every monarch held his kingdom in fee of the Pope, as Christ's vicegerent on earth; and the same right in the disposal of life and property was claimed as that possessed by the lord over his vassal.\* He who, with a full understanding of all the evils that such a system brings in its train, desires the restoration in this land of the Papacy, is no true lover of his brother nor his country. Poetry and philanthropy are not always the same things; old age and virtue

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\* When, in 1558, Sir Edward Carne notified at Rome the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne, Paul answered, that "England was held in fee of the apostolic see; that the Queen, being illegitimate, could not succeed; that she was presumptuous in assuming the crown without his consent; but that if she renounced her pretensions, and submitted her case entirely to him, he would do everything that could be done consistently by the apostolic see."

are not always synonymous terms ; the past, whilst it presents much that is very beautiful, presents also much that is very abhorrent to the mind. And there is an unintelligent veneration of antiquity in our days, that leads men to lay hold of everything which presents itself in opposition to the thoughts and practices of modern times, merely because of the contrast, without any thought as to the facts connected with them, the principles involved in them, or the fitness of their application.

There is a conviction in the minds of some, that Romanism will never again be what it has been in times past ; but upon what sufficient grounds this conviction is founded we are at a loss to conceive. The principles which constitute that system are held to be those of eternal truth, which can never change—which, be the condition of society what it may, are to remain inflexibly the same in their application. Thus the intellectual infancy and manhood of mankind are treated alike ; one unbending rule is applied to all ; there is neither place nor provision for that progressive advance of the human mind in the attainment of knowledge, civilization, arts, and science, which, as a condition, shall mark the world's near approach to the close of this dispensation ; and as there is not provision for such a condition, there cannot be the means of preparing and fitting men to meet it. Let us not be misunderstood ; we are not of those who hold the triumphant state of the Church to be one of intellectual development or attainment ; on the contrary, we believe that the condition of the world, of which our Lord spake when he said, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" and the period wherein human knowledge, intellectual power, and scientific attainments shall have attained their highest elevation, are one and the same. If the principles which the Romish Church held contemplated and provided for such—if she held her sway, refusing to yield to the circumstances around her, in inflexible expectancy of her Lord's coming, that so she might be the better prepared to meet him, the case would be very different. But her unyielding character is earthly, and not heavenly ; not arising from the constancy of a faith in things yet to be revealed, but from the persuasion that she is already the possessor of all fulness, the mistress of the world, and the arbitress of the destinies of men ; and this because she has forestalled the times appointed of God, and constituted herself the triumphant bride, where she should be the mourning widow. Her services, and ceremonies, and pageants, the acts of her Popes, the whole of her polity, continually utter the language, "Behold, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow!"

There is better ground, however, than that derived from reasonings upon the probability of the case, for the assertion that the Romish Church, in the principles of her policy, is unchanged and unchangeable, and that is—*facts*. These prove that what she has been in times past, she still is. There are two things with which the Church of Rome is chargeable, which have been manifested by her in all times down to the present; alike in the ignorance as in the civilization of society, whenever she has thought it necessary for her welfare so to act, and wherever she could do so with impunity. We allude to the cruelty and deceit which are so inextricably woven in with her policy. Look at the crusades against the Albigenses, the fierce burning of the Protestants, the inquisition, with its deep and dismal dungeons, its horrid mockery of justice, its hypocritical pretensions to mercy, its hall of tortures, its demon-like familiars, its *auto da fe*—do not these testify, to the eternal shame of the Romish Church, that her policy is essentially cruel? Tell us not that these cruelties were owing to the barbarous ages in which they were committed; or that they were the outbreaks of the fierce spirits within her pale, for whose wrong-doings the Church of Rome, though they were her children, is not responsible. They were recognized by her authority, organized in obedience to her precepts, inflicted according to rules prescribed by her, and are still defended in principle by her schoolmen and divines. What more would men have to constitute responsibility? Is it not, moreover, the triumphant boast of the Romanist admirers, that the ages in which these cruelties were most rife were the times wherein the Church received the most unbounded obedience and exercised the most unbounded sway—wherein she gave the tone and direction to the whole social system? She did with kings and states what she would—she wielded an universal dominion over men's minds; and it was the merciless policy inextricably woven in with her system that moved men to cruel deeds in her behalf, and not the age that, in its rude ferocity, brought her to its level. We are continually reminded that the truly magnificent structures of the middle ages, devoted to the worship of God, were the fruits of that influence and power which she possessed over the minds, and talents, and genius of her children. And so they were. How is it that the Church, which could lead men to accomplish works so far above the general civilization of the age, could not equally, had it consisted with her policy, have induced a spirit of humanity beyond the general barbarity of the times, or have at least prevented those acts of cruelty which were wrought professedly

in her behalf? She led the spirits of men in all things; she taught them, in support of her earthly dignity, to lavish endowment after endowment upon her institutions; to make superhuman efforts for the maintenance and adornment of her services; and she both instructed and incited the secular power to the necessity and propriety of mighty deeds in the defence or propagation of her tenets. The mistress of the world yielding to the ferocity of her children!—will she herself allow of such an excuse?

If it be said, in answer, such things were lamentable, but will never again occur, one fact must be adduced as a proof to the contrary. Van Halen, no matter what his offence (it was half religious, half political), so late as the year 1817, was confined and tortured within the walls of the inquisition, and would there most probably have died, but for the successful effort which he made to escape. If it be said that this was done in Spain, Spain it must be remembered was ever the most faithful slave of the Court of Rome, and what that Court allowed her to do, as a religious act unrebuked, clearly brings her in a partner. Now will any man say, after this, that cruelty is not an integral part of the Romish system? Will any man venture to predicate, judging from the past, that if that system be ever dominant, the like will not again occur? The inquisition of Spain in the nineteenth century, the Jacobins of the French revolution, are each, in their kind, specimens of how slight a barrier the civilization of an age opposes to the fierce passions of men, when yielding to the impulse of fanaticism, whether religious or political, and justifying their excesses on the score of principle.

We are not ignorant of the fact, that the inquisition met with considerable opposition at its first institution. Alcuin protested against its establishment; almost all the prelates and potentates of the time resisted it: Naples, we believe, has never submitted to it; and Venice, that she might not be compelled to receive the holy office from Rome, established one of her own. But a close examination of the grounds of this opposition shows that they were not of *humanity*, but of *privilege*. The bishops justly considered themselves to be the true discerners of heresy, and the proper administrators of discipline in their flocks; they anticipated that in both of these their prerogative would be seriously interfered with by the powers given to the inquisitors. The princes, on the other hand, dreaded that their right to administer temporal judgment in their own States would be infringed. Innocent III. determined to carry his point; satisfied the scruples of the one, by conceding

that the bishop of the place should be associated with the principal inquisitor ; and allayed the fears of the other, by allowing them to appoint the subordinate officers, and to be the ministers in executing the judgments that might be pronounced—an empty concession, as the event proved, but one admirably adapted to the times and the men. Innocent was followed in his love and efforts for this institution by his immediate successors ; and to those who fancy that the improved condition of society must have ameliorated the stern and cruel working of its machinery, we have only to point to the details of its later history, and to the facts, that Paul IV., by a bull in the sixteenth century, limited the duration of torture to *an hour*—an ordinance far more execrable for its recognition of the practice, than praiseworthy for its modicum of mercy, but a sufficient proof, nevertheless, that all the cruel machinery of the holy office was not the result of the ignorance of an age, but was a recognized and integral part of Romish policy. He is said also to have authoritatively declared that “this (the inquisition) was the only means to destroy heresy, and the only fort of the apostolic see.”

All know that it was primarily to aid in the suppression of the Waldensic heresy, as it is called, that the inquisition was first established, Innocent finding in the cruel Dominic and his followers ready instruments for his purpose. It is, however, remarkable, as connected with the history of this period, that the Pope's legate pursued with Count Beziers, the leader of the Albigenses and the defender of Carcassone, exactly the same treacherous method as that adopted towards Huss some two centuries later ; both having been induced, in the faith of solemn promises and a pledged word, to commit themselves to a power, which, in the accomplishment of its purpose, hesitated not for a moment to break faith in a manner which, amongst all nations and at all times, has been held to be execrable.

It will be asked, has there been no such thing as cruelty amongst the Protestants ? Alas, yes ! The ruthless soldiers of Cromwell and the licentious life-guards of Charles II. both deeply imbued their hands in the blood of the unhappy Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, to whom they were respectively opposed. But it must be remembered, that this was in the time of warfare, when there were fierce passions, exasperations, and cruelties on both sides ; and that there is some difference between the excesses committed in the insolence which victory unhappily engenders, and the inhumanity, the exercise of which is authorized and systematically provided for. Protestantism has no one recognized principle, in obedience to which men

may be tortured and put to death. Cruelty is not a *religiously* integral element in her constitution; and no one can point to any case in the ecclesiastical history of Protestant Christendom like that of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, where the Pope and his whole court rejoiced publicly over a deed by which seventy thousand (according to Sully) of their fellow-creatures were murdered in cold blood and by the foulest treachery; officially thanked the promoters of the deed by his legate Ursin, who in his passage through France granted plenary absolution to the actors in this dreadful tragedy, and struck a medal to commemorate the deed. That the inquisition exists no longer is owing not to any awakened sense of its enormity on the part of Rome, but to the spirit of revolution in those lands where it was recognized; which, whilst it has given vent to the worst passions of man, has also yielded opportunity for the overthrow of some of the greatest scourges with which the world has been afflicted.

Our object is not groundlessly to write bitter things against our brethren, simply because they are Roman Catholics. It is not against men that we are contending, but against a *system*—one which is more admired in the present day for what it promises and asserts, than dreaded for what it really contains and conceals; and we only deal with individual men when they come before us as the exponents of some one or other part of their system. It is no grateful task to expose evil; but there are times when it is a false charity to cover it, and that in which we live is one. We therefore point to another integral part of Romanism, and that is its spirit of evasion and deceit.

It is very clear that the Court of Rome entertains at the present time the most sanguine expectations with respect to England. In the divisions of the Church she hopes for the restoration of many to her communion; and that she calculates all the probabilities intelligently may be seen by the address of Cardinal Pacca recently spoken "at the solemn opening of the academy of the Catholic religion." She is preparing, as might naturally be expected, for such an event with her usual caution and policy. One characteristic of that policy is to hide from men the more obnoxious of her tenets, and with great worldly wisdom, but little honesty, to avoid thrusting upon the neophyte, until she is sure of her ground, such of her dogmas as would at the first startle him. Hence the outward aspect of Romanism in England is not only very different from that which it presents on the continent, but also very different from what it formerly was in this very land, and very different from what it would be again were it to become dominant.

Now she is feeling her way by degrees, with the stealthy step of a fowler, pausing at every motion of the net, lest the prey be immaturely scared; the moment, however, she is secure of that, forth into active development will come all those obnoxious tenets which she has so strenuously denied to be of authority, and which her ministers, moreover, so long as they are compelled to hide them, declare, with the expressions of virtuous indignation, to be the mere inventions of calumniators. Thus, of late, in France, the whole array of Romish heresies have gradually come into exercise, and what truth the Romish Church there holds is being overwhelmed and crushed with the miserable paraphernalia of image-bearing (and such images) and the far worse heresies of the immaculate conception and the supremacy of the Virgin Mary. Here are at this moment before us two books, one entitled, "*Le Mois de Marie*;" the other, "*Le Pouvoir de Marie*;" both examples of the truth of what has just been asserted. These books were sold near the bishop's palace at a town in Brittany, at the *Librairie de Piété*, where it was understood no books were to be purchased but such as the faithful might read; they were sold by a priest, and were four years ago, and probably are still, in the hands of all the religious of that diocese at least. The first contains, in the preface, an account of the revival of a form of worship specially in honour of the Virgin Mary, and in the body of the work there is a formulary for its proper celebration. This worship is to occupy a month (the month of May), and there are particular meditations, prayers, and examples for each day in that month. In the preface it is stated, that it had its origin in Italy, and that it had been most beneficially observed at Rome, under the eyes of the heads of the Church. One or two extracts will serve to show the nature of the doctrines taught in it. In the meditation for the second day the heading stands thus—"Sur l'immaculée conception. Marie a été conçue sans péché, en qualité de fille du Père éternel, 1. par création, 2. par adoption, 3. par rédemption." Under the first division of the subject we read—"1. Par creation. La sainte Vierge dit elle-même que, parmi les œuvres du Très-Haut, elle fut considérée comme la première née : '*Primogenita ex ore Altissimi prodiri ante omnem creaturam.*' Elle devait donc être distinguée par-dessus toutes les créatures; or en voici le distinctif, c'est d'être toute belle et *sans tache*." Again, under the second branch—"La qualité de fille adoptive, dans Marie, devait être semblable à la qualité de fils par nature dans Jésus Christ, dont elle était destinée de toute éternité à être la mère; et par conséquent si le fils de Dieu par nature devait être saint,

immaculé distingué des pecheurs, cette admirable fille de Dieu par adoption *devait être aussi sans la moindre tache ni souillure.*" In the meditation for the third day it says—"Mary has been *conceived without sin*, as the mother of the Incarnate Word, and by consequence has a prerogative proportioned to her greatness." This doctrine—the immaculate conception—forms the basis of nearly every meditation ; and her obedience in fulfilling the Mosaic law concerning purification is enhanced by the consideration that it must have been difficult for one *without sin* so to have done. The second of these books is a translation of a work by Liguori, prefaced with a prayer, a plenary indulgence and deliverance of a soul from purgatory, granted to whoever, after having confessed and communicated, shall recite it before the image of the crucifix, by Pope Pius VII. It contains also, by the translator, a brief account of Liguori's life, who, in the year 1829, was canonized by a decree of Pope Pius VIII. (Liguori died in 1787). The whole of this work, as its title imports, is to prove the supremacy of Mary. One or two extracts will suffice to show the nature of the things taught :—

"Comme il est écrit du Père éternel, qu'il a tant aimé le monde qu'il lui a donné son Fils unique, de même, selon Saint Bonaventure *Marie nous a tant aimé quelle nous a donné son Fils unique.* Elle nous l'a donné dit le P. Niéremberg, quand en vertu de son droit de mere et par la juridiction qu'elle avoit sur lui, *elle lui permit d'aller à la mort, &c.....* Marie est notre vie parce qu'elle nous obtient le pardon des péchés..... Marie est l'espérance de tous les enfans d'Adam. Les hérétiques de nos jours ne peuvent souffrir que nous appelions Marie notre espérance, car ils prétendent que Dieu seul doit être notre espérance, s'appuyant de ce texte de l'Ecriture ; *Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine.* Marie, disent-ils est une créature et comment une créature peut elle être notre espérance ? Ainsi raisonnent les hérétiques ; mais en dépit de leur blâme, l'Eglise veut que chaque jour les prêtres— invoquent Marie sous le nom si doux d'espérance des chrétiens.....Nécessité de l'intercession de Marie pour le salut."

One more, and we have done :—

"Marie dit St. Jean Chrysostôme, a été élue de toute éternité pour mère de Dieu, *afin de sauver par sa miséricorde ceux à qui son Fils en rigueur de justice ne peut faire grace.*"

We suspect John Chrysostom is belied ; be that as it may, no one can doubt that the assertion is made good, that these two books contain the heresies of the immaculate conception and the supremacy of Mary—two heresies, than which none more deadly, both as to their character and consequences, ever existed in Christendom. The one is utterly subversive of the doctrines of the true incarnation and atonement, feigning that



Christ took a nature which was not ours ; the other denies the truth, that Jesus is anointed *Lord and Christ*, and that to Him the Father hath committed all power, both in heaven and earth ; for though it be admitted that Jesus has the *power*, truly if Mary has the right and privilege, no matter however accorded, to command the administration of that power, when and for what she will, the *rule* is hers.

That these doctrines are actually held by the generality, is evident from that which meets the eye of every one who enters into a Roman Catholic church abroad. Whatever is in the spirit of any body, or sect, unconsciously expresses itself in their outward symbols. The Dissenter, for instance, knows no higher ordinance than preaching ; the place in his chapel, which the Catholic Church has ever set aside for the altar, is therefore occupied by the preacher. The Roman Catholic, on the continent, believes most firmly in the supremacy of the Virgin Mary, and takes little heed to the nice and subtle distinctions by which the schoolmen endeavour to fence off the home thrusts of Protestant antagonists : for the washing away of his sins he does, in a measure, go to Christ crucified ; whilst, for the grace that flows from the resurrection, he applies to the Virgin ; hence, wherever he worships, he looks upon the sculptured figure of our blessed Lord bleeding and dead, and upon that of the Virgin full of life, and surrounded with the glory of heaven. It should also be remembered, that one of these doctrines at least has been sanctioned by authority ; for Sixtus IV., by a bull, authorized the *fête* of the immaculate conception in the fifteenth century.

Now it is utterly useless to meet this by saying that the works to which we have alluded are not authoritative, and therefore the Roman Catholic Church is not responsible for them. Liguori either did, or he did not, write the book, of which one of these professes to be an interpretation ; he either was, or he was not, canonized for his good works, one of which was this very production. The fact is easily ascertained ; and if it be ascertained in the negative, then surely the Church of Rome is bound to repudiate such a production ; and no one who has perused the various catalogues of proscribed books which she has published (the best lists, as far as regards Protestant works, of controversial divinity, on the points at issue, which a man can have, by the way), can for one moment believe that such a work would escape her, or if she did not like it, be suffered to exist, as far as she had power to hinder it. But what is the state of the case with regard to these very works ? They are sold, with the cognizance and sanction of the bishop, by a priest ;

are in the hands of all the people, as the clergy well know ; and, in accordance with the suggestion of one, a month is set apart, and special services celebrated by the parochial ministers of the diocesan town. If this be not authoritative, we would humbly ask, what is ? One thing is clear, if it be not, then is the Roman Catholic Church in a worse condition of confusion than that which is imputed to Protestantism ; her bishops and priests publicly holding such doctrines and observing such practices as they plainly know have been and are authoritatively denounced ;—a confusion so much the more marked, because that unity and obedience to authority are claimed as characteristics of the Romish Church ; so much the more deadly than anything amongst orthodox Protestants, because it is shown, in the holding of heresies, which the Church does not allow. The Church does not stand before men in the decrees of councils—in the dead letter of articles and formularies, but in those carried into practice by men, thus having a living and tangible exposition ; and the judgment of God, and indeed of the world, will be passed upon her, not for what she *might be*, as the one testifies, but for what she *actually is*, as the other demonstrates. This answer, “They are not authoritative,” with which every reference to doctrines commonly taught and held, and practices commonly observed by those in her communion, is met, is one which the Church of Rome and her advocates employ whenever they are hard pressed. No one will doubt that she could prevent them, if she would. If she cannot, where is her discipline ? If she allows and encourages her children in that which she tells the world is not by her authority, where is her honesty ?

But evasion and double dealing have ever marked her policy. Let any one remember the duplicity of her Popes, in their political dealings with states and nations, justified by a reference to the sacred interests at stake and the end to be attained ; let any one consider the casuistic system of ethics which distinguishes the Jesuits, who have done more for Popery than any other men, though they have not always been sufficiently tractable to be in favour with the Popes ; the dishonest handling of Scripture and perversion of facts, in her controversies with Protestants ; let any one remember these things, and he will see that deceit and Romanism are almost synonymous terms. The very atmosphere of her policy has an infection in it so subtle as to influence all who come within her reach. The power of honest, truthful perception, which, as men, they may possess, becomes weakened, and the most conscientious, unconsciously to themselves, are

disingenuous in her defence. This, we frankly confess, is an evil which we greatly dread, as awaiting the Romanistic tendencies of so many of our Anglican brethren. Even the amiable and estimable author of the Tract 90 himself shows the influence of the sect with which he so much sympathizes, though doubtless neither knowing nor intending it, when he endeavours to show that the Articles of the Church of England are not, in the clearest sense of the word, essentially *Protestant*. Whether they be right or wrong is another matter, and constitutes a question which he, as well as all others, is free to discuss, if he do so consistently ; but that they have, or can have, or were meant to have, by any species of interpretation whatever, any sympathy with the dogmas that are peculiar to the Roman Catholic Church, and which these very Articles declare to be "fond things vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God," is what all the logic of Oxford, aided by the casuistry of Rome, will find it hard to prove.

We know of no human sagacity or amount of wisdom that can protect a man from the subtle influence of Romish policy, when once he has yielded himself to its guidance ; and they who lean towards Rome with the fond hope that *they* will not be deceived nor rendered disingenuous—that *they*, at least, will be able to separate the grain from the chaff, retaining the one and rejecting the other, will in the end find themselves miserably mistaken. There is no lack of human wisdom, there is no lack of common sense, there is no lack of natural honesty, there is no lack of warm affections amongst the Roman Catholics ; but all, where there is a question of spiritual things, are yielded as a sacrifice acceptable to God, and delivered up at the dictum of the Church ; so that nothing is thought, or perceived, or felt, but as she wills it ; and the true nobility of manhood is lost and crushed in the unhealthy absorption of an individual, selfish, and spiritual tyranny. Catholicity is the very last word that the Roman Church should use ; for isolation is her true characteristic. It was in one sense a master-stroke of policy to impose celibacy upon her clergy ; for she at once, by this act, separated a body of men from their fellows ; depriving them, in experience and hope, of any participation in the strongest bond of the social system ; turning the whole current and energy of their affections, not as God had intended, for the blessing of others, but for the maintenance of a system. Christian liberty finds no footing within her pale, because human affection has been dried at its source amongst her priesthood ; and they who have to deal with fathers

and mothers, husbands and wives, and children, are in utter ignorance of that which belongs to their estate, which, to be known and sympathized with, must be experienced. Hence, in the spirit of the cold, stern, unyielding obedience which they themselves give, they require subjection to their rule, and judge of all others. They have no place in their conceptions for the various modifications of thought and feeling which these several relations induce. The rule which they administer is that of a system, whose chief characteristic is Absolutism; the obedience which they require is that of a slave to his lord. It is not the rule of the father—it is not the obedience of the son; for these are of *the heart*, and with the human heart the Roman Catholic Church has no sympathy. It is a wonderful thing to see what she has done to men and with men. But the prospect, on the whole, is most melancholy; she has blotted out the social affections from one whole class of society; she has stirred up nations to war with each other when she had temporal ends to gain; and she has produced the phenomenon of men acquainted with the Scriptures, and believing in them, who have originally had hearts like their brethren, and from some of whom at least all human feeling cannot have been utterly taken away, sitting in quiet watchfulness over the torture of their fellow-creatures, rejoicing that, by this, God's honour and glory were maintained and vindicated.

It is sometimes thought that the infusion of so many honest and conscientious men as are now turning their eyes towards Rome would surely work some alteration in her, and prove a blessing. Little do they know of her spirit and capacities who think so. To parade them for a space in a species of spiritual ovation before the world's admiring gaze, as the captives of her bow and quiver, after the manner of old Rome; and then to condemn them to the silence of monasteries, or send them on far-off missions, would be most probably her method of dealing with them. A chain for the froward, honours for the pliant, but no rest for the honest man who might mourn for all that he would, by sad experience, too late discover, without an ear to hear him, or a heart to feel for him—this will be Rome's method with them; and if honest and faithful men seek her communion in the hope that there will be room for the expression of conscientious scruples, or suggestions for good, they are hoping what they will never realize. She cannot, she dare not allow it. Suspicion ever attaches to him whom Protestantism has at any time infected; and no word, however true, which should have respect to the errors which such an one

might see, but would be regarded as the plague-spot, proving his old disease uncured.

It was remarked, in the beginning of this article, that the struggle between Absolutism and Liberalism was no longer in this land in the State, but in the Church, the Tractarians and the Evangelicals being respectively the exponents of these two principles. To so much in doctrine and practice as the former uphold, and can prove to be both primitive and Catholic, no one can rightly object ; but to so much as is clearly not *Catholic*, but *Roman*—of the growth of the middle, and not of the existence of the apostolic, ages—every true servant of the Church should strenuously oppose himself. It has been, indeed, said, that the doctrines and observances of the Church in the middle ages were but developments of the truths held in the germ by the primitive Church. It is very difficult to conceive how this is proved, seeing that “corruption” is so evidently written on the whole of them. The argument itself is, moreover, a departure, on the part of Rome, from the stand she has hitherto taken, which has been almost exclusively upon the authority of antiquity. The Church undoubtedly has the power, in the exercise of her spiritual jurisdiction, to fit the details of her administration to the necessities of times and men ; but this only in accordance with the principles of truth once delivered to her, which, whatever may be the variety of their developments and application, are in themselves eternal and unchangeable. It is also clear, that the principle of development is contained in the very constitution of the Christian Church, inasmuch as it is a principle inseparable from life, and from spiritual as well as from natural life ; but it is a development consisting in the expanded application of the truth which she already possesses—a bringing into exercise, in enlarged capacities and more vigorous operation, the power of the life already bestowed, and not the adding of any new truth or any fresh powers. Thus, for instance, the doctrine that the Church is in possession of temporal as well as spiritual power, in this dispensation, is no part of apostolic doctrine, nor could it in any wise be evolved from it ; whilst, on the other hand, the corruption in practice of the middle ages was in no way the true development of the principle of spiritual life, but of something tending to disease, commingled with and superadded to it.

There is one point, in which the Tractarians seem to approve of and sympathize with the doctrines of the Romish Church, which appears to be fruitful in error and evil conse-

quences ; and that is, the undue position in place and privilege claimed for the priesthood, and their consequent separation, in the unity of the body, from their brethren—a separation, *in fact*, effected by their celibacy in that Church, and, together with their undue elevation, taught in all her services. In speaking of the Tractarians, we beg it distinctly to be understood, that we do not use the word uncharitably, nor in reproach ; but simply to identify a certain party, which, by tacit consent, seems to be so designated, for the purpose of distinguishing them from others, as the contenders for doctrines and opinions which, whether they be right or wrong, are not commonly held. We think it just to observe, also, that our remarks oftentimes more properly apply to the adopters of the views contained in the Tracts, than to the writers of them—to the followers of the Oxford movement, rather than to the leaders of it ; and whilst we oppose, in many respects, the spirit engendered by the Tracts, we offer the just tribute of respect and esteem, as Christian men and brethren, to the learning, personal piety, and noble devotedness of those who have written them. Surely it may be allowed to contend for principles, without losing our mutual hold on that charity which is the bond of peace, or forgetting that we are bound together in holy brotherhood, in the fellowship of one common Head ! But to return. Romanism contains within it the principle of spiritual and temporal Absolutism. Her avowed tenets declare it, and the whole Romish ritual develops it. The priesthood of the Church of Christ on earth is a fellowship in and showing forth of that of our Lord in heaven : it is the Melchizedek priesthood, abiding for ever, partaking of the kingly dignity as well as the priestly office ; but it must be remembered, that, though the Head of the Church has been anointed both Lord and Christ, he has not yet been manifested as *King*. We do not say that he *is not* King, but that he has not in temporal jurisdiction yet been manifested as such to men ; nor that, when he is revealed as King, he will cease to be Priest, for his priesthood is everlasting ; but that, as now the kingly is hidden in the priestly, so then the priestly will be co-existent with the kingly. By the sacrifice of Himself once offered up for all, he has fulfilled one part of his priestly office ; by his continual intercession in heaven on behalf of all in the virtue of that blood which he has carried into the most holy place, he is now fulfilling another ; and it is in offering the memorial, and in the strength of the former, and by the administration of all the blessings that flow from the latter, that the priesthood of the Christian Church, properly, in this dispensation, fulfils its office. No doubt *spiritual*

jurisdiction is a part of this office, because the Christian priesthood is, upon earth, the ministry by which He, who is the Head of the body, rules that body ; because, as such, He sent forth the Holy Ghost for the constitution of the Church, and for her complete endowment with spiritual gifts and powers ; to the well-being and right exercise of which properly belong both government and subordination, discernment and subjection. But whatever may be the *providential* rule which our Lord, seated on his Father's throne, may exercise in the affairs of the world, it is clear that to his Church he has not given the disposal of things temporal, nor the ordering of temporal governments, because he himself has not yet been manifested as seated on his *own throne* and in his *own kingdom* ; nor has the time come when he, and the Church, as assessor with him, are to take the manifest rule over all things temporal—that time spoken of in the Revelation, “ when the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.” It is true that “ the saints shall judge the world ;” but grace and mercy, and not judgment, are the proper attributes of the Church in this dispensation, because her ministry, until its close, is essentially one of reconciliation ; her character is that of the *intercessor* for men, and not the judge ; and her calling to be subject to, and minister unto, the necessities of the world, not in the way of temporal rule, but in the way of endurance and suffering—in the fellowship of her Lord's humiliation, that so hereafter she may attain to his glory. Nor does the fact, that kings and states have become Christian, alter her position in this respect ; for as the temporal power can rightly have no jurisdiction in the government of the Church, so the spiritual cannot interfere with the administration of the State. To *teach* all men, from the king to the peasant, what their several duties are, in the light of God's truth, and not to be their mistress in things temporal, is the proper province of the Church ; whilst to administer temporal government and justice is the proper office of the king. Thus he, without derogation from his kingly dignity, may hear what the Church can rightly teach him ; because he has no other source from whence to draw spiritual instruction, nourishment, and strength ; and the priest may, in all temporal matters, be subject to the civil government without infringement of his spiritual place and privileges, because it is only in the house of God, and in the exercise of his purely priestly functions, that he is distinguished from his fellow-citizens. What in our Lord has not been actually manifested, cannot by possibility be actually exercised by the Church, although she is

entitled to look for the realization in herself of that hereafter to which he has been already anointed. Hence, in her assumption of temporal power, the Church of Rome has forestalled the time, and taken upon herself a dominion which is not hers. This she has done, not in *type*, bearing a testimony to rule which shall be manifested in the ages to come; but in *fact*, asserting her claim to it, and, wherever she is allowed, exercising it.

There is no service in which this is more significantly shown out than in the coronation of the Pope after his election. In that service he is placed *upon* the altar raised over the bones of St. Peter; adored by the cardinals and the several orders of the clergy successively, the former of whom kiss his knee and his foot, and the latter only his foot, or, more properly speaking, the cross embroidered on his slipper. He is crowned with the tiara, a combination of the mitre and crown, concerning which Picart says: "Il porte la triple couronne pour apprendre aux Peuples Chrétiens qu'il est *Pontife, Empereur et Roi*;" and when he receives it, these words are addressed to him—"*Accipe Tiaram tribus coronis ornatam et scias te esse Patrem Principium et Regum, Rectorem orbis, in Terrâ Vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*," &c. Picart naively adds, "which admonition he never forgets." Moreover, in the course of this service, the anthem, "*Ecce sacerdos magnus*," &c., and that taken from the twenty-first Psalm, "*Corona aurea super caput*," &c., are both sung; plainly attributing to the Pope a place and honour which belong to no man whatever, save *the man*, Christ Jesus; and which, though with him the Church may share, no individual member of that Church, be his place what it may, can arrogate to himself. With respect to the adoration, and the manner of it, we will quote what Picart says (we quote from the Amsterdam edition.):—

"Il faut observer, que le pantoufle de Sa Sainteté est ornée d'une croix, qui est l'emblème de Jesus Christ crucifié. Pour prévenir l'abus superstitieux des peuples qu'un respect aveugle ne séduit que trop souvent, les successeurs de St. Pierre éclairés du St. Esprit voulurent que leurs sandales portassent cette croix sur l'empeigne; de sorte, qu'on ne baise pas les pieds du Pape, mais la croix de Jesus Christ crucifié; et c'est là une preuve évidente que Sa Sainteté est le Serviteur des Serviteurs de Jesus Christ."

Again:—

"L'adoration est relative à Dieu. Elle n'est pas pour le Pape mais pour Jesus Christ, que deux femmes (Marie et Magdalene) adorèrent en se prosternant à ses pieds."



He adds, innocently enough—

“ Nous croions pourtant, sans pretendre choquer la dignité du S. Pere et le respect dû au St. Siège qu’une partie des honneurs qu’on rend au Pape tirent leur origine de ceux qu’on rendoit aux anciens Empereurs Romains, soit en les regardant comme Souverains Pontifes c’est à dire chefs de la religion des Romains ou en les respectant comme Souverains de l’Etat : mais nous ajoutons en même tems que ces honneurs sont maintenant estimés et justes et necessaries.”\*

What Picart here says we verily believe, that the custom has its origin in the practice observed towards the Roman emperors, who, be it remembered, received this homage (whether as sovereigns or pontiffs), claiming to be of the gods, and entitled therefrom to divine honours. It is very certain that some of the fêtes of the Roman Catholic Church were instituted to substitute the Pagan festivals, which were found to prove, in the earlier ages of the Church, a snare in the attractions which they offered to the Christians. If we mistake not, the chief offence of Vigilantius, the Spanish monk, with whom Jerome was so angry, was the tracing of many of the ceremonies of the Church in his time to the services of the heathen temples; and though we are very far from attributing the more significant ceremonies of the Christian Church to such a source, yet it is not equally clear that the multifarious services and fêtes with which she was early encumbered, and in which not truth but error was inculcated, may not be so deduced. If, however, there be any meaning in symbolism, we should say, the cross, the emblem of Christ crucified, ought not to be on the foot of the Pope; instead of declaring him to be the servant of servants for his Master’s sake, it seems rather to us to indicate that in the worship which, after the manner observed to the Roman emperors, he receives, Jesus Christ crucified is dishonoured. If the Pope would bear the emblem of the crucified One where the Church should ever bear it, it should be undoubtedly on his heart. But, in fact, the practice has little to do with any truth connected with the cross; it is the simple declaration that all powers are subject to the spiritual, and to the Pope individually, as the representative of the latter. Pope Innocent III. said (we quote again from Picart)—

“ Que l’Eglise, Eponse du Vicaire de Jesus Christ lui a porté en mariage un plein pouvoir sur le temporel et sur le spirituel; que le mitre est la marque du spirituel; que la couronne l’est du temporel;

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\* *Exempla sunt tum de Caio Caligula, Nerone, Othone, Trajano, Adriano et Diocletiano, qui alios ad oscula genuum et pedum admivesunt; præsertim ultimus. Joh. Step. de Osculo Romani Pontificis, Cap. 8.*

que l'une et l'autre apprennent à tous les chrétiens qu'il est le roi des rois, et le seigneur des seigneurs."\*

This doctrine has been held by the Roman Catholic Church ever since the Pagan powers and dynasties finally disappeared, and has proved, as all know, the fruitful source, especially in this land, and in the earlier times of its history, of controversy between the spiritual and temporal dignities. Thus Anselm, without the king's consent, sought to introduce the authority of the Pope, whom he favoured, into England, at the time that Urban and Clement contended for the Papacy. Thus also à Beckett afterwards resisted the attempt, the just attempt of Henry II. to bring such priests as were guilty of murder, felony, and other crimes, of which the instances at that period were fearfully numerous, under the authority of the civil courts; and whatever were the personal motives actuating these sovereigns, it is certain that the principle for which they contended was a righteous one, and that for which these prelates stood, though in accordance with the whole policy of Rome, just as unrighteous.

Are the doctrines of Rome on this point the same as they were? Most certainly. The *Journal des Débats*, in speaking of the address of Cardinal Pacca, to which we have already alluded, says, "Rome has renounced no one of its pretensions. It is good that governments should know this, and let them reflect that they are warned;" and all that is witnessed, wherever she recovers her lost dominion, proves that she has not rejected one of her heresies. Upon what grounds of hope or justification honest men can forsake the positions which they occupy in the Church of England, which, with all its defects, has no one *vital* error equal in magnitude to the many that defile the Romish Church, to enter into the communion of the latter, we are at a loss to conceive. If they be frightened with the fear of schism, let them remember that the same reason which would, as they think, have justified their fathers in remaining within the Roman Catholic Church, because it was the position in which the providence of God found them, should equally act in deterring them from separation at this moment from the Church of the land—the Church of the land we say, which, after all, is not Roman; for Augustine, with his intro-

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\* As this is not altogether a fair translation, we give the Latin:—"Ecclesia sponsa non nupsit vacua, sed dotem mihi tribuit aboque precio preciosam, spiritualium plenitudinem et latitudinem temporalium. In signum spiritualium contulit mihi mitram; in signo temporalium dedit mihi coronam. Mitram pro sacerdotio, coronam pro regno: illius me constituens vicarium qui habet in vestimento et femore suo scriptum, Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium."

duction of the Popish supremacy, and his imposition of the Roman yoke, was as much an usurper in the spiritual as the Saxons were in the temporal. The *British Church* was in existence long before Gregory sent his missionary amongst the Anglo-Saxons. Alban, martyred in Britain, suffered, it is said, in the persecution of Dioclesian ; and when Augustine came hither he found a numerous establishment of priests at Bangor, who would have received him, but for his assumption of an authority which they could not acknowledge. We have nothing to say against the right of Gregory to send his minister amongst heathen men, for such were the Saxons, that they might be converted to the Christian faith ; but that we are thereby bound to recognize all that is not truly Catholic, since moreover the Church had a prior existence in this land, is what we do not understand. The Pope is no more than the patriarch of a district, if he be that ; and, as such, he clearly cannot have jurisdiction here. Rome truly is not changed, and the fond hopes of her admirers, in this respect, proceed from the benevolence of their own hearts, and not from any just grounds to be derived from actual improvement or reformation. It is very true, and most thankfully do we admit it, that in England, at least, the Roman Catholic clergy are, in their private conduct, with few exceptions, exemplary and devoted ; but in judging the probabilities of the future from the experience of the past, if once the absolute principle in Romanism come to be established and developed, its evil effects and unchangeable spirit would soon become manifest in practice. The argument to the contrary, which is deduced from the results of civilization, has already been slightly dealt with ; it is quite untenable, and is only used by those who know of no higher power in man than that of the intellect. The *illuminati* of the eighteenth century, who desired to bring in an intellectual millennium, little thought that the child which should be born to them would possess the wolf's heart, and wear the bloody garments of the French Revolution. The political theorists of the present day, in like manner, entirely forget, in their estimate of human powers and capacities, those which are purely spiritual. Thus, when any great movement takes place, which owes its origin and its maintenance to something immediately addressed to the spirit of man, their theories are at fault, because they have only reference to the intellectual, which, in the composition of man, is inferior to the spiritual. There are dark, stern passions in the depth of the human heart which wait for some fitting event to fetch them forth into exercise, and which will not be aroused to action save in obe-

dience to some powerful and evil spiritual impulse, or in the settlement of some question where eternal interests are supposed to be, or are really involved. Deeds are then committed which man in his better moments would shrink from ; and a career commenced in the maintenance of a righteous principle is often ended in the successful struggle of a personal ambition, or the cruel intolerance of a dominant party.

Bossuet, in his "Exposition d' l'Eglise Catholique," says, "the Church is a body politic;" and here, we think is the whole mistake. She is a household of faith, a family of God, the body of Christ. The emblems of her constitution are, the body of man, the social relations of a family, and the holiest of them all—that of marriage. The Jewish polity represented God in his absolute and despotic character (we use the word *despotic* in a reverential and righteous sense). In the Christian dispensation he is revealed to us as a *Father*, and the whole language which the Church uses is symbolical of that relation in its most holy form. The Church of Rome, in the Absolutism of her government, as indeed in most of her services, symbolizes with the Jewish rather than the Christian dispensation ; and in the centralization and individualizing of all her power in one man upon earth, creates an irresponsible spiritual despotism which has no scriptural foundation, and is utterly subversive of the true character of that revelation which has been given to man by God in Jesus Christ. Moreover, that which is claimed as Catholic, is not so even in the sense which the Romanist puts upon the word, and clearly is not so in its truest meaning ; for true Catholicity has greater reference to the spirit and the heart, than the head, and contains within it a capacity for the embracing of all God's children, be they who they may and where they may. The Catholicity that is maintained by excommunication alone, will be found totally unfitted to meet the mighty spiritual movement, and the various spiritual necessities and exigencies that are on the eve of development. Rome desires to thrust on the intellectual growth and the vigorous spiritual life of this age the antiquated and cumbrous rules and observances of the middle ages ; she would thus either crush or turn them to purposes of evil ; she has no heart large enough to admit within it the whole family of God ; and, in the selfishness of her ecclesiastical tyranny, would force into hopeless licentiousness all who have been too long free to submit, without more potent reasons than she can give them, to complete restraint. And here it is that Protestantism, with all its evils, or rather the portion of Christ's Church maintaining the principle for which Protestantism contends, will

surely prove the instrument in God's hand for the accomplishment of any purpose of mercy which he may have in store for man, to be developed before the close of this dispensation ; for it is the maintainer of sound scriptural doctrine, the manifester of God as the *Father* in Jesus Christ, and the true expositor of the grounds and limits of Christian liberty in relation to the true powers of spiritual government. To say that there is no righteous principle in Protestantism, because of the many sects whom Moëhler and others call by the name of Protestant, is not more just than it would be to assert that the Church of Rome never had, nor has, any truth of God within her, because of the wild fanaticism and blasphemous absurdities which have characterized some of her mendicant orders ; or that the Church of Christ could be no Church at all, because of the heresies of Cerinthus, Nestorius, Eutyches, and others.

Our object has been to show, generally, what Romanism implies and contains as an integral part of her polity—what are its spirit and its effects ; and we have not entered into the discussion of doctrines farther than was necessary to our purpose. We are quite aware, that to reasonings such as those which have been brought forward, Rome presents an iron front ; and it is not in aggression, but defence, that we have used them. It is not likely that the faith of any conscientious Roman Catholic will be shaken by what has been written ; for the probability is, that it will not meet the eye of any who could so soon be troubled ; but if there be any whose duty and office require them to peruse this article, and who may feel thereby offended, we entreat them to believe, that to give personal offence to any man, or to treat lightly and scoffingly the things which, it may be, he holds to be most holy and true, is the farthest thing from our thoughts. Indeed, sorrow, and not anger, is the feeling with which we rise from this task—sorrow, that human systems should have defiled in anywise that Church which, in the gift and purpose of God, is so pure and beautiful ; sorrow, in the painful conviction that the necessity of defending Protestant contention for the truth of God should involve an accusatory enumeration of the evils of Romanism. Many blessed things have been taught and inculcated by the Roman Catholic Church ; many instances of exemplary devotion, unwearied toil, and unaffected piety have been and are manifested by her servants ; and it is unjust to deny that the world owes her much for the noble ecclesiastical and charitable endowments which, in obedience to her precepts, have been founded. If the benevolences of the monastic institutions in the middle ages are to be regarded simply, as some would have

it, as the result of the feudal system, wherein every lord was bound to support his vassals and retainers—a rule equally applicable to lords, law and ecclesiastic—that which has survived the feudal system cannot be so explained. The society of the “Sisters of Charity,” and the voluntary associations, in some lands, of the noble and wealthy, under the Church’s sanction and direction, for works of charity and benevolence, are worthy the consideration and qualified imitation of Protestants. We do not, in saying this, at all admit what many have so hardly asserted, and would gladly prove, that there is no such thing as charity among Protestants; on the contrary, *individual charities* are nowhere so largely and extensively exercised as amongst them; and they greatly mistake who fancy their amount comprised in the imposing lists which appear from day to day in the papers and elsewhere—still it would be well, if our charities were less desultory, less ostentatious, and more under the sanction and by the act of the Church. We think, also, that Protestantism may well take a lesson from the Roman Catholic Church as to the power she has ever manifested of engaging the best energies of her children in her behalf. Their wealth, their talents, and their genius have been at her disposal; and the magnificent structures devoted to the worship of God—the works of art which adorn them, wherever they have been spared by the ruthless hand of time, or the ruder hand of the revolutionary spoiler, testify to her successful influence. Men wrought with, as it were, inspiration—they wrought with enthusiasm, and with most happy results; for they believed that they were working for the glory of God, and that their labour was acceptable; and, whatever error might in any way be mingled with the thought, better, far better was it that the heart should be warmed to energetic expression, and the nobler impulses of man’s nature should be directed into action, in such ways, than that, as now, the cold and sceptical calculation of a selfish spirit should lead men to see for how little God may be served, or with how little he may be glorified and honoured. If Rome had exerted half the influence which thus successfully commanded the best energies of men in her service, in leading them aright in the amelioration of suffering, and softening the cruel spirit of a barbarous age, we should not have had, in this day, to mourn for her deep corruption, and defend the Reformation.

Protestantism contends for the ministry of God’s word—Romanism for the worship of God. The abuse of the one is self-constituted and unauthoritative preaching; the abuse of the other is superstition. That which every true servant of

God must do is to learn from both—to give to each their proper place, and sever the truth from the error—to believe that the *Catholic* Church really is, what it shall hereafter be manifested to be, a far larger, higher, and holier thing than either Romanism or Protestantism has yet shown it. The wants of men are of a more extensive and pitiable nature than they have ever been; the cry of affliction, not from physical evils only, but from spirits worn by uncertain debates and wearied thoughts, which find no resting-place, is daily ascending up on high—disunion and strife have brought in disease and suffering to the whole social system, and there is need of men of God on every hand, with hearts to feel for, with intelligence to comprehend, and with power to minister to the wretched condition of their fellows. We know of none who can meet this demand, save the pastors of Christ's Church, standing in the faith of their office, with Catholic minds and hearts for the understanding of all God's purpose of mercy, and the passing beyond all sectarian views. Our prayer is, that, in an hour when they are so much needed, they may not be wanting!

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ART. III.—*The Ecclesiastical History of M. L'abbé Fleury, from the Second Œcumenical Council (held at Constantinople, A.D. 331), to the end of the Fourth Century.* Translated, with Notes, and an Essay on the Miracles of the Period. Oxford. 1842.

OUR observations will be confined to the preliminary essay, which has a dangerous tendency to revive superstitious notions, such as infected the Church of Rome, respecting ecclesiastical miracles. The author (Mr. Newman) asserts that "modern ideas" have been too sceptical on this subject; and if this assertion be true, it should warn us to avoid extremes, and particularly not to run into the opposite fault of credulity. In the essay is betrayed, by unbecoming sneers, considerable prejudice against "Protestants" and "Protestant divinity." (p. 151 A). This word, it is well known, was first adopted by those who protested against the decree of the diet of Spire, A.D. 1529, prohibiting farther reforms in religion, particularly by abolishing the mass; and "Protestant" has since come to mean, generally, every one who is opposed to the errors and system of the Church of Rome. We are among those who are not ashamed of this title; for it is one of defence, not of aggression or arrogance, and was intended to mark the persons who, in difficult

times, followed, according to their consciences, the Gospel of Christ, in the simplicity of Scripture truth. That the word, in its precise meaning, is too low and inadequate, must be granted; and, indeed, there is none equal to Christian. We may be comforted by the thought, that the Church of Christ was never so pure as when its members were called, in scorn, Nazarenes and Galileans; and also by considering that it is better to raise the value of a poor term, than to bring disgrace upon a good one, as has been the case with the words Goppler, Bigot, Puritan, Jesuit; and even "Catholic" now commonly signifies a Papist.

If Warburton, and Douglas, and Paley have too much disparaged ecclesiastical miracles, we must remember that their suspicions, just and wholesome suspicions, were aroused by the superstitious abuses of the Romish Church, and by what the author himself calls (p. 25) the "romantic character" of these miracles; and it is inconsistent in him to ascribe to Protestants generally a belief, that Christianity, after its first introduction, has been "unattended by any special divine presence, or any immediately supernatural gift" (p. 72); while, in this essay, he brings forward Grotius, Barrow, Dodwell, Mosheim, Jortin, Lardner, as witnesses in favour of the truth of many ecclesiastical miracles.

At page 73, this sentence occurs:—

"If we disbelieve the divinity of the Church, then we shall do our best to deny that the facts attested are miraculous, even admitting them to be true."

What is meant by "the divinity of the Church," is further explained at page 95—

"What ecclesiastical history inculcates is the doctrine of an abiding presence of divinity, such as dwelt upon the ark, showing itself as it would, and when it would, and without fixed rules; which was seated primarily in the body of Christians, and manifested itself sometimes in persons, sometimes in places, as the case might be, in saintly men, or 'in babes and sucklings,' or in the very stones of the temple; which for a while was latent, and then became manifest again, which, to some persons, places or generations was an evidence, and to others, was not."

Under this vague and specious description lurks that principle of the Romish Church, which, claiming for a body of fallible men through successive ages divine power, indefinite and irresponsible, proved injurious to the liberties of mankind and to Scripture truth. The reader's mind has been prepared to receive the theory here expressed by a train of subtle argument and special pleading, which we now propose to examine—



"Sacred history is distinguished from profane by the nature of the facts which enter into its composition, and which are not always such as occur in the ordinary course of things, but are extraordinary and divine. Miracles are its characteristic, whether it be viewed as scriptural or ecclesiastical: the history of religion is necessarily of a theological cast, and is occupied with the supernatural."—*Introduction*.

These assertions cannot be taken as statements of the truth: for sacred history is characterized, not simply by miracles, which abound in profane history, but by miracles tending to promote holiness and virtue upon earth, and to bring life and immortality to light; and, since the apostles, the chief distinguishing marks of the Church have been the godly lives and deaths of faithful Christians.

"The very rumour of the manifestation of this supernatural agency will interest the Christian mind, from the certainty of its existence."—*Id.*

Yes; but supernatural agency is not necessarily miraculous. The providence of God continually upholds and preserves the works of creation, the order of the heavenly bodies, and the course of nature, but not miraculously. Undoubtedly, the history of the Christian Church has to deal with supernatural things—with eternity, with heaven and hell, with the redemption of mankind by faith in the one only Saviour, with "the means of grace and the hope of glory." But supernatural truths, having been once revealed, remain the same for ever, with or without miracles, which must be of rare occurrence, or they would cease to be wonders. Neither are miracles the best evidence of these truths: "If men hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." (Luke xvi. 31). The revelation of God's written word\* is the lasting and recorded miracle for the rational conviction of mankind, and is generally sufficient for that purpose. God forbid that we should presume to limit the divine agency; but we believe that ordinarily, in ecclesiastical history, as in the natural world, the superintendence of Providence is imperceptible, except by the results, and not miraculous. For instance, in that great work, the Reformation, the "Protestant" Reformation of religion, God endued many men in many places,

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\* "It cannot be with any reason supposed, that when a divine testimony is already confirmed by miracles undoubtedly divine, new miracles should be wrought in the Church to assure us of the truth of it."—*Bishop Stillingfleet*. Orig. Sac. b. 2. x. 5. The Bishop quotes St. Chrysostom, "Miracles were very useful in the first ages of the Church, but not now; for now we manifest the truth of what we speak from the sacred Scriptures, and the miracles they wrought." Hom. in 1 Cor. ii.; Hom. 6, p. 276, tom. iii., Ed. Eton. St. Austin also says, "Accepimus, majores nostros visibilia miracula secutos esse, per quos id actum est ut necessaria non esset posteris. De Ver. Relig. c. 25.

at the same time, his chosen instruments and servants, not with miraculous gifts, but with faith, holiness, learning, and courageous constancy, to abate and cut down the rank growth of corruptions and tyrannical abuses in the Church, and to disencumber the spouse of Christ of unseemly and meretricious ornaments, in order to restore her afresh in native purity. Such a task could not have been begun, nor proceeded in, without the Holy Spirit; but there is no occasion to claim continually his miraculous operation.

"There is no antecedent objection or presumption against ecclesiastical miracles generally, because they follow upon apostolic miracles, and are referable to the same author and all-sufficient cause. Whatever be the regularity and stability of nature, interference with it can be, because it has been. There is One who both has power over his own work, and who has not been unwilling to exercise it. In this point of view, then, ecclesiastical miracles are more advantageously circumstanced than those of Scripture. What has happened once may happen again," &c.—*Section ii.*, p. 15.

This special pleading is founded in sophistry; because, though the argument is true in the abstract, it is false in this particular instance; for the writers of Scripture were under divine inspiration, which preserved them from stating untruths involuntarily. But all accounts of ecclesiastical miracles are liable to mistakes, and some of them can only be swallowed by ravenous credulity and superstition. If it be once established that miracles in the Church are events not only not improbable, but so extremely probable that they are to be expected, two very dangerous inferences follow: first, that holy Scripture is not sufficient for its declared purpose—the salvation of souls; and, secondly, that a Church without miracles cannot be in a safe state, nor on a true foundation. And these two inferences are actually drawn by the Church of Rome, to which this author approaches more nearly than he is himself perhaps aware of.

Even the plea that "the occurrence of miracles is rather a presumption for than against their recurrence" (p. 22), will go for little or nothing with those who believe that "holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation;" particularly since it has always been a favourite plea with enthusiasts, however deluded, and with impostors—for example, with the American Mormons, whose plea it is that they possess a new written revelation.

In this essay, so partial a view is taken of the subject, that the author never seems to have given a thought to the claims of miracles in profane history; and yet it would be a hard and rash, not to say impious, supposition for a Christian to make,

that the Gentile world, by far the greater part of the human race, have been left, ages after ages, without supernatural agency for their welfare, while it is admitted that such agency is exercised for their extreme harm. Again, this sentence occurs, p. 22 :—

“ If we conquer, our indisposition towards the news of an alteration in the laws of nature by reflecting on the sovereignty of the Creator, let us not be religious by halves—let us submit our imaginations to the full idea of that inscrutable Sovereignty, nor presume to confine it within bounds narrower than are prescribed by his own attributes.”

“ Submit our imaginations !” What is this but a description of credulity ? From such seed we may expect, without claiming the gift of prophecy, a plentiful crop of miracles, superstitions, and intolerance.

It may be said that such results are better than infidelity, indifference, and latitudinarian notions ; but why, in order to shun one fault, should we run into its contrary fault ? No standard is infallible but the holy Scriptures, and everything human is infected with evil. It is, therefore, not only our right, but our duty, to examine the accounts of ecclesiastical miracles with severe and jealous caution, lest we should fasten a tissue of errors and corruptions upon our holy religion. If such accounts can stand the same exact scrutinies which have been applied, in innumerable ways, to test the truth of the word of God, and have proved it, almost beyond dispute, we reverently receive these evidences of divine interposition, as we trace with awe and veneration the progressive fulfilment of prophecies. We are glad to find that this essay admits all along a distinction between ecclesiastical and scriptural miracles. Natural philosophy, since Lord Bacon’s time, has cast away the shackles of systems founded on hypothesis, and makes its slow, painful, but sure and glorious way by the inductive method, by observation and experiment. We cannot submit to bringing religion again under the yoke of preconceived opinions, however respectable the authority from which they issue ; our appeal lies to facts, which, in Tertullian’s sublime language, are “ God’s arguments ”—“ *Res est Dei ratio.*”—*De Penitentiâ*, c. 1.

We acknowledge, with thankfulness to the divine Author of all goodness, that of late years there has been a growth of religious feeling in this nation and in the world. There has been a re-action against the scepticism which prevailed fifty years ago, and a yearning for devotion. This craving want is not to be supplied by bringing back obsolete mouldering superstitions, nor by sentimental visions and metaphorical impressions, the offspring of hot fancies and cold hearts, nor by flights into

the "palpable obscure" of mysticism; but by a rational, manly, hearty piety, busied about the duties of life towards God and man, and faithful in good works; not under the presumptuous hope that they will merit heaven, but as the proofs of a state of grace and the necessary consequences of a sincere and lively faith in our crucified Saviour.

There is one consequence of blending ecclesiastical with scriptural miracles very dangerous and very obvious, because it is matter of experience, but which is unnoticed in this essay, viz., that persons, sickened and disgusted with the gross stories and "frivolous and scandalous vanities" of legends, may extend their incredulity to the accounts in the Scriptures, lumping all in the same mass. There is, indeed, a distinction drawn in the essay between these two sets or families of miracles, plain enough in a written theory, but too nice and fine for common use. "Protestant divinity" has produced one good effect upon those who oppose and scoff at it—it has forced them to quote Scripture. The author quotes Mark xvi. 17, 18, as his last argument, and it is his best. This promise of our Saviour concerning miraculous gifts, as it cannot be construed to extend at any time to all believers, nor even to all preachers of the Gospel, so neither to any persons at all times. It is as presumptuous and as irreligious to extend as to limit the bounds of this promise—to assert the certainty and continuance of miracles too confidently, as to reject them too sceptically. One of these promises, "They shall speak with new tongues," was specially fulfilled to the apostles; and it is remarkable, that since their time the gift has never even been claimed, in any age of the Church, by her missionaries, although it should seem to be, of all miraculous gifts, the one in their case most needful. To the disgrace of our time, some poor creatures, mixing folly and credulity, have claimed a very different faculty, that of speaking with unknown tongues, neither understood by themselves nor by others.

At page 65, it is said, "Ecclesiastical miracles are dimly seen in twilight and in shadows, *because inspiration was not continued*:" is it not therefore reasonable to sift the evidence in their favour with great caution? But the author draws a very different conclusion, in these words:—"Let us not quarrel with a circumstance which is but the consequence of the acknowledged absence of the necessary cause;" in plain English, let us make up for the want of inspiration by credulity.

The essay is divided into four sections. We have considered the substance of the four first—an exposition, namely, of the argument, that the divine agency, confessedly operating in the Church and among Christians, may be expected to produce

miracles in all ages. This argument, dangerous in itself, is rendered more objectionable by the overstrained manner of handling it; which ingeniously conveys these impressions—that those who deny the general expectation of miracles in Christ's Church, deny the specific accounts of all miracles recorded therein, deny the divine agency in the Church, and are men religious by halves; and that this semi-infidelity is the character of Protestantism. These inferences, we say, are not founded in truth; and they are insinuated invidiously by a side-wind, unfairly and unjustly. The Romanists must rejoice to find that within the fortress, which they never cease to assail, a secret passage for their entrance is opened by some of the garrison within the walls.

In conclusion, the author quotes declarations of the continuance of miracles in general from the early fathers—Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen,\* Cyprian. He adds—

“This is the very language which we are accustomed to use, when facts are so notorious that the *onus dubitandi* may fairly be thrown upon those who question them. All that can be said is, that the facts are not notorious to us—certainly not; but the fathers wrote for contemporaries, not for the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, not for modern notions and theories, for distant countries, for a degenerate people and a disunited Church. They did not foresee that evidence would become a science, that doubt would be thought a merit, and disbelief a privilege; that it would be in favour and condescension to them if they were credited, and in charity that they were accounted honest. They did not so disparage the spouse of Christ as to imagine that they would be accounted, by professing Christians, a school of error, and a workshop of fraud and imposture.” (p. 103-4).

We do not wince under the bitter eloquence of these charges, for we do not deserve them. In spite of them, we contend for the reverse proposition, namely, that the *onus probandi* rests upon those who relate accounts of miracles, as it rests upon all who relate facts: and the burden is more weighty if the facts alleged are of an extraordinary, and weightier still, if of a supernatural description. The Bereans are termed noble, not only because “they received the word with all readiness of mind,” but also because they did not receive it implicitly trusting to

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\* In fairness, it ought to have been stated that Origen fastens upon Celsus the inconsistency of allowing that magicians worked miracles; but “no magician (he adds) ever taught moral virtue, or sought, by a good life, the approbation of God,” as Christians are accustomed to do. (*Origen. Contra Cels.*, b. i., near the end).

The proof of divine miracles is therefore here placed, upon their being wrought by means of good men, for good purposes, with good results. Such was our Lord's reasoning with those blasphemers who said he cast out devils by Beelzebub. (Matt. xii. 24).

others, but "searched the Scriptures daily whether those things were so."\*

We come now to Section v. "on the evidence for particular alleged miracles;" and nothing can be better than the following sentence, p. 105 :—

"An enquirer should not enter upon the subject of the miracles, reported or alleged in ecclesiastical history, without being prepared for fiction and exaggeration in the narrative, to an indefinite extent. This cannot be insisted on too often; nothing but the gift of inspiration could have hindered it. Nay, he must not expect that more than a few can be exhibited with evidence of so cogent and complete a character as to demand his acceptance."

*Si sic omnia!* Again, p. 112 :—

"It as little derogates from the supernatural gift residing in the Church, that miracles should have been fabricated or exaggerated, as it prejudices her holiness, that within her pale good men are mixed with bad. Fiction and pretence follow truth as its shadows. The Church is at all times in the midst of corruption, because she is in the midst of the world, and is framed of human hearts; and as the elect are fewer than the reprobate,† and hard to find amid the chaff, so false miracles at once exceed, and conceal and prejudice those which are genuine."

This is excellent; and if the essay had begun here, without any attempt to pre-occupy the reader's judgment, this, in our opinion, would have been a more manly and convincing course of argument. In the same judicious spirit is quoted this passage from "a very careful and learned writer, not a member of the Church :"—

"The history of Gregory Thaumaturgus (says Lardner‡), as delivered by authors of the present and following centuries, particularly by Gregory of Nyssa, it is to be found, has in it somewhat of fiction; but there can be no reasonable doubt made but he was very successful in making converts to Christianity, in the country of Pontus, about the middle of the third century; and that, beside his natural and acquired abilities, he was favoured with extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and wrought miracles of surprising power. The plain and express testimonies of Basil and others, at no great distance of place from Gregory, must be reckoned sufficient grounds of credit with regard to these things. Theodoret, mentioning Gregory and his brother, and Firmilian, and Helenas, altogether, ascribes miracles to none but him alone. They were all bishops of the first rank; nevertheless, Gregory had a distinction even among them. It is the same thing in Jerome's letter

\* Acts xvii. 11.

† We "protest" against the word "reprobate" here, which requires explanation. ‡ Credib. ii. 42; s. 5.

to Magnus ; there are mentioned Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Dionysius of Alexandria, and many others of great note and eminence for learning and piety. But Theodore, afterwards called Gregory, is the only one who is called a man of apostolical signs and wonders."

This calm and discriminating appeal to our reason has more effect in convincing us, we must confess, than pages of elaborate and impassioned rhetoric. We trust we come unbiassed to the examination of "the evidence for and against certain miracles," to which the author now proceeds, having "thrown off the abstract and unreal character which attends a course of reasoning;" we must watch whether he has been able to throw off his prejudices. The first miracle he examines is that of the Thundering Legion ; and we are sorry to say the proofs are brought out, for and against, in the text and in the notes, after the manner of a skilful partizan or advocate, who affects to make an impartial statement, while he leans to one side. In the fourteenth year of his reign, A.D. 174, the Emperor M. Antoninus, being engaged in battle against the Quadi, a people on the Danube, not far from the town of Lintz, found that his army was reduced to great straits by drought : on a sudden they were refreshed by a plentiful shower of rain, which relief enabled the Romans to gain the victory over their enemies, who were at the same time distressed by a storm of lightning. It is alleged, both by heathens and Christians, that this providential deliverance was miraculous. From Antoninus's pillar, still extant at Rome, Baronius gives a print of a sculpture of this prodigy, in which appears Jupiter Pluvius sending down rain upon one army, and lightning upon the other. Dion Cassius, a heathen, who finished his history not long before A.D. 230, ascribes what took place to divine appointment, in consequence of the invocations and rites of Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, then present with the Emperor Marcus.

If this was the amount of evidence, wholly Pagan, would Mr. Newman admit, not the facts of the relief of the Romans and the defeat of their opponents (for of these there is no doubt), but would he admit the supernatural agency ? Perhaps not : but he claims it, as an answer to the prayers of the Christian soldiers present on this occasion in the emperor's army :—

"Under the circumstances, I do not see what remains to be proved. Here is an army in extreme jeopardy, with Christians in it; the enemy is destroyed, and they (the Roman army) are delivered. And Apollinaris, Tertullian, and Eusebius, attest that these Christians in the army prayed, and that the deliverance was felt (that is, by the

Christians, not by the army) at the time to be an answer to their prayers. What remains but to accept their statement? We, who are Christians, as well as they, can feel no hesitation on the score that Pagan writers attribute the occurrence to another cause—to magic, or to false gods. Surely we may accept the evidence of the latter to the fact, without taking their hypothetical explanation of it." (p. 121).

"What remains but to accept their statement?" It remains to analyze that statement, and to test its value.

Bishop Apollinaris\* lived at the time, but his works are lost, and the passage in question is found in Eusebius, who lived a century later, and who prefaces the quotation by "It is said," and thinks it necessary to support the account by the testimony of Tertullian. "It seems (says Lardner†) that Eusebius chiefly relied upon Tertullian for the truth of this relation."

Tertullian, in that noble work, his "Apology," A.D. 202—one of the most precious remains of the early Church—is arguing that the emperors who persecuted the Christians were bad men, as Nero and Domitian. He challenges any one to point out a persecutor among the princes who had a character for religion and humanity:—

"On the contrary (he continues), we can allege the worthy Emperor, M. Aurelius, or Antoninus, as our patron. If his letters‡ (or rescript to the Senate) be consulted, he testifies to the quenching of that German thirst by the shower gained by the prayers of soldiers who happened to be Christian."

Tertullian adds, that "while this emperor did not openly remove the legal punishment from persons of that description, yet he did, in fact, dispense with it, by placing a penalty, and that a more fearful one, on their accusers." The same author again says, *ad Scapulam*, c. 4:—"Marcus Aurelius, in the German expedition, obtained showers in that thirst by the prayers offered up to God by Christian soldiers."

Now it appears that neither Apollinaris, Tertullian, nor Eusebius, saw this rescript§ of the emperor, although a public document; and whoever will attend to the statements of Mosheim and Lardner on the point, will, we think, be convinced that Tertullian attributed, by mistake, to M. Antoninus the edict, A.D. 138, of his predecessor, Antoninus the Pious,

\* The extract from Apollinaris, in Eusebius, attributes the title of the Thundering Legion to the wonderful event there recorded. But Joseph Scaliger, who brought unequalled learning to the cause of "Protestant divinity," has shown, that from the time of Augustus one Legion was called "Thundering."

† Cred., vol. vii. p. 441.

‡ Tertul. Apol., c. 5.

§ The pretended rescript, sometimes printed at the end of Justin Martyr's "Apology," is given up as a forgery of the seventh century.



who is often confounded with Marcus. Notwithstanding Tertullian's rhetorical expressions, it is notorious that the Emperor Marcus was, upon system, derived chiefly, perhaps, from his excessive and pedantic devotion to philosophy, "falsely so-called," a bitter persecutor of the Christians during all his long reign of nineteen years. The essay admits that "he was in course of persecution against the Church, both before and after the date of this rescript;" and only three years afterwards, A.D. 177, occurred that most severe persecution of the Christians at Lyons and Vienne, in Gaul.

This momentary act of mercy and favour towards the Christians, on the part of this prince, is therefore improbable; nor does there appear any motive for it, because the emperor publicly ascribed his extraordinary deliverance in Germany to Jupiter Pluvius. On the other hand, it appears extremely natural that the Christians should say, if this was an instance of supernatural agency, it could only have been wrought by the will of the one true living God, of whom the heathen are ignorant, and whom we worship; and who may, on this occasion, have graciously heard our prayers. The consideration of the whole matter cannot be better closed than in the words of Eusebius—"Of these things let every one judge as he sees fit."\*

The second miracle referred to is, "the change of water into oil by St. Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, about A.D. 200," recorded by Eusebius (b. vi. 9), as a tradition of the Church of Jerusalem. The report is summed up thus:—

"I do not see that we can be said actually to *believe* in a miracle, like that now in question, of which so little is known in detail—but we cannot be said to *disbelieve* it."

We wish we could say, that the process of the reasoning is as impartial as the result. Eusebius adds, concerning Narcissus, that he was falsely accused of some great crime by three men, who supported their calumny by imprecations against themselves, if it were false; and they all three perished separately by the very judgments they had invoked.

"Though we should allow (observes the author) that this history is embellished, it surely adds to the probability of the miracle before us, that it is attributed to a man, not only so close upon apostolic times and persons, so holy, so aged, but, in addition, so strangely tried, so strangely righted. It removes the abruptness and marvellousness of what, at first sight, looks like 'naked history,' as Paley calls it, or what we commonly understand by a legend. Such a man may well be accounted 'worthy for whom Christ should do this; and if the foregoing circumstances are

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\* Eusebius Eccles. Hist., b. 5, c. 5.

true, not only in outline, but in detail, then still greater probability is added to the miracle.'” (p. 124).

This loose and feeble statement cannot be called argument. If a miraculous account is to be received, because another precedes it, and they both relate to a good Christian, we must be prepared for many marvellous stories, such as occur in the “Lives of the Saints” (here quoted), in legends, to which word Dr. Johnson annexes a very different meaning from “naked history.” Our minds, instead of being inured to the simplicity of truth, will be pampered with “romantic traditions,” and “sacred panegyric discourses;” words which are in the essay applied (p. 128)—3. “Miracle wrought on the course of the river Lycus”) to Gregory of Nyssa’s life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, or the wonder-worker.

We have already seen (page 23) that the author quotes with praise Lardner’s observations on his life, in answer to the disparaging remarks of Douglas, Cave, and Jortin; and yet, two pages afterwards, p. 129, he inconsistently and uncereceremoniously throws Lardner overboard, after having availed himself as far as he could of his services. “Would not St. Gregory’s simple answer be, that he did not write for Dr. Lardner? That candid writer seems to forget this, when he speaks of his oration as follows:”—

“It is plain, it is a panegyric, not a history. Nyssen is so intent upon the marvellous, that he has scarce any regard to common things; he relates distinctly the mysterious faith which Gregory received one night from John the Evangelist; but he dispatches in a very few words the instructions which Gregory received from Origen, though he was five years under his tuition, and had before him excellent materials to enlarge upon concerning that part of our bishop’s history. Then he takes little or no notice of circumstances of time and place, or the names of persons; these he omits, as things of no moment. If all he aimed at was to entertain us with a fine piece of oratory, it may afford us some good entertainment, but will hardly be a ground for much faith; for a story to be amusing, is one thing—to be credible, another.”—*Lardner. Cred. iii. 34.*

Be silenced, Dr. Lardner; keep your learning and your critical sagacity to yourself: this good man, Gregory Nyssen, did not write for you, or such as you. Did we go too far in stating at the outset, that this essay “threatens to bring us back to the superstitious notions of the Church of Rome, respecting ecclesiastical miracles?” Here we see the fate of candid neutrals, of the followers of the *via media*; zealots will use their aid as far as they can, and then dismiss them with obloquy. And if such is the treatment they receive from a man of learning

and ability, and of first-rate education, and who knows that he is watched by keen-sighted opponents, what, if his school should spread, is to be expected from his disciples, but less vigour of mind, more credulity under the garb of religion, and an intolerant bigotry, which will bear neither opponent nor rival ?

4. "Appearance of the cross in the sky to Constantine, A.D. 311, 312."

The evidences for and against this alleged miracle are, upon the whole, impartially quoted ; but still, not with the distinct and masterly arrangement of Lardner ; and it is unpleasant to have to acknowledge that a Dissenter excels a Churchman in a statement of facts. The truth is, the author, as usual, does not depend upon facts and arguments addressed to the reader's understanding, but is anxious to make such an impression on his feelings as should leave reason little to do in deciding the matter in dispute. Thus he treats it :—

"Here the fact reported is plainly miraculous. If, in matter of fact, our Lord was then addressing Constantine, it seems trifling to make it a grave point, to prove that he did so in this way, and not in that. The *a priori* aspect of the reported miracle, if it is to be so called, is in its favour. The approaching conversion of the Roman empire, in the person of its head, was as great an event as any in the Christian history. Constantine's submission of his power to the Church has been a pattern for all Christian monarchs since, and the commencement of her State establishment to this day ; and, on the other hand, the fortunes of the Roman empire are in prophecy apparently connected with her in a very intimate manner, which we are not yet able fully to comprehend. If any event might be said to call for a miracle, it was this ; whether to signalize it, or to bring it about. One should be inclined then to receive the wonderful event in question on very slight evidence, if that were good so far as it went. It is, on the whole, sufficient, yet not without its difficulties." (p. 135).

Possibly Constantine received, or wished to think himself, and that others should think, that he received, some divine intimation which influenced him in favour of Christianity. But for this intimation, and for the appearance of the cross in the sky, we have only Constantine's own-statement, privately made to Eusebius many years afterwards ;\* Eusebius himself acknowledging that upon any other person's word, it would not be believed. There is an elaborate attempt to meet Gibbon's difficulty, that "not a single testimony of the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries can be produced for the vision :—" but we miss the powers of a Watson or a Horsley.

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\* Euseb. de Vitâ Constantin., b. i. c. 28.

5. The discovery of the holy cross, A.D. 326, by St. Helena, mother of Constantine ; who, at the age of eighty, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Suppose we grant to the author all his postulates on this article:—1st. That the silence of Eusebius, concerning the discovery of the cross on which Jesus suffered, is unimportant, although this historian gives a very particular\* account of the clearing the ground, in order to discover our Lord's sepulchre ; that certain passages in Eusebius's writings allude obscurely to this discovery of the cross ; that St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, who wrote forty years afterwards, is to be implicitly believed in his assertion—

“The holy wood of the cross is Christ's witness, which is seen among us to this day, and by means of those who have in faith taken thereof, has from this place now almost filled the whole world.” (p. 148).

And supposing that the difference of circumstances in the accounts of the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, concerning the finding of the true cross, is a matter of no moment : suppose all this, and what useful result can there be ? *Quid tum portea ?* The cross, said to be found, truly or not, by Helena, has disappeared, with its fragments. The discussion, indeed, introduces these remarks :—

“Even admitting the true cross was discovered, it would be still open to Protestants to refuse to regard it with interest or reverence, and they would, doubtless, exercise their right. The cross on which Christ suffered would be, in their eyes, but a piece of wood ; or again, as they sometimes speak both of it, and of the sign of it, it would be a something loathsome and hateful, bringing our Lord under the curse, rather than sanctified by Him ; and that the more, because, like the brazen serpent, it had been the occasion of superstition and idolatry.” (p. 154).

This injurious and unfounded imputation upon Protestants generally, shows deep-rooted prejudice ; and it is cast upon the members of the Church, in which the writer is an ordained minister. Here is indeed, a confession, that material objects of devotion have been, both in the Jewish and Christian Church, the occasion of superstition and idolatry. And we trust this acknowledgment goes to prove, that there is still a broad distinction between the author's opinions and those of the Romish Church. But—

“This controversy, it seems, has been revived with the view, not simply of disproving the fact, which is a point of secondary importance, but affixing upon the fathers of the Church of the fourth century the

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\* De Vitâ Constant. iii. 26.

imputation of deliberate imposture, and that for selfish ends; the simple question is, in this view, whether they were very credulous or very profligate." (p. 154, and note).

"When, then, writers set themselves to oppose passages of history, such as that now before us (so the question in dispute has been imperceptibly settled), it is for a far bolder purpose than is directly implied in their opposition; it is, of course, in order to depreciate or destroy the authority of the Church; it is an attempt to transfer the quarrel between her religion and their own, from the province of opinion to the ground of matter of fact." (*Ibid.*)

There seems little cause for the author's displeasure, for he adds—

"Perhaps such controversialists are fairer to the Church than to themselves. For it stands to reason which party is the *more likely* to be right in a question of topographical fact—men who lived three hundred years after it, and on the spot, or those who live eighteen hundred, and at the antipodes." (p. 155).

One would suppose from the author's triumphant tone, that all the contemporaries of St. Helena had confirmed the account of her finding the cross; whereas they are all silent on the subject. His last paragraph may be briefly answered thus: the inhabitants of Jerusalem, in the fourth century, had a bias in this matter which does not at present exist; many of them found it their interest to support the account in question, and Bishop Cyril, and others with him, though possessing a nobler nature above filthy lucre, had yet a party to defend. There is no occasion to suppose the fathers alluded to very credulous, or very profligate; times and circumstances must be taken into the account. They had also taken up a theory on the subject ardently and honestly, and identified with it the cause of the Church and of Gospel truth. In this essay there is adopted, as we think, an overstrained theory with regard to ecclesiastical miracles, although "the author is quite prepared to find his views condemned by many readers as subtle and sophistical." (p. 215). What will the readers of this essay think of the following passage? "Whether there was one cross or three (at St. Helena's discovery), some *mode* of recognizing it is implied in the very idea of recognition; and a miraculous recognition is the most natural and obvious hypothesis. Nay, the very fact, that a beam of wood should be found undecayed after so long a continuance in the earth, would in most cases be a miracle." (p. 153). And perhaps there are few imaginations which are once able to surmount the shock of hearing that the very cross on which our Lord suffered was really recovered, but will be little sensible of difficulty in the addi-

tional statement, that "miracles were wrought by it," such as the "restoring a sick, dying, or dead person," and that this cross gave off fragments of itself without diminishing, "having imbibed this undecaying virtue and this unwasting solidity from the blood of that flesh which underwent death, yet saw not corruption." (p. 152). This last paragraph is a quotation from Paulinus, and Mr. Newman does not say that he believes the statement; but no doubt he would be less inclined to blame those who do believe it than the Protestants, who are contumacious enough to abide by facts, rather than by opinions. Such persons, it seems, have an ulterior, though unavowed purpose, namely, to "depreciate and destroy the authority of the Church." Of what Church? we may ask. The imputation is cast upon "the Protestants," as a body, who certainly do not wish to destroy the authority of the Church of England, or of the Lutheran Church; but they oppose, and will oppose, the usurped and tyrannical authority of the Church of Rome, which the author seems desirous of bringing back into the Church of Christ. A man must be far gone, who, in the nineteenth century, in the heart of England, can deliberately print the sentence—"a miraculous (that is, a *supernatural*) recognition is the *most natural* and obvious hypothesis." This is not only admiring, but entering the region of romance, and a few more steps will bring us to haunted streams and enchanted woods and castles, as matters "most natural" and to be expected.

But why all this anxiety about the discovery of the true cross? Notwithstanding the above opinions, no Christian could behold it without emotion, if it had been preserved to our time, particularly on the spot hallowed by so many pious recollections. Far from us and from our friends be "such frigid philosophy as may conduct us, indifferent and unmoved," over Jerusalem, or Marathon, or Iona. But in proportion to our reverence for things and places thus consecrated, should we be careful to guard against impostures and mistakes concerning them. The same feeling, not of indifference, but of reverence, would make us disgusted at finding them the subjects of frivolous and abject superstitions, such as are exhibited sometimes in Roman Catholic countries with regard to images and paintings of the cross and our suffering Saviour.\* We

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\* In a very interesting work, the "Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland, in 1839," it is stated, p. 139—"A visit to the holy sepulchre awakened in our minds only feelings painful and revolting, from the 'lying wonders' and 'mingled folly and profanity of the whole scene.' To do the monks justice, they seemed to have as little feeling of reverence toward the holy place as we could possibly have."

have the peril of idolatry before our eyes, and fear to change a spiritual worship into outward rites merely affecting the senses.

Why this heat about the character of the fathers and of the Church of the fourth century? They were men, holy and reverend, but still not inspired like the apostles—still “men\* of like passions with ourselves;” and we may and ought to examine their principles and conduct accurately and truly, in order to discover what in them is to be imitated in this our day, and what to be avoided. If we may form an opinion from their characters and writings, they would have been the last persons to object to such a free scrutiny.

In the discussion whether Helena chose a wrong site for the holy sepulchre (an error which would overthrow the history of the discovery of the cross), the author, in arguing against Dr. Clarke and Dr. Robinson, shows the keenest discrimination, and appeals with unwearied precision to facts, in opposition to theories and traditions, and, as it appears to us, with some success. But this acuteness fails, and is lulled asleep, upon the examination of ecclesiastical miracles; for instance, in the next article which relates to the death of Arius, A.D. 336. “Constantine, having been persuaded by Arius that he had signed the creed of the Nicene Council, proceeded to force Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople, to receive Arius to communion in the Church. Alexander, then ninety-seven years old, finding himself thus pressed by the emperor, as well as by the strong Arian party, with Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, at their head, ceased to argue, and betook himself to prayer, shutting himself up in the Church, and falling on his face at the altar. Macarius, a presbyter, was with him, and related to Athanasius the substance of this prayer, which he offered with outstretched hands, in two petitions: ‘Lord, if Arius communicates to-morrow, either take me from this world, or take Arius; lest, if he enter into the Church, his heresy seem to enter with him, and henceforth religion be counted as irreligion.’† This prayer is said to have been offered about three P. M. on the Saturday, and that same evening Arius, walking in triumph with the Eusebians, was seized with sudden illness in the great square of Constantine, and on his retiring he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out, so that he died on the spot. Alexander the next day celebrated the communion with gladness, not as rejoicing in the death of any one—God forbid! but because by this event, beyond human means, God showed

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\* Acts xiv. 15.

† Athanasius, vol. i., p. 670.

his judgment against the Arian heresy, and defended his Church in opposition to the threats and authority of the Eusebian party and of the emperor."

The account of Athanasius is written carefully and temperately, and perhaps, since the apostles, no name stands higher than his in the Christian Church, which he adorned and defended during a long and most critical period, not by appeals to miracles, but by a virtuous and holy life; by sound arguments from reason and the Scriptures; by authority exercised with equal spirit, patience, and discretion; and by unshaken constancy. Still we must pause before we can be satisfied, even by the testimony, or rather the belief, of so great and good a man, that the fate of Arius was a divine judgment. We have to consider that within a year the aged Bishop Alexander died, and also the Emperor Constantine, and that under their successors Arianism flourished at Constantinople. The proofs of miracle in this case are not so strong as those in the next instance adverted to, namely, the supernatural hindrance of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, A.D. 363. Then, to assert that Arius died by divine interposition, is one thing; it is quite another that this visitation was *in answer* to the prayer of Alexander, which prayer has in it more of Paganism than of Christianity. The words of a man so aged, and encompassed by such distressing circumstances, ought not to be rigorously scanned; but they have been adopted by high authorities, by his great contemporary, Athanasius, and by the historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, who all lived a century afterwards. The Almighty reproved Job for wishing for death in the depth of his affliction, and also Elijah, the chief of the prophets, and who was translated without seeing death. No apostle, no Christian of the first three centuries, had, as far as we know, the presumption to pray for his own death as a deliverance from persecution; nor even to pray, except under immediate inspiration, that a certain miracle might be wrought in evidence of the true faith. The primitive Christians had not so learned Christ; "being reviled, they blessed; being persecuted, they suffered it;"\* and "rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Jesus Christ."† In this manner were they martyrs, confessors, and witnesses to the truth and faith of the Gospel. But this prayer contains a still more objectionable petition, that the test of truth might be the death of an opponent. Athanasius endeavours to get over this difficulty; and it occurs to the author

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\* 1 Cor. iv. 12.

† Acts v. 41.



of the essay, that "one other question may be asked, though it is of a doctrinal nature, and therefore hardly needs to be considered here, whether so solemn a denunciation as that adopted by Alexander, and so positive a reference of the event which followed to that denunciation, as a cause, are not modes of acting and judging uncongenial to the Christian religion?" (p. 173). The cases of Elijah calling down fire from heaven, of the sudden judgments inflicted on Ananias and Sapphira, and Elymas the sorcerer, are then quoted; but as these were effects of immediate inspiration, they are wide of the point at issue. We bow to the Almighty's punishments, but question whether man has of his own will a right to invoke them.

This doctrinal question, in our opinion, needs very grave consideration: for it shifts the proof of religious truth from Scripture and reason, the guides which God has given us, to miracle, by itself a disputable test; for, in this instance, the party of Arius ascribed his violent death to poison. What is much worse, this question contains the germ of religious persecution. If men are allowed, without special inspiration, to imprecate evils upon their adversaries, as God's enemies, it is but a step, and not a long one, to take the execution of them into their own hands. In general, he who curses, will, if opportunity offers, strike also; hence the penalties, the dreadful excommunications of the middle ages, the horrors of the Inquisition, the fires of Smithfield, and St. Bartholomew massacres; sanctified upon the plea, so dangerous when joined with power, that it is a lawful, useful, and righteous work to remove out of the way heretics and reprobates, whom God has rejected. These notions were engrafted into the Church of Christ from a heathen stock; for when the Pagans began in numbers to flock into the Church, they brought with them much of that Janus-faced superstition, which expressed on one side abject submission, and on the other, fierce intolerance. The Church, with the fathers and saints of the fourth century at its head, greatly improved and softened the manners of the heathen converts, and spread a purity of devotion, and a mild and peaceable virtue before unknown to them, together with a reasonable hope of eternal happiness through Christ, and a reasonable fear of future judgment. The Church became popular, and represented public opinion, when learning declined and the liberty of the senate had expired. The authority of the clergy rapidly increased, and it was only natural that they should yield to some of the delusions of a credulous age, particularly as these helped to support their authority. In all ages, some of the best and ablest men have honestly and heartily gone along

with the stream of popular delusions: witness the crusades, judicial astrology, the search after the philosopher's stone, and the touching for the king's evil. Hooker, whose wisdom in divine and human things has never been exceeded, in his short and masterly account of Calvin's proceedings at Geneva, after much praise, says—"But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Calvin did for the establishment of his discipline seemeth more commendable than that which he taught for the countenance of it established."\*

To bring back the authority of the Church or clergy in England, at the present day, to the standard of the fourth century, is neither practicable nor desirable. It is a fine moral spectacle to contemplate the Archbishop St. Ambrose taking his stand before the entrance of the great church at Milan, and refusing admittance to the Arian Empress Justina, and communion to the Emperor Theodosius, until the sovereign had shown, by his submission to the penance of the Church for eight months, that he was sorry for the inhuman massacre at Thessalonica. Here was a triumph of Christian principle over worldly power. This is the bright part of the picture of the fourth century, but there are in it very dark shades indeed.

This is too important a subject for the end of a paper already too long. There is much to be done at home; and the clergy have been roused to the active and zealous discharge of their duties. This is the true way, under divine blessing, for extending the influence and authority of the Church; and not by suggesting dreamy expectations of miracles, and mongrel opinions hovering between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, which are hardly consistent with honesty of purpose. Such conduct can only add another party to those sects and schisms, already unhappily too numerous, which, by an abuse of liberty, turn the Church into a field for angry and wearisome controversies, and hinder the exercise of her divine commission for the welfare of souls. Would that Mr. Newman and his followers, whose qualifications eminently fit them for the pastoral duties of the clergy, had devoted themselves more exclusively to those labours of love which are practical, rather than to speculations! Would that they had thus endeavoured to strengthen the foundations of our Church, instead of weakening them by controversy! Had they been thus employed, there would have been no place for the dreamy speculations of idleness; nor for a round of mere forms, at best unprofitable, and it may be superstitious and idolatrous.

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\* Preface to *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Section 2.

ART. IV.—*Histoire de la Fronde.* Par M. Le Comte de St. AULAIRE, Ambassadeur à Londres. Two vols. large 8vo., Paris: Ducrocq. 1843.

2. *Cinq-Mars ; ou une Conspiration sous Louis XIII.* Par M. le Comte ALFRED DE VIGNY. Nouv. edit. Two vols. Paris.

"THE old cat of Narbonne," as the contemporary enemies of Richelieu significantly named the cardinal, whose scarlet robe was made violet by the blood of the best, the noblest, the most virtuous men in France, may serve for the title of the prologue, without the enacting of which the succeeding serio-comic drama of *The Fronde* would be scarcely intelligible. This prologue is, indeed, in itself, the last act of a gloomy tragedy—a tragedy which opened with blood, maintained its interest by blood, and closed with blood—a tragedy, in which we see the aristocracy butchered, and royalty vilified. The hero alike of the tragedy and the prologue is that priest, assassin, minister, and hero, whose treachery, calmness, and vigilance were designated under the not over-complimentary *soubriquet* with which we have commenced our article. Towards the conclusion of the reign of Louis XIII. an atmosphere of murder and conspiracy hung over the nobility and royalty of France. Richelieu intended to possess himself of the regency ; in other words, to become virtually monarch of a kingdom which, by means unworthy of any Christian but one of the Borgia-Roman school, he had doubtless raised to the condition of a first-rate power. He walked towards the accomplishment of his designs calm and determined, and though not without opposition, yet his opponents, lofty as they were in condition, conspired but in whispers, and plotted but by signs.

But to ensure success, there must come a time when conspiracy must use more than bated breath—it cannot walk for ever, like the two kings of Brentford, in disguise ; and that time is the crisis of its fate, for triumph or for ruin. The conspiracies formed to defeat Richelieu were foiled by the talkativeness of the coxcombs concerned in them ; and the greatest of these was that Cinq-Mars, around whom Alfred de Vigny has flung a halo of romantic interest to which he is not entitled. and whom the Count de St. Aulaire himself paints in colours, most attractive to those who look with pity upon his youth, his gallantry, and beauty, rather than with pensive gravity upon the facts of history, and with reproach, as they think how nearly a triumph was given to the crafty and tyrannic priesthood, which beheld its own glories in the elevation of the cardinal minister.

At this juncture, when the friends and relatives of royalty were in exile, the prison, or the grave—when Richelieu had removed, with the axe of the executioner, all who had openly opposed him, and saw none left whereon to whet his appetite for blood but the proud and giddy head of the boy Cinq-Mars, the cardinal found himself and the king standing together upon the brink of the grave: approaching death was threatening both, but the heart of neither was touched; and so fearful was Richelieu that a victim should escape him, that dying as he was, and sick as the king was, the minister, as he lay in his bed, turned to the monarch as he lay in his, and hoarsely asked for the life of Cinq-Mars! The helpless and contemptible king granted the request of the demon, and Richelieu died full of tranquil, satisfied joy, resignation, and hope. He fulfilled his religious duties becomingly (or *avec decence*, as M. de St. Aulaire informs us): he performed acts of humility, and protested that he had never had any enemies but those who were the enemies of France. With a steady voice and a serene countenance, he recommended himself to the prayers of the attendant bishops, who were greatly edified by the calmness and indifference of a man who was gliding into his grave upon the blood of better men and better Christians than himself. But one of these bishops (says M. de St. Aulaire), Monseigneur de Lisieux, probably better inspired, received a different impression from the spectacle he was thus called upon to witness. “Of a truth (said he), so much confidence alarms me.” *Profectò nimium me terret magna illa securitas.*

The heritage bequeathed by this great bad man was warmly contested by the members of the king's council. One of these, Des Noyers, had been distinguished by the monarch's friendship; his morose disposition and scrupulous devotion sympathized with the royal habits, and he endeavoured to seize his share of power over the weak mind of his master by favouring its inclinations. Monarch and servant, they would sometimes shut themselves up to recite the Breviary; and they might be heard singing psalms for hours together. But it was not by such means that Richelieu had acquired his empire; though Louis was but little enlightened himself, he possessed a singular sagacity for discovering true merit; and he ridiculed the pretensions of Des Noyers, who thought to make himself necessary to him.

While Des Noyers, and such like pretenders to the favour of the monarch, were exerting themselves in every way to rise to wealth and power, there was one man silently and con-

temptuously looking on, watching opportunity, and quietly but skilfully taking advantage of it when it offered; this man had the ability to calm old hatreds, to gain over old enemies, and noiselessly attain certain heights, while his boasting compeers were worlds below him; to abandon his vantage ground for a time, and re-occupy it with new power to maintain his position, and fresh means to raise himself to a better: the spy of Cardinal Richelieu, he became his successor; the adviser of the exile of many of the nobility, he became their master on their return to court; the foe of Anne of Austria, mother of Louis XIV., he became her secretary. No plot against him prevailed; his star shone unutterably bright; destiny raised him above impossibilities; and the coarse Mazarin reigned at the court of the young king, in spite of his manners, in spite of his foes, and, we may add, in spite of his friends.

Having brought Mazarin to this point, it is now our intention to sketch the leading features of the conspiracy of the Fronde by a series of *tableaux*. Our readers will be pleased to imagine the court of France thronged by a brilliant and unprincipled youthful nobility, distinguished by those joyous pursuits which are most natural to youth unballasted by thought. They surrounded the minister with cries, as it were, of *largesse*! Their claims were granted, however unreasonable they might be; there was as little reason in the satisfying of wants, as there was in the expression of them; and to quiet the cry of one young lady (we cite it as an instance from a multitude of others), a decree was issued levying a tax in her favour on every mass that was performed in Paris!

In the meantime the honest citizens were crushed beneath the weight of imposts, duties, and dues. The magistracy showed some sympathy for the people, but Mazarin endeavoured to win them over to his side by caresses and promises of elevation; and they quietly submitted to the putting in force of obsolete edicts of the most vexatious and ridiculous nature, whereby money might be squeezed out of the coffers of the reluctant people. But the latter, not possessing as much patience as their reiving-masters did effrontery, suddenly, and as if by magic, took a menacing position, and for the first time parliament interfered. What legislative assemblies then were let the following *tableau* tell:—

“There existed between the great chamber and the chamber of *enquêtes et requêtes* a point of difference which had never been arranged, viz., whether the right of convoking the general assemblies belonged exclusively to the great chamber, or if this convocation was to be granted every time that one of the chambers of parliament required it.

The minister with all his means supported the pretensions of the great chamber, which was, for the most part, composed of councillors advanced in years, and temperate in their opposition to the court. The councillors of *enquêtes et requêtes*, on the other hand, manifested very hostile tendencies, and a great affection for innovations. The first president having refused their request to call the chambers together, they entered the great chamber in crowds, interrupted the proceedings, and took possession of the benches which they were accustomed to occupy during the sittings of the general assemblies. A respect for forms, however, was the principal characteristic of parliamentary spirit. To attempt to speak before the proper time would have appeared, even to the most excited, a guilty forgetfulness of every duty; and the first president alone having the right to commence proceedings, the whole time of the meeting was passed in profound silence. The following day the whimsical scene was repeated, and was continued for four days without the perseverance of the president giving way, or the impatience of the young members leading them into any manifestation of disrespect."

As this conduct affected the courts of justice as well as the rights of the people, the minister himself relaxed his claims upon the latter, and things then resumed their usual course. But oppression soon after re-commenced, and the only means of frightening the parliament was by arresting such of its members as were friendly to the people; four of them, considered as the chiefs of the opposition, were seized in their own houses, and imprisoned or exiled. Two of these, dying shortly after the performance of this stretch of power, were currently reported to have been poisoned; an accusation which, void of truth as it probably was, yet is sufficient to show the violence of the hatred felt against the Government.

This feeling extended itself to the parliament; but Mazarin showed his contempt for that body and its deliberations by adopting the extraordinary plan of carrying the little king down to the assembly, and, by express royal command, causing the enregistering of nineteen fiscal edicts for the plunder of the people. This, and subsequent similar acts of outrageous tyranny, excited both parliament and people against the court. The queen-mother, the once gentle and suffering, the now arrogant Anne of Austria, treated her opponents in the parliament as *canaille*. Of the people she thought not at all, but as of a class made to obey in silence and to be kept at a distance; but the latter had become trumpet-tongued, and, in the words of Cardinal de Retz, had entered the very sanctuary itself. She projected blind schemes of vengeance against the people; but Mazarin told her, with respect to them, that her valour was like that of a soldier unaware of his danger. On

his part, he was creating support by bribing the courtiers ; but these bribes were of so costly a nature that the royal treasury became exhausted, the royal jewels were actually pawned, and the necessity of exacting means from the people became more urgent than ever.

Mazarin had, unfortunately for himself, offended the young Prince de Condé ; and a portion of the youthful nobility of the kingdom espousing the cause of the latter, and forming the party whose name has survived to our day—the *petit-maitres*—these fiery, finical, gallant, frivolous, hot-headed young men were alternately the foes, or the very inconvenient allies, of the minister. The nobility, indeed, was divided within itself, for causes solely affecting itself. The people alone were united and enlightened. Madame de Motteville says of them, with a kind of surprise, that every tradesman in his shop began to reason upon State affairs, and that they were *infected* with the love of the public good, which they esteemed much more highly than private advantage. Nor was this interference in affairs which so nearly concerned the people without advantage, for it doubtless influenced that decree of the parliament which relieved them of a fourth part of the taxes imposed upon them, and elicited from a thorough gentleman of that period the fastidious observation, that he was exceedingly surprised that such an august body as the parliament should trouble itself with the concerns of the common people, or relieve them of any of their burdens. But the renewed extravagance of the court soon demanded renewed sacrifices from the people. Another attempt was made to compel the parliament to pass edicts proposed by the boy-monarch, as had been done before by the advice of Mazarin. For this purpose the youthful king was again carried down to the assembly ; but the parliament refused to do anything while he was present, and voted against the court when he had withdrawn. Exasperation ensued on all sides ; but as victory had followed the French arms then employed in Germany, Anne of Austria fancied the moment had come when she might be avenged of her enemies. One or two slight sketches, after M. de St. Aulaire, will aptly illustrate the period in question, as well as the deeds which render it mournfully celebrated :—

“A solemn *Te Deum* was announced at Notre Dame, to return thanks to God for the battle of Lens. The whole parliament was present. The regiment of guards formed a double line, between which their majesties passed from the Palais Royal to the cathedral ; the gens-d’armes and the gardes du corps were distributed in detachments about the city. M. de Comminges, lieutenant of the queen’s own guard, had

received orders to seize, immediately after the ceremony had concluded, the councillor Broussel, the presidents Blancmenil and Chartron, and the councillors Lainé, Benoit, and Laysel; the first three to be imprisoned in fortresses, the others to be sent into exile.

"On leaving the cathedral, the queen, passing near to Comminges, said to him in a whisper, 'Go, and may God assist you!' Comminges, however, waited a little while, to give the court time to return to the Palais Royal; but as it was usual for him to immediately follow the queen, this circumstance affected the magistrates with some alarm. These men, so intrepid in the council chamber, when united they had to brave a common danger, often failed in individual courage. They fled precipitately from the church; few of them returned to their own homes; and the officers of justice charged with the execution of the queen's orders succeeded in seizing the president Blancmenil only. Comminges had reserved for himself the more difficult commission of capturing the councillor Broussel.

"Pierre Broussel resided in a narrow street of the *Cité*; the windows of his house looked on the port St. Landry, where a great number of boat and barge men were always assembled. His modest household, like that of the majority of his colleagues, consisted of a footboy and an aged female servant. The boy opened the door to Comminges, who presented himself on foot, followed by two guards; the carriage and a slight military escort being in waiting at the end of the street. Broussel, in a simple cassock, and without shoes, was at dinner in a little room with his family. He trembled as he heard read the orders of Comminges, and requested permission to retire for a short time, on the plea of illness. In the meanwhile the old female domestic threw open the window, and called for help, exclaiming that 'they were carrying off her good master.' The people were brought together by the noise. Comminges, without leaving Broussel time to dress, dragged him from his room and from the arms of his family, flung him into the carriage, and made way, sword in hand, through the crowd, which every moment became more numerous.

"Having reached the Quai des Orfevres, the carriage broke down, and the people were on the point of rescuing the prisoner, as some soldiers of the regiment of guards arrived to lend aid against them. While they were thus occupied, Comminges took forcible possession of a carriage which was crossing the Pont Neuf, and continued his route by the Rue St. Honoré, which was still occupied by the troops who had formed the line there in the morning. The carriage broke down a second time, but a relay, previously provided, conducted Broussel to St. Germain, where he was to await further orders."

In the meantime the people had risen, and were repulsing the military opposed to them; the cries of the combatants even reached the inner apartments of the palace, and struck terror into the courtiers; the latter advised the surrender of the prisoners, but Anne of Austria, more intrepid, ordered Marshal de la Meilleraye to go and chastise the rebels, at the head of two hundred guards—



"The marshal drove the populace before him back to the Pont Neuf. But when he had done thus much, he found himself surrounded by such an immense concourse of women, children, and people of every condition, that he could neither advance nor retire. His situation became every moment more critical, when the coadjutor of Paris (Gondi afterwards Cardinal de Retz) warned of his embarrassment, rushed from the mansion of the archbishop in lawn sleeves and capuchin, and hastened to his assistance. Vast courage and an imperturbable presence of mind secured the influence of the young priest over the people; though he himself too often forgot the respect due to his profession, he admirably well knew how to draw advantage from that which it inspired in other people. As he reached the marshal's side, the latter had just discharged a pistol, the ball from which had struck an old man carrying a load on his back. The coadjutor devoutly threw himself on his knees in the kennel, by the side of the dying man, and by such a sight he managed to divert the popular fury. He then mounted the parapet of the bridge, harangued the multitude, and by dint of expostulations and prayers, succeeding in rescuing the marshal. Both then returned to the Palais Royal to inform the queen that the tumult was assuming a more alarming character than she seemed inclined to believe.

"The queen suspected the coadjutor of being connected with the seditious rioters, and therefore she bluntly interrupted the speech he was beginning to address to her. 'It is, in itself (said she), a revolt to suppose revolting practicable; and the king's authority would suffice to restore good order.' As Gondi added some words upon the means of calming the people, she exclaimed, her eyes sparkling with fury, 'I understand you, sir; you would desire me to restore Broussel to liberty; but I would strangle him first with my own hands;' and, suiting the action to the word, she stretched them out towards the prelate's head. Thereon, no one ventured any more to give advice that was so ill received. Flattery, more powerful at court than fear itself, encouraged the queen's obstinacy; and the coadjutor, menaced by her and ridiculed by the courtiers, returned to the archbishop's palace in a rage. For a long time, a restless impatience of disposition had stirred him on to take a part in the movement of affairs. Freed from all scruples by the ingratitude with which his services had just been paid, he resolved on that very day to take his stand against the court; and by his emissaries he now excited the sedition he had before wished to appease."

Whether from the influence of this active, ambitious, and mischievous priest, or arising from what other cause it may, nothing could possibly exceed the energy of the people, particularly when they understood that the magistrates (a term which must by no means be taken in its English acceptation) had assembled to demand the liberty of their colleagues. In less than three hours, a hundred thousand men were under arms, and two thousand barricades were erected at the entry of different streets, with such ability, that in the opinion of mil

tary men, they could have defied the united power of all the rest of the kingdom against them ; so dexterous was the union of barrels of sand fastened together by iron chains, and some of them piled so high that they could not be mounted but by the aid of ladders. Any one attempting to pass the guarded issues of these barricades, without the consent of those keeping watch there, was unremorselessly slain ; even the young Duchess de Sully was wounded in the shoulder by a musket-shot while in her carriage, and on her way to join her father, the Chancellor Seguiers, whom she had been told was in peril of his life from the revolvers. But the spirit of Anne of Austria was not yet subdued, and she felt more anger than fear, on being told that she herself was in danger. In our series of *tableaux* we may here give a cabinet picture, in which the principal figures are not less than queens, and the action may be said to illustrate the effects of experience. The mother of Louis XIV. was, as we have said, and now repeat in her own words, "indignant at the supposition that danger could reach her, her rank, her birth, the authority she had in the State ; the royal majesty, in short, sufficiently protected her against all rebels." At this moment the Queen of England, the unhappy Henrietta Maria, was in the cabinet of Anne of Austria, a sad example of the inefficient power of those titles in which her sister-in-law placed so much confidence. The wife of Charles I. protested that the troubles in England had not appeared in the commencement so serious as these, nor the minds of men so excited and accordant. Anne of Austria, overcome, held down her head, and murmured, with a profound sigh, " Let the parliament then see what is to be done for the safety of the State !" The parliament replied to the command, if that word can be applied to the queen's words, by ordering the immediate release of Blancmenil and Broussel.

Having brought our narrative to this point, it were, perhaps, as well to profit by the pause, in order to inform our readers, in some very brief words, what that assembly was which was known in France by the name of Parliament, and the constitution of which was totally different from that of the legislative bodies in England which are familiar to us under the same name.

The parliaments of France were sovereign courts, or companies established by the king, to determine finally all disputes between particular persons, and to pronounce on appeal from sentences given by inferior judges. There were ten of these parliaments in France, of which that of Paris was the chief, its privileges and jurisdiction being of the greatest extent. It

consisted of six chambers, viz., the grand chamber, where causes of audience were pleaded, and five chambers of inquest, where processes were adjudged in writing. This parliament enjoyed the privilege of verifying and registering the king's *arrets* or edicts, without which those edicts were of little or no value. It also exercised the high police over the inhabitants of its vast jurisdiction, extending to above twenty of the ancient French provinces. The power it had of refusing to register the king's edicts first arose after the introduction of the purchase of seats by Francis I., a circumstance which made the holders more independent in their decisions, and rendered them a body formidable to the monarchs themselves: for, in the event of their destroying the royal authority, by refusing to register its edicts, the king had no other resource than in the extreme prerogative of what was called a *lit de justice*; and as the resistance of the parliament was always founded on the public good, the odium of tyrannical laws which the parliament refused to register fell upon the ministers and the court, while the glory attached to courageous resistance belonged to the parliament.

We may add, before resuming our pictorial series, that the parliament sat ten months; and after eight weeks' vacation, the assembly made a solemn entry into court annually, on the day after the feast of St. Martin. An altar, dedicated to St. Nicholas, was erected in the principal hall, and a mass was performed, called the mass of the Holy Ghost, and sometimes the "red mass," from the prevailing colour in the costumes of those who assisted at it officially. The oaths were then administered, and during the ceremony the judges saluted each other by making curtsies! The mass of the Holy Ghost is still celebrated in France on the day previous to the opening of the session of the chambers.

It was a councillor of this parliament, named Bachaumont, who gave a name to the revolvers. One day he said, in pleasantry, that the members of the parliament were like school-boys, who amused themselves with a *fronde* (or sling) in the ditches that encircled the city; they separated when they saw the civil lieutenant approach, and collected together again as soon as he turned his back. This comparison was considered so applicable, that it was celebrated in songs; and on the same evening the parliament party put bands, resembling slings, round their hats. After peace had been concluded between the king and the parliament, the faction refusing to treat with the court were called *frondeurs*, a name which still lives in one of the streets of Paris, and which marks the period of its building.

The peace which appeared to all parties to be restored, that each might work out his peculiar object, was of very brief duration. The queen strove with extraordinary energy to obtain absolute power, and though she deemed the co-operation of Mazarin to be but reluctantly afforded, the parliament viewed the cardinal in such a different light, that it was proposed to put in force against him an old decree which forbade any foreigner undertaking ministerial office, under penalty of his life. The court left Paris secretly, but the Prince de Condé remained to beard the parliament, whom he hated, and the citizens, whom he despised; in this contest the popular party again triumphed, and the queen, with very bad grace, consented to return with the king to the capital.

The young monarch, however, did not bring tranquillity with him. The coadjutor De Retz assumed a position hostile to the court, and, after vainly striving to bring Condé over to his side, he so worked upon the Parisians that he made their grievances appear even more intolerable than they were, and fairly frightened the court once more from the metropolis. The royalists threatened a siege; the parliament replied by a defiance, levied troops, and found its banner joined by a large body of nobles, men whose trade or whose pleasure was in war, and who declined laying down their arms when once the parliament had authorized them to be borne against the government of the queen and the cardinal.

While the former and her court were sleeping upon beds of loose straw at St. Germain's, which was all the accommodation the palace there afforded them, the wives of the principal nobles, who had sided with the parliament, were residing, voluntary hostages for the fidelity of their husbands, in the Hotel de Ville, where the popular party held their conferences, amidst scenes of mixed business and pleasure, of military music without and violins within—a *chaos* of politics, religion, intriguing, gravity, frivolity, wisdom, folly, steel spikes, ladies' fans, warriors' hauberts, and womens' hoop petticoats.

In all these conferences and councils there was, however, a want of union, which, while it weakened the popular side, gave some strength to the court. The adhesion of Turenne to the parliament party was of less advantage to them than the dissensions of De Retz and the Duc de Bouillon were injurious. The generals, too, of that party were all more eager for gain than honour, and they had not the zeal of De Retz, who equipped a regiment of cavalry and put himself at the head of it. The war fairly commenced, but without any other consequences than destruction and pillage. All sides suffered, and nothing

was gained. The military chiefs were fighting for their own special benefit; and the members of the parliament, so patriotic in their corporate capacity, were individually making secret terms with the court. The result of the latter course was, that a division took place among the counsellors; the best of the parliamentary generals passed over to the royal faction; the president of the parliament signed, by his sole authority and to the great indignation of the people, a treaty of peace, and a general amnesty was granted on the 1st of April, 1649.

The treaty made to secure peace entirely failed in its object; it was perhaps the means of uniting Condé with his family, but it caused him to quarrel with Mazarin. The coadjutor De Retz, and a small number of nobles, maintained an appearance of hostility on behalf of the parliament; but the president of that assembly looked on them as suspicious allies. Disorder, in fact, reigned everywhere; the aristocracy quarrelled amongst themselves; did not scruple at striking one another, or even to resort to the extremity of flinging an adversary out of the window. The return of the court to Paris was as little effectual as the treaty, in healing the wounds of party strife; the disorder in the capital was as great as ever; nor was the spirit of the court of a very peace-inspiring temper. Anne of Austria, for instance, gave a grand ball of reconciliation, but she insisted on its taking place by daylight, for no other reason than that she might annoy the ladies of the Fronde faction, who were known to indulge in the propensities of *rouge*. Mazarin would have fain retained Condé on the side of the court, but rejecting the demands of the latter, that the strongest fortresses in France should be given up to his friends, the minister not only made a bitter enemy of the prince by refusing to accede to his wishes, but was compelled to submit to the indignity of being violently struck in the face, and having his beard pulled by the impetuous soldier, because he dared not ruin France by listening to that soldier's wishes. And even when, for intriguing purposes, the vacillating Condé abandoned the citizens, whom he detested, and passed over to the queen, he so contrived to humiliate the latter and her minister by the conditions he exacted, that they lost more by the falling away of friends than they gained by acquiring the prince.

At the same time, a disaffected class in Paris, who had met in the Hotel de Ville to deliberate upon a threatened loss of funds, were brought to something like reason by having the doors of the building closed upon them, and being nearly starved into submission. Mazarin contrived to persuade the prince that these Frondeurs were conspiring against his life; and

he is accused at this juncture of having, for the first time, introduced the dishonest practice of employing Government spies. His administration was still hateful to the people, against whom he excited the nobility; and the more turbulent of the populace stirred up the more quietly disposed, by getting up sham assassinations, and declaring that the spies and other emissaries of the Government were going about slaying the people.

All these proceedings kept France a stranger to calm and prosperity. The cardinal thought these blessings might be effected by arresting Condé and his principal partisans—men whom he alike dreaded, whether he saw them at his side as friends, or before him as foes. The arrest was contrived with as much dexterity as duplicity, and Anne of Austria herself had no small share in planning the design, and in carrying it into execution. A suspicion of what was about to take place had reached the ears of Condé's mother; the latter instantly rushed to the queen.

"The intimacy of these princesses had commenced in their youth; the Princess de Condé, sister of the Duc de Montmorency, had concealed within her bosom the secrets of Anne of Austria, and had maintained her fidelity in spite of persecutions made to check it. If any danger threatened the prince, the unhappy mother expected to trace a look of compassion in the face of her old friend. The warm and friendly welcome with which she was received by the queen dissipated all her suspicions. While Anne of Austria and the princess, familiarly seated together on the same bed, were conversing with an appearance of utter candour and freedom, the Prince de Condé entered the apartment; but, unwilling to interrupt them, he immediately withdrew. This was the last time he ever saw his mother, who died of grief during his imprisonment. In an adjoining room he met Mazarin, with whom he remained conversing, until they were informed that the Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville were waiting for them in the council-chamber. Condé walked towards the gallery, while Mazarin, who, under some pretext, had remained behind, approached Guitant, the captain of the queen's guards, and gave him a sign to execute immediately the orders he had received."

A long captivity made a botanist of the prince, who became famous for the cultivation of flowers; but it was the ruin of his family, who were persecuted, oppressed, and plundered to an excess that would be beyond belief, were the facts not well attested. The following picture of an *interior* at Chantilly, at this period, will give our readers an idea how people lived, loved, mourned, and endured under the Fronde. The Count de St. Aulaire, having given the names of many of the high-born ladies then staying with the mother of the great Condé, thus proceeds:—

"This brilliant company, in one of the most beautiful spots in the world, and during the first fine days of spring, passed their lives as sweetly as people could do who were touched at the misfortunes of the mother and wife of the prince. Every hour of the day saw a succession of visits, messages, love-letters, and reports of news. The rivalities and intrigues of gallantry were mixed up with intrigues and rivalities of a graver sort. Young ladies alone, or in groups, were scattered about the edges of the ponds, and in the alleys and groves of the garden and park; some were on the terrace, others on the green sward; those reciting verses aloud; these reading romances as they walked or reclined upon the soft grass.

"The princess dowager was of an agreeable disposition, and her conversation was of love. She told anecdotes of the old court; spoke of her amours with Henri IV.; the jealousy of the prince her husband; the troublesome watchfulness of her mother-in-law; and the stratagems employed by the king to obtain access to her. She confessed to having been touched on recognizing him one day, standing near her carriage, disguised as an attendant huntsman, with a leash of greyhounds. She described Cardinal Richelieu in terms of horror; and was affected to tears as she recalled the intimate friendship which, during so many years, had bound her to the queen; the services which she had rendered her during the life of the deceased king; and the ingratitude with which she was visited at that very moment.

"In the evening the party met in the chapel for prayers; after which, they assembled in the apartment of the princess-dowager; there, news was communicated; the letters from the Duchess de Longueville read, as were the grave and satirical writings which appeared in favour of the princes, and against the cardinal. Councils were held on the state of affairs, at the same time different games were entered into; and charming voices were engaged in singing. In short, all the customs of the court of Chantilly bore an impression of mingled lightness and strength of soul; of carelessness and devotion—the component parts of the character belonging to the French nobility."

Frivolous and wrong as all this appears, there was inexhaustible courage and endurance beneath it. The cause of the captive princes was adopted and carried on to a brilliant momentary triumph, by these very gay and grieving fair ones. The aged mother of Condé sunk, indeed, beneath her sorrows; but his wife defied the royal power; she fled in disguise from the emissaries of Mazarin sent to seize her; she took her son, the young Duc d'Enghein, in her hand, and with him she endured privations that might have startled even men born to expect the stern visitations of want. Hunger, cold, fear, fatigue, all were in turn, or at once, submitted to, that she might save her boy from the clutches of the vulture, ever hovering over her and ever prepared to stoop. She endured humiliations of every kind for the cause of her husband; she gained the hearts of the common people, whom that husband had in turn despised

and betrayed; and she knelt to the counsellors of the parliament of Bordeaux, while her child raised his little hands and put up an infant's prayer that the hearts of those grave men might be touched at the sight of young Enghein soliciting protection for himself and mother in the name of the great Condé. But, says our noble author:—

“The most courageous and the most witty of all these women was the Duchess de Longueville. Her adventures during the captivity of her brothers (Condé and Conti) and husband appear to belong rather to romance than history. Abandoned in the castle of Dieppe by the soldiers of the garrison, there was nothing left her but the alternative of being delivered to the king's troops, or of putting to sea at a moment when adverse winds rendered such a proceeding extremely perilous. The Duchess de Longueville, however, first confessed generally, and with all the marks of a sincere repentance; she then ordered the Prince de Marsillac to leave her, and proceed to Angoumois, to raise troops and serve his cause at a distance; then issuing from the fortress by a secret door, followed by a few women, not less intrepid than herself, she reached, on foot, and during the night, a little village on the sea-shore, where she found but two frail fishing barks. The men belonging to them, terrified at the tempest which was approaching, refused to put to sea; and it was with difficulty that the duchess prevailed upon them to take her to the vessel which lay waiting for her in the roads. After several hours of toil, not less painful than dangerous, the boat got alongside the ship; a sailor took the duchess in his arms to carry her on board, but at the moment the wind blew with such violence, and the sea rolled with such force, that the sailor was knocked down and swept overboard with his burden. Some of the crew flung themselves in to save her, and she was brought senseless to the shore; she had scarcely recovered than she was ready to face the horrible danger again. She besought the sailors; endeavoured to influence the more intrepid by the hopes of immense rewards; but none had the courage to re-embark with her.”

The further sufferings, misadventures, and wanderings of the duchess are full of exciting interest; but we have not space for them.

The imprisonment of Condé, his relations, and friends was alike, for a time, fatal to all parties, but particularly to France; and never more so than when Turenne entered the country at the head of an army hostile to the court. The war-cry was still against Mazarin; but the object of the war was not so much the abolition of political grievances, as the restoration of the prince and his party to liberty. The cardinal, indeed, repulsed Turenne, but he carried off the king to Guyenne, whereby he endangered the monarchy, for the perils of such an undertaking were very great. Turenne, too, re-entered France, and marched on Vincennes; but the noble prisoners



were previously transferred to Mareoussi, and subsequently to Havre. From the latter place they addressed a petition to the parliament, praying that body to insist upon their liberty. A request to that effect was transmitted to the queen, who declared that she would never give ear to such a demand as long as the Duchess de Longueville and Turenne, who had got possession of Stenay, held that town against the king. In a subsequent assembly the parliament determined to address the regent for the removal of Mazarin himself. The latter, fearful of something worse, suddenly left Paris by night, and repaired to St. Germain en Laye. The queen made an attempt to follow him, but she was actually detained a prisoner herself in the Palais Royal.

As a picture of street tumults and the majesty of the people, we will give a sketch of what took place on the rising of the assembly that had been deliberating on the dismissal of Mazarin :—

“After the decree was made, when the magistrates were leaving the palais, all those who had shown themselves favourable to the minister were threatened by the populace, and some of them were in peril of their lives. The coadjutor received a poignard stab in his robes, and the Duc de Beaufort was thrown to the ground. A captain in the guards, named Bourdet, with eighty officers of Condé's troops, disguised as workmen, directed the movements of this tumult, the object of which was especially to frighten the Duke of Orleans. The prince, attacked by Bourdet, who fired at him twice with pistols charged only with powder, conceived in effect such a degree of terror, that he fled into the great hall of assembly, and remained concealed there till the evening.”

But this is popular and city tumult ; we subjoin another *tableau* showing how war was understood by the great and the brave in the provinces :—

“Cardinal Mazarin, having no hope of effecting an accommodation, wished to signalize the king's arrival by some exploit which might spread a terror of his arms ; for this purpose he attacked Vayres, the castle of President Gourges, fortified according to the custom of the times, and defending the approaches to Bordeaux. A brave citizen, named Richou, threw himself into the place with three hundred men. He valiantly sustained several assaults, and repulsed the assailants. But a soldier of the garrison, gained over by money, having betrayed a secret door, the Marquis de Biron got into the place ; and Richou, overwhelmed by numbers, was constrained to surrender, conducted to Libourne, and immediately condemned to the gibbet.”

This rigour rendered the whole court indignant. Made-moiselle de Montpensier and the Marquis de Biron anxiously

solicited the prisoner's pardon, but Mazarin was inflexible. "Richou (said he), not even being a gentleman, had dared to defend a castle against a royal army, and it was of consequence that the citizens should be terrified by an exemplary punishment." The poor fellow was even denied the favour he himself asked of being beheaded, and he was tied up to a gallows erected under the market-house of Libourne, where his body was left exposed :—

"When the citizens of Bordeaux heard of Richou's execution, in their fury they wished to cut the throats of all the royalists who, by the fate of arms, had fallen into their hands. The magistrates themselves considered that the cruel principle of reprisals should receive its application, and the Chevalier de Canolles, commandant of the Isle St. Georges, was the appointed victim. Having been for two months a prisoner on parole, the Chevalier had formed agreeable connections in Bordeaux. He was generally beloved for his easy, sociable disposition. The *archers* sent to seize him found him gaily seated at table with his friends. He conceived no uneasiness, and even while listening to the reading of his death-warrant, he could not be made to believe that it was to be carried into effect. His fate interested the Princess de Condé to a great degree; for she was as full of compassion as of intrepidity. She re-assembled the council of war, requested that all the captains attached to the military force of Bordeaux would attend, and strove to convince them that they hazarded much by following the barbarous example set them by the enemy. All her representations were in vain; the princess could not even obtain a delay which she solicited, in the hope of procuring the prisoner's escape. The execution took place on the port at Bordeaux, and the body of the Chevalier de Canolles remained attached to a gibbet, looking towards the Libourne road, as long as that of Richou remained exposed beneath the market-house of that town.

"From that time, the prisoners on each side were treated according to the rules of war. The queen also interrupted the demolition of the chateau of Vayres, in order to save a magnificent country-house belonging to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and threatened with destruction by the Duc de Bouillon. Unhappily, the orders given to level the chateau of Verteuil with the ground had been already executed. The Duc de Rochefoucault, on hearing of the ruin of this superb monument of the grandeur of his ancestors, 'experienced nothing but pleasure at being enabled to offer an additional sacrifice to the Duchess de Longueville.'"

We cannot refrain from giving one more picture of Anne of Austria, on the night when the coadjutor, at the head of the people, prevented the flight of the court and made the queen a prisoner in her own palace—

"Escape having become impossible, Anne of Austria hastened to undress herself, and had the young king, who was prepared for mount-

ing his horse, put immediately to bed. She then, with painful anxiety, awaited the end of the continually increasing tumult. The intelligence occasionally brought to her, only increased her anguish ; she heard the atrocious cries of the multitude, and saw numerous groups of nobles continually passing beneath her windows ; her fear was that they would confine her in *Val de Grace*, and separate her from the king. Her courage, however, did not leave her ; she had every door thrown open, and ordered that those citizens should be admitted who were keeping the issues of the palace. These good people, with respectful timidity, penetrated into the interior of the royal residence. Anne of Austria welcomed them with affability, protested her belief that she was safe with them ; that she had never entertained the thought of leaving them ; that if she were out of Paris, her object would be to return to it ; that malevolent people had raised unfounded alarm on this subject ; and that in order to assure them, she wished to show them the king. Then, approaching the royal couch, and followed by as many people as could find room in the chamber, she raised the curtains, and approached a candle towards the face of her son. He was as beautiful as an angel, and was sleeping tranquilly. The citizens, touched with respect and love, gazed on him in silence, and then gently withdrew, loading him with blessings."

But notwithstanding this, the queen was deserted by her friends, and the prisoner of the people.

It was characteristic enough of Mazarin, that while Paris was in this condition, and the Parliament had ordered the princes to be restored to freedom, he himself hastened to Havre, to give liberty to Condé and his brother, as though the boon came from the cardinal, and not from the people and parliament. The wily minister employed every means to acquire the friendship and co-operation of the man he had betrayed ; but the latter had present thoughts but for his triumph ; he hurried from Havre, leaving the cardinal to seek a refuge in some one of the fortified towns of the kingdom, and entering Paris like a conqueror, he repaired to the palace, to manifest his joyful respects to the queen, as she lay, pale, haggard, and enraged, in bed. The people, no less volatile than the prince, cheered him on his return to freedom, even as they had cheered when he was dragged to captivity. The power of his house became greater than ever. Mazarin was an exile ; the queen without influence ; and the parliament despised. The nobility rejoiced in the triumph of the prince, as a triumph belonging to their order ; and there is no doubt that this was the period when the suggestion was first whispered into Condé's ear to seize upon the person of the king, who was yet a minor, and so possess himself of sovereign and supreme authority. And now too it was that the French clergy, in a body, first openly espoused the cause of the nobility against the parliament and

people; and the opposing factions were the burgesses and magistracy against the aristocracy and the Church. The nobles confident in their position, so little respected the power of the great chamber, that on the latter remonstrating against the factious union opposed to them, the chiefs of the aristocracy threatened to proceed to the parliament, and fling the president and his son into the river! In this struggle, however, the legal authorities remained victorious; for Condé, after remaining neutral for a time, gave them the advantages of his secret co-operation; and out of the intrigues which followed, but which we have not time to narrate, the queen, the cardinal, and Condé himself, rose to power and authority. But it was again the fate of the last to be betrayed, and that by the queen, who hated and feared him, and who did not rest till he was again a proscribed and flying enemy. His terror was so great, that, at the head of a body of armed men, he fled at early dawn, before a corps of pursuers, which daylight revealed to be nothing but a number of old women and children going to market on high trotting donkeys! After partaking for a while of the gaieties of St. Maur, and leaving Gondi in Paris, plotting against him in person, where an air of sanctity and the society of the clergy by day were exchanged by this licentious priest for drunken orgies and the company of his mistresses by night, Condé took heart at length, and boldly returned to the capital to overcome his enemies in general, and Gondi, who was moving the Frondeurs and the Parliament against him, in particular. These two foes met in that assembly, flung reproaches and invectives at each other day after day, and excited such universal interest, that four thousand citizens escorted the public mistress of their archbishop, for such Gondi now was, on her way to hear the debates that concerned her lover and the prince.

We regret that the scenes of this *sedesunt* cannot be effectively shortened, so as to afford our readers an idea of what legislative enemies were in those days. We are therefore obliged to omit them altogether, noticing only, by the way, one little sketch, which is amusing enough; and which, after showing us Gondi triumphant, and the prince boiling with rage, and proceeding homeward with designs in his heart destructive to his enemies and to France, presents these actors to us as follows:—

“On leaving the parliament, the prince fell in with a religious procession, at the head of which, in full sacerdotal array, marched Gondi himself, surrounded by his clergy. The prince ordered his carriage to stop, descended, and went devoutly down upon his knees to receive

the benediction of the prelate, who raised his bonnet, and bowed profoundly to him."

Shortly after this scene took place, the absurdity of which we can hardly now appreciate, Condé flew to Guyenne to open the civil war.

The king was now fourteen years of age, and the declaration of his majority robbed Condé of a great portion of his pretext for being in arms. His treachery to his country was great; for he allied himself with Spain, and his party was abandoned by all the honest men in France. They who did yet stand by him were, with himself, declared guilty of high treason. In the peril which still, however, threatened the kingdom, the queen looked for aid to Mazarin; the latter entered France at the head of an army he had himself raised, an act which called down upon him a sentence of death from the parliament. At this juncture Condé imagined he could procure the alliance of the latter body on his own side, by placing his services at their disposal against Mazarin; but that assembly courageously maintained an independent party against the court and Mazarin on the one side, and against Condé and his treason on the other.

For the concluding, and by far the greatest act of this drama, we are compelled to refer our readers to the work of M. de St. Aulaire. This gentleman has excelled all preceding authors in the rapidity, energy, and graphic power with which he has detailed this portion of his story. We regret that the space allotted to us will not admit of justice being done to either the author or his narrative. We will, therefore, as briefly as we can, conclude with giving an outline of the events that formed the catastrophe of the Fronde, and add one or two picturesque scenes from the original by way of illustration. The ostensible object now was the expulsion of Mazarin from the kingdom; the means employed to accomplish that object were made up of mingled horrors and fun. Towns were taken by frolicsome stratagems; young ladies were sent into strong fortresses to overcome old governors; duchesses were nominated to the rank of field-marshal, receiving pay and following Condé's army in that capacity; murder and dancing, gambling and hanging, praying and blaspheming, went hand-in-hand. As sure as the conduct of either party approached to the sublime, so surely did something ridiculous occur that destroyed men's sympathies as well as their admiration. Throughout the whole contest, that covered France with mixed devastation and drollery, it is hard to say which strikes most often on the ear, the groans of the dying,

or the laughter of the living ; certainly the dead were honoured less by elegies than epigrams ; the empty shrines of dead saints were regarded with more veneration than the living bodies of faithful men ; and Condé himself, on one occasion, as the relics of St. Genevieve were passing, fell on his knees in the mud, kissed devoutly the *chasse* containing the holy remains, and rose from this act of superstitious devotion with words on his lips that let slip fire and sword through the homes of an innocent and suffering people.

It may surprise many of our readers to hear that our own Charles II. was a character in one of the episodes that marked the turbulent times of which we have been speaking. M. de St. Aulaire thus presents him in company with Mademoiselle de Montpensier, a princess who thought everything legitimate which furthered her own personal grandeur, or that of her house, and one who fought and loved with the sentimental energy of a common dragoon, and who repeated the blasphemous obscenities she was in the habit of hearing from her male associates with all the wicked pertness of the abandoned Vert-Vert :—

“ A few years previously, Charles Stuart, son of the unfortunate Charles I., had endeavoured to find favour in the eyes of *Mademoiselle*, and returning to France after his unhappy expedition into Scotland, he again placed himself in the rank of her admirers. His assiduity was very great ; and his conversation partook of that passionate gallantry which the characters of the romances of the period, borrowed from the current language of the princes and nobles of the court of Louis XIV. The *Pretender* had exploits to narrate which would not have disgraced the pages of *Cyrus* and *Cassandre*. *Mademoiselle* listened with interest to the details of the battle of Worcester ; how the valiant but unlucky prince, compelled to fly, had cut his way through the conquering army, at the head of fifty cavaliers ; and how, when left alone, he had climbed into the branches of a tree, at the foot of which some soldiers from the hostile force came and seated themselves. And then he assured *Mademoiselle* that in those critical moments his thoughts had never turned to any but her ; that the hope of meeting her again in France had been sufficient consolation for the loss of a kingdom ; and that if she would only deign to guess, what he himself dared not utter, there was nothing more in the world for him to regret. And then the son of Charles I. would send for the ‘ violins,’ and pass whole nights in dancing. *Mademoiselle* de Montpensier began to be touched by his attentions ; but too good a Catholic to marry a Protestant, she mentions his religion as an obstacle ; to this he would answer, ‘ that he could refuse *Mademoiselle* nothing ; that he would be too happy to sacrifice to her both his conscience and his salvation, and that he was ready to do so on the day that she would condescend to accept his hand.’ This declaration of Charles Stuart attracted to his

side all the devotees of the court. Madame d'Aiguillon maintained, that if Mademoiselle did not marry him, she would be responsible to God for the salvation of his soul. And for this, or any other motive, the daughter of the Duke of Orleans might have determined upon doing so, if her ambition had not been flattered about this time with the hope of uniting herself to the king."

While this extraordinary love and still stranger religion were active on one side, murderous dissension was not less lively on the other. This dissension, indeed, was not confined to the particular moment of the Fronde disturbances of which we now treat. Private outrages, and breaches of common courtesy and decency, frequently arose among the first persons of the realm. The great Condé, on one occasion, struck the Comte de Rieux in the face, and that in presence of Gaston of Orleans. The Comte was not slow in returning the blow, and was immediately incarcerated in the Bastile for having struck a prince of the blood. The Comte was the son of the Duc d'Elbœuf, the cheeks of whose family were jocosely said to have been the battle-field of the wars of the Fronde. The Duc de Beaufort, the hero of vulgar and brutal excesses, had been engaged with the father of the Comte de Rieux, and now, in 1652, he made himself still more infamous by his duel with the Duc de Nemours. These noble antagonists were brothers-in-law, and had been enemies of long standing. Each attended by four seconds, who shared in the combat, fought with sword and pistol. Nemours fired first, and his ball passed through the hair of his adversary, who, approaching to within two paces of his brother-in-law, offered him his life if he would ask for it; the reply was with a thrust of the sword which slightly wounded the Duc de Beaufort, who then clapped his pistol to Nemour's breast and shot him dead on the spot. The seconds then fought, upon which two of those of the Duc de Beaufort were killed, and the others seriously wounded. At first the Archbishop of Paris forbade the funeral service to be performed over the body of the Duc de Nemours; but a fortnight after he consented, at the intercession of the Prince de Condé. The prohibition is the more remarkable, as the archbishop was Cardinal de Retz himself, who generally carried a dagger in his pocket, and was himself a duellist.

But private dissensions, public quarrels, general excesses, and frivolous amusements, were all hushed for the moment, when Condé, at the head of a great army, fought the bloody battle of the Faubourg St. Antoine, while the young king and Mazarin looked on at a distance, and saw victory snatched from their own host by Mademoiselle de Montpensier turning

the artillery of the Bastile on the all but conquering royal army, and opening the gates of Paris to the illustrious rebel. The horrible atrocities which followed this victory, and the unheard-of cruelties perpetrated against those who would not join the *union* with the princes, are almost incredible, and replete with fearful interest. No one may read them without closing the book with a prayer that his country may be spared from the sin and horrors of civil war. Houses were in flames, property was plundered or destroyed; the most brutal injuries were inflicted on unprotected females; men, women, and defenceless children were slaughtered, and all under the cry of *union and liberty*! A word from Condé might have given peace to the affrighted capital, but he bid murder do its work. Nor is Mademoiselle de Montpensier herself free from the suspicion of having encouraged the horrid deeds which disgraced her party while Condé held possession of Paris. She did, indeed, leave the Luxembourg with the intention of carrying aid to those who were exposed to robbery and murder at the Hotel de Ville; but her attention was drawn away by circumstances with which she amused herself on the road. One of these was her meeting with La Dame le Riche, a seller of ribands, who, in her shift, was parading about in company with the beadle of St. Jacques, whose only attire was a pair of drawers. Both these persons accosted *Mademoiselle*, telling her ridiculous stories connected with the fearful scenes of the day, at which she laughed heartily, and which kept her from the Place de Gréve, whither she had intended to repair, and where her presence might have stopped the butchery that was there going on unrestrained. A pretty messenger of peace!

The only effectual check that could be given to these horrors, was by the retirement of Mazarin from France; this being done, Condé had no pretext for opposing the king, and accordingly he left Paris when Louis entered, and immediately displayed his true character by joining Spain and taking up arms against his native country. His partizans were treated altogether with leniency, and when they were disposed of, Mazarin returned to his old post, in the possession of more power than ever. His very bitterest enemies came and humbled themselves before him; and his might, and his confidence in the strength of his position, became so great, that after the lapse of some time, he admitted Condé to his feet, to receive the pardon of his crimes and the triumphant benediction of a personal enemy.

We have only space to say, after the very impotent sketch we have placed before our readers, that the noble ambassador's book is worthy of taking popular rank in England. It is an



excellent history of a wonderful period ; illustrative of all ranks of life, military, clerical, civic—and the life apart, of royalty. There is less of Mazarin than might be expected in a history of the Fronde, but it must be remembered that the cardinal influenced rather than acted, and that, while he may be traced in most of the deeds of his day, he is personally visible in none. There is a mystery in his movements and in his presence which are very ably treated by M. de St. Aulaire, and excellently contrasted with the fiery ubiquity, the undoubted but wicked bravery of Condé. To those who are generally acquainted with the superior class of French literature, this work will still be replete with novelty, for there is a light thrown by it on the Fronde, under which we have not been accustomed to contemplate it ; while they who are desirous of commencing the study of such works, cannot begin with a more amusing or instructive volume—amusing in most of its details, and instructive to us in England, as well as to foreign readers, in the useful moral contained in it, respecting political agitations, and their fruitful effects in crime and suffering.

ART. V.—*The New World ; or, Mechanical System.* By J. A. ETZLER.

2. *A Treatise on Moral Freedom, and the Operations of the Intellectual Principles.* By W. CAIRNS, LL.D. London: Longmans. 1844.

3. *The Different Dispensations ; or, the Gradual Development, Harmony, and Completion of the Great Work of Human Redemption.* By the Rev. W. H. NEALE. London. 1843.

THE position of man in the world reminds one of those ever-increasing circles which are caused by throwing a stone into a calm piece of water ; a small centre ring is first seen, another of larger size uprises, a third larger than the former, and another and another, till all is lost to the eye in that largest which seems either bounded by the banks of the water, or to become part and parcel of it. Even so each of us is placed in a circle most narrow and circumscribed—that of our individual wants, wishes, and duties ; but if we look further, we shall see another connected with that, which tells us that man is related by the ties of kindred and friendship to others. Then again we see him encircled still more widely by his relationship to society ; and further still, by connection with the nation ; and further

still, by the bonds of a common and universal humanity, by which all men become his brethren; and furthest of all, by that spiritual nature and those immortal powers and privileges which connect him with the inhabitants of the heavenlies and with God himself.

Christianity teaches us this, but men have not heeded its voice; and it would seem as if these links of brotherhood and universal fellowship were as unlikely to become firm and fixed as ever, as if the circles of union which God has given us were in reality as frail, fleeting, and evanescent, as their symbol in the stone-disturbed waters. But this cannot be; nor will a believer in the providence of God ever admit the thought into his heart. Still the question, How will good come out of evil?—how will brotherhood exhibit itself as a fruit of confusion?—is urgent, and it is not unimportant; to attempt to give it some sufficient answer, and to show that the world is in a transition state from darkness and death to light and life, is the object of this paper.

Let us take a glance at the present state of things in the nations. All that *is* is linked to what has gone by, in some way or other; but there are seemingly peculiar eras in which the history of man takes a new turn, and the life of nations receives a fresh impetus. The conquest of Carthage by the Romans, the invasion by the Barbarians of the Roman empire, the spread of Mahometanism, the Reformation, are all illustrations of what we mean. An era has lately passed, however, equal in importance to any of them; one, the effects of which are still traceable—we mean that of the French Revolution.

Those who have lived during the great events which distinguished the closing years of the last and the first part of the present century cannot fail to have observed a wonderful difference from all that took place before. Often have revolutions occurred, grievous wars were fought through, arts and sciences spread, but in no case with the same character and force as since 1788. After that, men saw a nation denying the existence of God, and worshipping what they called the “goddess of reason,” in the form of an abandoned woman—a fit type of the debasement to which they had reduced the Godlike within them. Then men saw nation rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, so that since that period every country in Europe—all of importance, either in Asia or America, and a large proportion of the best known parts in Africa—have been engaged in war. Armies, unequalled, either in ancient or modern times, for the union of discipline, power, and numbers, have encountered one another in the shock of battle; one

gigantic evil power has been seen to arise, attempting to crush the liberties and national life of all Europe, till the armies of heaven, through Russia and England, interfered to check her course, and the pride and power of France was humbled, was broken, losing in the contest 3,700,000 of her warriors.

It is but a few months since an empire, which had been closed for thousands of years to all other nations, was compelled by our arms (*exercised as they were unwillingly against her*) to open its harbours to the world, and China is being brought into the circle of the family of nations.

A vast empire has been formed by us in India, *almost in spite of ourselves*; and the links thus forged between Europe and Asia have been drawn still closer by the shortening, to one month, of the voyage which formerly occupied nearly half a year.

But a few weeks ago, an ukase of the Emperor of Russia was issued, compelling all the Jews resident on the frontiers of his vast empire, to the amount of 500,000 persons, to move some hundreds of miles inland—a movement which we cannot speak of but as a cruel one; yet a movement which probably is connected with other plans and other destinies for the out-cast children of Israel, than have entered the thoughts of Nicholas. We know that they are lifting up their heads in expectation of their coming redemption, and it is not presumption to hope that this is one step towards that great end. But a few years back, Baron Rothschild, of Vienna, was urged, we have been told, to purchase Palestine for his countrymen. "The land is ours (said he in reply), wherefore should I purchase it?" He knew that the work of the restoration of his countrymen was one which the Lord had reserved for himself to accomplish, and he was content to bide the time.

During this age, above all others, the prophecy that "many shall run to and fro, and that knowledge shall be increased," has been fulfilled. It is sufficient, for the present, to observe, that ours is the age of the steam-engine and of the railway, and of those various applications of artistic skill which render imperative a solution of the problem, how *machinery may work for, and not against, the poor man*—a problem which is pressing itself upon the thinking, and the lover of his brethren, with tremendous force, and to which an answer will be found either in letters of blood and fire (which God avert), or by a wise and healthy system of associative policy.

This age, too, is remarkable as being that in which our Bible, and most of our Missionary Societies, and the various others which have kindred objects in view, started forward on their

well-intended career ; all, whether we approve absolutely either of their conduct and principles or not, professedly desirous of Christ and his Gospel, and all certainly remarkable as instruments under God for bringing about that witness of the Gospel to all nations, after which "the end shall come." We will now glance at the *state of the Churches*. It may be summed up in the two words "*religious confusion*." There is a movement throughout the world which has to do with religious questions—a spirit of dissatisfaction with what is, and a desire to substitute for it what seems more prize-worthy. That the spirit of change is abroad in the Churches we may see in divers ways.

In the *Church of England*, for example, there has arisen, within a few years, an unlooked-for influence of a most powerful and remarkable character, which has wrought in her, and seems not unlikely still to work changes of a kind more important, wide-spreading, and permanent than all the efforts of Wesley and Whitefield during the last century could effect. The spiritual position and representative character of her clergy\* are being far more deeply considered than they have been since the days of the Reformation ; the spiritual nature and value of her ordinances have since also been far more strongly than formerly pressed upon her children ; and men of as much piety as learning, and as much self-denying earnestness as either, are labouring to bring her back to what *they* believe to be her best and brightest days. But to be successful (even if it were desirable) requires retrogression in everything else ; and since this cannot be, if the Church of England changes at all, she must *go on*, and if so, who can tell where the movement may stop ! Efforts akin to these once ended in her being humbled to the dust for a season—they may now end in her utter destruction ; at all events, they may draw her down from her present union of the highest principles of faith in Christ, with the highest principles of Church government—an union which forms a perfect whole—into that denial of faith, and that over-exaltation of the power of the ministry and of the means of grace, which must terminate in Popery.

There is the *Church of Scotland*—rent already, alas ! by a very sad and lamentable schism—with this remarkable peculiarity in it, that the seceding and protesting party, though in other respects an absolute antithesis to the Ultra-High-Churchmen in England, are quite as decided in their claim to divine power, as ministers of Christ. Ultra-Catholicism in England

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\* They are not vicars or *substitutes* for Christ, but representatives of him, as the ever-present Invisible Head of his Church.

and Ultra-Protestantism in Scotland are thus shaking hands across the border. Providence is here reading us a page in the history of the destinies of nations.

There is *Dissent*, again, and *Individualism* in religion, mistaking the *duty* and sacred *privilege* of private judgment for a right, and carrying that supposed right so far as to make *all* judgment private, and each individual, if it were possible, the interpreter of Scripture for himself: thus attempting to constitute the Universal Church of Christ on the basis of infinite division, instead of universal unity.

There is the *Church of Rome*, apparently advancing with rapid strides to supreme power in Ireland, and by no means waning in this land; and yet, at the same time, the authority of the Pope is flouted and scorned in France; while Spain, the country which, at the cost of all which is most valuable to a nation, maintained and asserted it, is casting off his chains and trampling them under foot: the worm is thus at the root of Popery, even while there is a show of greenness and budding amongst some of the branches.

Thus, too, singular illustration of the restlessness and agitation of the age (as if still more to mark the times we live in as the period when the signs in the sun, and the moon, and the stars are to thicken around us), amongst the innumerable sects which the rashness of unhumiliated self-will, when exercised on religious questions, gives rise to, we see uprising in America the almost incredible delusion of *Mormonism*, and a new Simon Magus preferring his claim to be some great one, and with such success, that this false prophet has deluded some thousands of men by his pretended discovery of a new Bible, which is to do away with our Scriptures, through certain mystic plates, and his own endowment with the gift of prophecy. To such an extent has this delusion spread, that he has already built a large town, by the help of his followers, and bids fair to succeed still further in the attempts even now making in England and elsewhere to deceive many more.

Nor must we forget to notice those, who, avowedly throwing off all that, in the opinion of their fellows, gives man his real superiority to the mere animal, have substituted dead abstractions of the understanding for living truths of faith and the reason, and have fancied they could prove there was no God!—a number fearfully increased, even in religious England, of late years. It cannot be that this blaspheming and Atheistic spirit should have risen up for nothing! But to what end, whither does this sad spirit of confusion in the churches and the nations tend? There would seem to be but one

answer—to desolation, and mourning, and woe—to evil, pure, unmixed evil.

He, however, who believes in a redeeming God, will not, cannot admit this. Amid the howling of the storm, he hears the voice of Him who of old said, "Peace; be still." In the mist and darkness of these warring elements, he beholds the form of Him who walked on the sea. A fierce conflict is commencing, it is true, between light and darkness—between truth and that falsehood which would impose its counterfeit self on man for the truth which, in all, he is seeking for—and we know that truth is great, and will prevail. We may be calm in the assurance, that good will triumph over evil—that light will shine through, and eventually overwhelm, the darkness. If it were not so, how sad and gloomy would be the aspect of the times—how painfully hopeless would these strugglings of great principles appear! Yes, there is a Providence which overrules all things for good—the same which, in the beginning of time, brought order out of chaos; and which, out of the moral confusion and perplexities which, to our short-sighted scan, seem so inextricable, will cause mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, and happiness to arise. All things seem flying off from the centre of truth, and to be looking for it in their own small systems; but there is a harmony in all this discord to those who look higher and further; for as it is out of the due application and arrangement of discords that the harmonies of music spring, so from these elements and portions of truth will be wrought an outline and shadow of Him who is the truth itself, and who will come to make all things new. These sounds are but tunings of the instruments prior to that universal crash which will introduce in the moral world that music which it is no foolish imagination to believe to have its type in that of the spheres; for if there be, as some of the wisest and best have thought, a music in the material system of the universe, how much more may we believe that its kindred moral harmony will be restored to the spiritual on earth, which we know to have existence amongst the spirits of heaven.

Thus, though the aspect of the world around is gloomy and threatening, it yet presents cause for hope: the rays of the sun may be seen by the earnest observer to interpenetrate "the clouds of heaven;" and thus, therefore, we would say, with full confidence, the tendencies which events are taking are for good, and not for evil.

But we should very imperfectly fulfil our intention, when commencing this paper, if we did not attempt to point out in

what manner these tendencies are working for good—how we may trace the types, and forecastings by shadow, of the times of “the restitution of all things,” even in the confusion which at present is so appalling and awful. Nor will this be without its value; for far higher causes for hope would arise in the breasts of thinking men, if they would learn to regard the confused aims of the various philanthropists of the day to bring about a better order of things in the light to which we have alluded, namely, as types, by which we may read of those future days in which the great drama of redemption will unfold its final scenes.

Thus the French Revolution was a truth, though, as Carlyle truly said, it was a truth clad in hell-fire. Selfishness and devilism were at work there, and met their fitting reward; but there can be no doubt that the aim of the earnest and unselfish amongst the actors of that dreadful time, and unhappy country, was the introduction of a new order of things, in which all should be happy and all contented—all good and all free. Vain and foolish thought! As if the mere workings of outward political change could bring about a state of things so deeply connected with the inward spirit and moral nature of man! But in these efforts and aims, dimly traceable as they are in those characters of blood and fire which give such dreadful meaning to the events of that day, we may find the beginning of a new order of things. From that time the relation of man to man was altered in the aspect which it bore; that relation is unalterable—it is the bond of a common humanity and an universal brotherhood, the foundation of which is to be found in Christianity, but the application of which to the outward state of society and the political framework of what is well called the commonwealth, because it is the common weal, was seldom or never so pressed home and acted on as it has been since the commencement of that remarkable era. To this it is true there have ever stood hostile counter agencies in that selfishness which would make man “a sordid solitary thing, midst countless brethren, with a lonely heart,” encouraged as it is by a commercial system, the tendency of which is to divide man more than ever from man, by doing away with the class intermediate to the enormously rich and the miserably poor; and schooled as it is in the small death-in-life founded maxims and speculations of that political economy which cannot regard *men* otherwise than as *things*.

But may not these counter agencies be in themselves the necessary consequences of that state of transition from one form of social polity to another?—and therefore, if we look at

them narrowly, may they not suggest the hope that a day is not far off when men will, in very deed, socially, politically, religiously, regard one another as members of one family? The two classes, fostered by the commercial system which is so largely extending itself both in agriculture and manufactures, by land and by sea, may come into collision; it is more than likely labour may be absolutely struck out of the market by machinery, and the consequence of such an event who can tell? But mankind will not, cannot, be always quarrelling, always suffering; an end must come, a new state of things must arise, in which the interests of each will be felt to be the interests of all; when labour, capital, and talent will blend in harmony, animated and directed by the religion of love.

Viewed thus, there is much meaning in the convulsive efforts of professed and real friends of the people, in our own land, to better the condition and raise the moral character of their poorer brethren—there is much that is valuable and full of real truth, even in what we may deem mistaken in their views.

Doctrines of equality, for instance, are sinful, if attempted to be put into practice; since, in order to bring about this equality, desolation and misery must be legally, or by brute force, inflicted on thousands of the happy homes of England. Such views are absurd in theory; since, to lay no stress on the fact, that a day, an hour, would scarce pass before the selfishness of man had overthrown it all, in order to maintain this robbery-obtained equality, mere State power must strive to do away with those inequalities in energy and talent which another Power than that of man has appointed to be the law of our species; a thing impossible. But even these cries are tokens of one earnest longing of the heart for that day when Ephraim, shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim—of that day when the welfare of the whole social body will be felt to be that of every individual man; when the humble will be raised without the degradation of the mighty, and when men will be brought to acknowledge that the true basis for equality is to be found in the spiritual, and not in the outward—in religion, and not in political institutions.

In this way also the dreams of poets respecting universal unity, and of philosophers respecting universal perfectibility, finding an echo, as they do, in every human heart, and revealing to us as they do, glimpses of a beauty and truth, and a goodness, which are not of earth—these dream-like glimpses of the truth of things point towards that day when the life will not be “a vision shadowing out truth, dimly and uncer-



tainly, amid many lets, hindrances, sorrows, and sins ; but when life, and light and goodness, will in very deed tabernacle among men."

The attempts which are also made, on such an extended scale, to give the means of education to the lower classes—the wide extension of the influence of printing—the societies formed for the distribution of the Bible and Prayer Book, and of publications having professedly for their object the religious instruction of their readers—and, again, those societies which aim at propagating the Gospel in our colonies and amongst the heathen, are worthy of regard in considering the tendencies of the times. The outward, the temporal, is a type of the inward and the eternal ; and the sudden uprising, in the memory of many living, of most of those societies we have alluded to, and the unexampled spread of the power of the press, and the enlargement of its sphere—by education, which is being so struggled for now—herald forth to us that period when there will be no night, no mist or darkness, to blind the eyes of men.

We may thus, too, hail with hope the discussion of those great questions which are at present agitating the Churches. The contest between extremes will finally, at all events, bring out the great truths which exist within them, but which are now so disfigured by the systems of men. Religious Catholicity—that is, universality in religion—is a truth ; and Protestantism—that is, religious individuality—is a truth ; and yet they are now being set one against another, and are each struggling for the mastery. Church authority and private judgments are truths, yet they also are opposed one against the other, as if enemies. Why is this ?

Men will start up on either side and answer, because the truth is with us, and not with them. Alas ! they know not that truth is with them both : the third, another something is wanting, which will blend these warring truths together in one harmonious whole, so that each truth so earnestly contended for shall be another, yet the same ; that third something exists now amongst men, aye, and, in spite of themselves, within them, but they will not acknowledge it—it is *the relation of redeemed men to God* through Christ Jesus.

But just as we know that the collision between the flint and steel produces the bright and warm spark of fire, so will he who maintains an unbroken confidence in the all-controlling providence of God believe that the final result of all this war of opinion will be the development of that time of universal unity when the family relation between God and all men will

be acknowledged by each, for himself and for his fellows, and when the deep truth, that we are many members in Christ, yet but one body, will be universally felt and understood.

At present the struggle is between Individualism and Universality, but the general tendency is towards the latter ; it has come in upon us like an aggressor, breaking up the old boundaries of time and space, concentrating the energies of thousands, where formerly, if solitary and unassisted effort failed, the object desired would have been let alone ; and calling also upon us to contemplate those relations of spirit—that hidden life of soul which connects each man with all men, each Church with the whole Church, and time present with time past and future. Universalism is the *animus* of the age. All things may be divided into three parts—what is *physical*, or outward and seen by the senses ; what is *intellectual*, that is, related to the understanding and the higher power of the reason ; and what is *spiritual*, or belonging to the will, the affections, and the reason, the conscience, and the imagination. In each of these three divisions of things men are aiming at Universalism, or what relates to and affects the world as a whole, and not as composed of parts and units only. In the outward, the physical sphere of things, we see machinery giving man a mastery over space and time which would have seemed a dream to ourselves twenty years ago, and connecting town with town, country with country, and continent with continent, in so wonderful a manner as to render the expectation no longer extravagant, that even the air itself will ultimately form a roadway for the intercourse of man with man. We all know pretty well what mechanical power can effect, and how it is introducing itself everywhere and into everything ; but the following, extract which appears on the title-page of a treatise on a new application of mechanics, is probably new to most of our readers. We shall give it without a word, either for or against its practicability. What has been done in mechanics, and man's knowledge of the tremendous power resident in substances seemingly most simple and innocent, prevent a negative. Our only reason for alluding to it is, that it affords a fair illustration of the tendency of men in this day to Universalism in the region of physical nature. The extract is as follows :—

“ The New World, or Mechanical System ; to perform the labours of man and beast, by inanimate powers, that cost nothing for producing and preparing the substances of life ; with plates. By J. A. Etzler. As a sequel to his ‘ Paradise.’ It is here proved, from experience, how to cultivate twenty thousand acres by one machine and three or four

men, with a capital of less than one dollar per acre, in the most superior mode; how to clear land from trees, stumps, roots, and stones: fill and drain swamps, make dams, canals, ditches, roads, and perform any kind of work in the ground; build houses and furnish as much inanimate power as desired, for any place and any stationary machine—all by the same system."

There are prospectuses also, by the same inventor, for the construction of what he calls the naval automaton, which, by the action of the winds and waves on machinery, will furnish, it is asserted, a locomotive power equal to that of thirty-six thousand horses, and will make the voyage from Europe to America in three or four days—that successful trips have been made, we believe, off Margate, with the model of one of these genii of navigation. Such pretensions as these are almost stunning, and, addressing as they do our imaginations through the medium of the senses, assume an all-absorbing prominence.

In the world of mind, again, men of thought and earnestness have turned their attention to the principles of universal unity, as exhibited in the works and providences of God, and from that to the question whether it can be possible to establish an analogous unity amongst men.

Hence the various theories, which have so frequently sprung up of late years, on the subject of individual suffering and distress, and the true mode of supplying a remedy; hence those doctrines of operative policy which are now demanding attention, and which being, it is said, universal, will finally influence all mankind; quadruple effective produce; give freedom to slaves without injury to their masters; civilize savages; make machinery work for, and not against, labour; and establish an universal unity in coinage, measures, and language.\*

And so too the same great aim after Universalism is seen to influence men on the deep and most important subject of man's spiritual life. Men here, as elsewhere, are seeking after some great controlling centre of universal unity; they are dissatisfied with what is, and want to go back, and are making efforts to do so; but *they must go forward*—progress, progress, is the law, and every effort made against it will only tend to hasten a consummation, very different from what they sought for, and yet containing more of unity and Catholicity than they either dream of or hoped for; for it will be the unity and Catholicity of God, whilst theirs would have been but the abortive imitation of man. Thus, in things outward, in things mental, in things spiritual, there are struggles going on for the entertain-

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\* See Fowler's "Le Nouveau Monde Industriel."

ment of universal unity ; and, notwithstanding the dust and confusion which must necessarily arise in the conflict, we may hail it with gladness and hope ; for such efforts can never take place without leading to some great result—great, though imperfect ; for what is typical and progressive must be imperfect—yet great, as containing within itself the potential germ of the blessedness of that day, when, agreeably to the deep language of St. Paul, the creature, which is now in earnest expectation waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God, shall itself be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God, who shall themselves in that day receive the adoption, the redemption of their bodies. We trust that we have said enough to show that man is saved by hope, or in hope ; that there is hope for us even when we contemplate the strange tides in which the current of affairs doth flow, and apart from those special revelations to hope with which the Scriptures abound. But in contemplating what may be, let us not forget what is ; and whilst we cling to hope for the future, let us take to ourselves faith, or trust and confidence in God for the present, and love as the guide and rule of action alway. Thus this time, in which our lot is cast, will be a transition state to us indeed ; probably a better one on earth—certainly to a better and a brighter in heaven.

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ART. VI.—*The Highlands of Ethiopia.* By Major W. CORNWALL HARRIS, of the Hon. East India Company's Engineers, Author of "Wild Sports in Southern Africa." Three vols. London: Longmans. 1844.

IT was in the afternoon of a sultry day in April that Major Harris, with his companions, sailed out of the crowded harbour of Bombay, bound for Aden, from whence the mission, of which he was the chief, was to be conveyed to the Christian kingdom of Shoa, in southern Abyssinia. They examined with some interest this infant metropolis of British Arabia. It presents a singular union of modern architecture with ancient ruins. There is a certain charm of romance connected with its history. In the age of Constantine, Aden was celebrated for its commerce and opulence. "Here the camels of the Korushites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics ; here commerce first dawned, and little more than two centuries have rolled away" since Aden was numbered among the glories of the East. The port of Mocha rose upon its decline. Under the British Government, however, its

prosperity has begun to revive. As a port, it possesses remarkable advantages; at any season of the year it may be entered or quitted with equal ease and safety. It is rising every day in commercial importance. In three years the census shows an amount of twenty thousand souls; substantial dwellings are rapidly springing up in every direction; emigrants from Hadramant and Zemen, and from the shores of the Red Sea, seek, under the shadow of English sovereignty, a protection from native cruelty and despotism; and a new page may be said to have been turned in the annals of a city so ancient and so unfortunate.

In the noon of the 15th of May, the brig of war, *Euphrates*, bearing the embassy on board, weighed anchor, and stood across the Arabian gulf. On the forenoon of the following day, the low sandy coast of Africa came into sight; the promontory of Ras Dukháu loomed through the mist; the brig spread her sails up the Bay of Tajura, and the dawn of the 17th morning discovered the town itself, "on the verge of a broad expanse of blue water," upon which a multitude of small fishing boats were observed pursuing their trade. The bay, in which the brig anchored, receives a name from its tranquillity, and is called *the sea of the two nymphs*; its width does not exceed three quarters of a mile. Upon the afternoon of the 18th, Tajura beheld the landing of the first British mission which has ever visited it. The sultan and his principal chiefs were assembled in a spacious crimson pavilion, erected for that purpose. Of the sultan's appearance, a very unprepossessing sketch is given. Imbecile in countenance and ghastly and emaciated in figure, "he tottered into the marquée, supported by a long witch-like wand," and offered his hand to each member of the embassy in succession, but with that repulsive coldness which is said to characterise a Dankali shake of welcome. His costume was in harmony with his countenance and manners; it consisted of a coarse cotton mantle, with a blue checked wrapper about his loins, a turban fixed upon the top of his shaven crown, "projecting triangles of leather graced the toes of his rude sandals; a huge quarto Koran, slung over his bent shoulder, rested beneath the left arm, on the hilt of a brass-mounted creese, which was girded to the right side." A zone and bandalier, studded with mystical amulets and potent charms, lent to his enfeebled frame a doubtful protection: a straggling white beard and a cold leaden eye completed the picture. His three principal attendants were equally interesting; they alone were dignified with turbans. The remaining members of his retinue wore either

“a natural or artificial full-bottomed peruke, graced with a yellow wooden skewer,” stuck erect in the hair to which the unctuous extract of sheep’s-tail had communicated a peculiar richness of aspect and intensity of odour. The interview presented, on the part of the African prince, an oriental impudence of dissimulation; and many promises, never to be fulfilled, were lavished in exchange for shawls of Cashmere and scarfs from Delhi.

The town of Tajura, or, as it is expressively styled, “the city of the slave merchant,” presents few objects of interest to the traveller. The moral character is deeply debased. Squallidness the most frightful is combined with the absurdest extravagance of artificial decoration. Moist quicklime is employed to change the natural blackness of the hair into a fiery red; but this original process of dyeing is only in repute, we are informed, among the *Somauli*, who, in common with the Dankali men of fashion, substitute for a down pillow “a small wooden bolster, shaped like a crutch, which receives the neck,” and, during the hours of repose, preserves the hair from derangement. An elementary knowledge of Arabic and Dankali is general among the population, the sultan himself being the only inhabitant of Tajura who is unacquainted with the alphabet. The progress of the youthful scholar is signified in a very original way: a dash of white chalk upon the cheek being the sign of diligence and clearness, and a black streak, similarly placed, of stupidity and inattention. There is no agriculture—slave merchandize being the universal occupation of all classes.

Many of the ensuing pages are devoted to a relation of the impediments that interrupted the advance of the embassy upon their dangerous and distant pilgrimage. Dissimulation played the part of avarice: every difficulty seemed to be at length removed, and the rejoicing travellers began to wend their way towards Ambábo, the first halting-ground on the road to the kingdom of Shoa. The Dankáli saddle seems to be the simplest of all quadrupidal accoutrements: it is a mat, composed of platted date-leaves, thrown over the hump of the camel, two rollers, instead of pads, protecting the ridge of the back. The delay in continuing the journey was, however, productive of severe injury and suffering. The caravan, consisting of one hundred and seventy camels, was obliged to cross the Teháma under the fiery influence of that blast which, in the months of June and July, “sweeps over the waterless tract from the south-west.” The path lay through a region of country presenting in its dreary and naked desolation strong indications

of volcanic action. The rays of the sun were reflected back with an intense glare from the black cindry rock and the sandy surface of the desert, at an elevation of seventeen hundred feet above the level of the water. The south-west wind only heightened, instead of mitigating the heat. The tremendous pass of Rah Eesah was traversed without injury or loss. The road continued to wind over basaltic lava, in the same exhausting temperature, until it descended into the sandy plain of Mooya, on the borders of the Great Salt Lake. Nothing can exceed the horrors of this place. The saline exhalation sent up a vapour which impeded respiration; the eyes were blinded by the blaze from the white salt and limestone; the atmosphere was heavy and sickening, and a single bush reared its melancholy form—the caricature of a shade. In this awful hollow, five hundred and seventy feet below the ocean, the thermometer, under the shade of cloaks and umbrellas, standing at a hundred and twenty-six, and not a drop of fresh water to be found, it may be readily conceived that the sufferings of the mission were absolutely appalling. Their spirits began to rise as the sun went down. Leaving the baggage to the care of the guides and camel-drivers, the exhausted party pushed forward to Goongoonteh, a cleft in the mountains that skirt the opposite shore, where water was known to abound. At midnight they commenced the ascent of volcanic hills. The moon shone over the wide expanse of water and salt, the north-east wind swept along with its fierce and parching blasts, and a silence, unbroken by the smallest sound, gave a mysterious awfulness to the scene. The horrors of that dismal night, says Major Harris, defy description; a sip of diluted vinegar was all they could obtain to assuage their sufferings of burning thirst; soldiers fell down senseless; dogs expired, horses and mules, unable to bear their burdens, were abandoned to their fate. Another morning rose with the same crimson and disastrous splendour over the Salt Lake. At this period a wild Bedouin was seen hurrying forward with a large skin full of muddy water, which had been obtained from the small pool at Hanlefánta; a little of this water, poured over the face and down the parched throat revived the fainting travellers, and enabled them to reach the delicious rivulet of Goongoonteh. Here terminated the passage of the Teháma, a tract of fifty miles in extent, and combining in itself all the miseries of climate and all the dangers of barbarism. The writer gives an amusing illustration of the excessive heat of this temperature; fifty pounds of well-packed spermaceti candles had been so “completely melted out of the box as to be reduced to a mere

bundle of wicks." The charm of Goongoonteh—a gloomy fissure encircled by basaltic rocks—was the copious supply of water to be obtained from the stream that flowed past the entrance.

Once more in motion, the caravan, after nine miles of gradual ascent, arrived at the head of the stream, and pitched their camp in a spot of ground surrounded by palms and verdant rushes, and affording green forage to the cattle. A march of sixteen miles brought them to Bedi Kurroof, where they passed a watchful night, in fear of the prowling Bedouins.

Arrived in the country of the Danakil Debeni, the travellers were refreshed with the sight of the first human habitations which they had seen since their departure from the coast; they were rudely built up of rough stone mixed with shavings of the date-stalk. The road continued to wind along the bed of the Wady Kóri, opening at length upon the plain of Hurrah—a melancholy and desolate succession of "fields strewed with black boulders, glaring in the sun." As they ascended to the more healthful level of Gulámo, the country began to assume an agreeable aspect of verdure. The caravan halted at Duddec; here a solitary butterfly, bewildered in the desert, broke for a moment the dreary solitude and monotony of the scene. The heat was great, the thermometer marking a hundred and twelve degrees: but water was obtained by digging in the channel of the stream. The next stage brought the party to the valley of Gobaad; from thence they journeyed to Sankul, and across the table land of Hoodali to Suggagédan, an arid spot, scorched by the sun and destitute of water. They next halted in the valley of Amádoo; from this place to Aussa the distance is two days' journey for a caravan of camels. The pursuits of the inhabitants are pastoral and agricultural, and a commercial intercourse is maintained with Tajura. "Aussa is still the abode of all the Uleemas, Ankál and learned doctors, for whom the Mudaito have ever been renowned." A march of three miles, over a stony table land, brought the caravan into the territory of the Danakil tribe Wòema. The arrival at the Wady Killulloo marked half the distance from the sea-coast to the frontier of Abyssinia. Here they were detained several days, under a heat of one hundred and twelve degrees, in a small tent. Pursuing their journey, they arrived at Naga Koomi; but it becomes necessary for us, omitting many intermediate stages, to pass on rapidly, and, climbing the Abyssinian Alps, to refresh our eyes with glimpses of verdure and rural beauty. The changes in African scenery are as wonderful as they are rapid. The scorched and volcanic plain



suddenly smiles into the green and lovely pasture-land; the breezes are sweetened with the odours of jasmine; the turf is spangled with daisies; flowering hedge-rows skirt the roads; and the wild rose and honeysuckle cluster round thatched houses, perched on the green eminences. Aigibbi is the first Christian village of Efát; passing over the heights, the woods of Ankober appeared before them, and here they halted upon the threshold of the place to which their eyes had so long turned—the capital of the kingdom of Shoa was distant two hours' walk.

In the town of Alio Amba the embassy found lodgings of no very promising aspect; two undressed stakes supported a tottering grass thatch; the windows were altogether wanting; a narrow aperture supplied the place of a door; the walls consisted of wattle and dab, through which, by numerous chinks, the light struggled in with sufficient power to display the wretchedness of the dwelling; "a circular excavation in the floor, surrounded by a parapet of clay, served as a stove; heavy slabs of stone, embedded in high mud pedestals and used for grinding grain, engrossed one corner," and in another lay heaps of bullock-hides rapidly decomposing; the narrow necks of divers earthen urn-shaped vessels, containing mead, beer, and water, were stuffed with bunches of green leaves; larger mud receptacles were filled with wheat, barley, and beans; and huge lumps of raw beef, with sundry bullocks' heads, which were promiscuously strewed about, garnished the floor, the beds, and the walls in every direction. Miserable as was the abode, fatigue soon brought sleep to the relief of the weary occupants—but a sleep speedily to be broken. The rain descending with great violence, poured through the walls and roof, and deluged the floor with pools of water. In this squalid residence the mission was detained for several days—a detention faintly diversified by the arrival of the *Lebáshi*, or hereditary thief-catcher of the kingdom, and by the return of the weekly market, which was held on a Friday. We will endeavour to abridge the description of the market by offering a sketch of Abyssinian manners new to our readers—sometimes adopting the words of Major Harris, sometimes substituting our own.

Shortly after day-break, wares of every description are displayed in the open air—honey, cotton, grain, and other produce of the Amhara farmer, are offered for sale or barter. "The Dankali merchant exhibits his gay assortment of beads, metals, coloured thread, and glass ware. The wild Galla squats beside the produce of his flocks; and the Moslem trader

from the interior displays ostrich feathers, or some other article of curiosity from the distant tribe." Cotton, cloth, and coffees, from Caffa and Enarea, are scattered about; horses and mules are exhibited to enquiring customers; while the wandering Hebrew, to be found in every region of the globe, pursues the characteristic commerce of his nation. Here the squalid husbandman pays his tax to the governor of the market, seated upon a stone under the shade of an old acacia tree. The surly Adaiel pries into the wicker huts that contain the slaves from the south. The witty huckster of Hurrur, with his turban and blue-checked kilt, drives his little trade of salt. Christian women, their eyebrows plucked out, and their bare shaven crown dripping with butter, bustle along with eggs and poultry; and the woman of Amhara solaces her family with the only ornaments allotted to them—"a huge bee-hive shaped wig, elaborately curled and frosted, and massive pewter buttons thrust through the lobe of the ear." The inhabitants of Orgobba, or Efât, are Mahometans; in external appearance, however, they differ little from the Amhara subjects of the empire; and it is not until the removal of the muffling cloth that the rosary of bright spotted beads is displayed in lieu of the dark blue emblem of Christianity worn throughout Ethiopia." The difference between the women is more marked and decisive; long braided tresses, ample vests of red cloth, and hoods of the same material, buttoned close under the chin, proclaim their Arab customs and descent.

At length the summons arrived for the embassy to be presented to the monarch, then residing at the adjacent palace of Machalwans. Monday was the day appointed for the important spectacle. Southern Abyssinia commences at Efât, at the foot of the first range of hills, "which continue to increase both in altitude and fertility to the summit of the lofty barrier that stretches north and south to form the brink of the elevated table land of Shoa." Ascending by abrupt declivities of mountain torrents, the mission pursued their journey to the village of Sallal Hoola, where the night was to be passed. The scenery was delightful. Quiet hamlets lay embosomed amidst rich corn-fields and luxuriant meadows; crystal brooks leapt along in cascades, the hedge-rows sparkled with flowers, while "the dog-rose and fragrant jasmine imparted to the rural landscape an aspect quite European." The resting-place provided for the mission at Sallal Hoola exceeded in misery the one from which they had escaped. A wet night brought on with heavy and lowering clouds the auspicious day of their presentation at the court of Shoa. The cavalcade

were plunging along their weary and slippery way, thoroughly drenched to the skin, when a view of the stockaded palace broke upon their eyes. Its situation is lovely. The white roofs were embosomed in juniper and cypress trees; a green meadow, bright with flowers, lay at its feet; the rose, the eglantine, and violet, bloomed around, and numerous farm-houses diversified the landscape. Another hour's "wading through deep-ploughed fields of beans, and peas, and standing corn, brought the draggled party to two time-worn awnings of black serge," which had been pitched, for their accommodation, in a swamp before the palace. The weather having improved towards noon, the embassy proceeded to the audience, amidst shouts from wondering multitudes (as the roar of artillery burst from the encampment), "Wonderful English! Well done! well done!" This description of the presentation we give in the words of Major Harris:—

"Circular in form, and destitute of the wonted Abyssinian pillar in the centre, the massive and lofty clay walls of the chamber glittered with a profusion of silver ornaments, emblazoned shields, matchlocks, and double-barrelled guns; Persian carpets, and rugs of all sizes, colours, and patterns, covered the floor; and crowds of Alakas, governors, chiefs, and principal officers of the court, arrayed in their holiday attire, stood around in a posture of respect, uncovered to the girdle. Two wide alcoves receded on either side, in one of which blazed a cheerful wood fire, engrossed by indolent cats; whilst in the other, on a flowered satin ottoman, surrounded by withered eunuchs and juvenile pages of honour, and supported by gay velvet cushions, reclined, in Ethiopic state, his Most Christian Majesty Sahela Selassie. The *Dech Agafari*, or state doorkeeper, as master of the ceremonies, stood with a rod of green rushes, to preserve the exact distance of approach to royalty. The king was attired in a silken Arab vest of green brocade, partially shrouded under the ample folds of a white cotton robe of Abyssinian manufacture, adorned with sundry broad crimson stripes and borders. Forty summers, whereof eight-and-twenty had been passed under the uneasy cares of the crown, had slightly furrowed his dark brow, and somewhat grizzled a full bushy head of hair, arranged in elaborate curls, after the fashion of George the First; and, although considerably disfigured by the loss of the left eye, the expression of his manly features, open, pleasing, and commanding, did not belie the character for impartial justice which the despot has obtained far and wide—even the Danakil comparing him to 'a fine balance of gold.'"—pp. 409, 10, 11.

The evening of this remarkable day closed with the present of a pepper pie from the royal kitchen, and a visit from the father confessor, a little deformed priest, enveloped in robes and turban, and armed with a silver cross and crosier. In

this place Major Harris beheld an Abyssinian festival, which even exceeded in ferocity the narrative of Bruce. A number of oxen, having being purchased by the embassy, were slaughtered and eaten in the meadow; a simultaneous rush was made upon each animal—horns, legs, and tail. "With a loud groan of despair, the bull was thrown kicking to the earth. Twenty crooked knives flashed at once from the scabbard," the blood gushed out, and the savages continued to sit upon the carcase until the "last bubbling jet" had issued from the throat. So rapid was now the work of demolition, that in a quarter of an hour nothing remained of the carcase but the hoofs and horns.

From Machel-wans to Ankober, the metropolis of Shoa, the distance is six miles, up a steep but fertile tract of country, abounding in running streams and adorned with many beautiful plants, which, in harsher climates, only flourish in the protection of a green-house. Sheltered amid the woody recesses of Aferbeine, stands the church and monastery, dedicated to Tekla Haimanot, a celebrated ecclesiastic of the thirteenth century, and suggesting to the traveller, by its charming situation, the obvious remark, that, "whether in Europe, or in half-civilized Abyssinia, monasteries are invariably seated upon spots the most romantic." The metropolis of Shoa broke upon the mission as it wound out of the forest; the spectacle was remarkable; clusters of thatched houses, with small green enclosures and splintered palings, were scattered with a picturesque irregularity and confusion along the rocky ridges of the mountain-side. The palace of the Negroos is represented as a most uninviting edifice, "with staring gable-ends and numerous rows of clay chimney-pots, well fortified by spiral lines of wooden palisades." The dwelling that awaited the embassy was not calculated to exalt their ideas of the imperial hospitality. A thatch and basket-work ceiling had been thrown over a barn-like building hastily erected; its form was oblong, without windows or chimney, and having a door at each end, composed of planks of wood, over which a saw had never passed. To increase the discomforts of the place, the thermometer stood at 58, and a driving mist, and rain, and wind caused every eye to turn to that place in the apartment—where a fire *was not*; candles are a luxury unknown in Abyssinia, their want being supplied by strips of cotton rags dipped in unpurified bees'-wax, which, however, as a royal monopoly, were only to be obtained in very small quantities. A more serviceable light was soon manufactured from the fat tail of the Ethiopian sheep. The embassy were so unfortunate as to incur the enmity of the Comus, or Bishop of Shoa, who appears to possess great influ-

ence with the king; by him they were interdicted from visiting the cemetery upon the festival of the Holy Virgin. The five churches of the metropolis were not, however, forgotten. Of these, the cathedral of St. Michael is the most important; having taken off their shoes, they were permitted to enter upon the floor of muddy rushes. The interior of the building, of a naked and desolate character, was crowded by monks and beggars, presenting every aspect of wretchedness, mutilation, and sloth. A certain portion of black barley bread is the remuneration of the daily service. The walls were daubed with a few pictures representing scenes in sacred history, or the creed; and in that part of the church into which the high priest alone enters is deposited "the sacred *tabot*, or ark of the faith, consecrated at Gendar by the delegate of the Coptic patriarch; and around the veil that fell before this mysterious emblem there hung in triumph four sporting pictures, from the pencil of Alken, which had been presented to his majesty. They represented the great Leicestershire steeple-chase; and Dick Christian, with his head in a ditch, occupied by far the most prominent niche in the boasted cathedral of St. Michael." At this time, being the fast of the Assumption of the Virgin, which is strictly observed by all classes, the king remained at Machal, mortifying himself upon fish, eaten raw, with vegetable oil and pepper.

A better house was at length obtained for the mission; and the fast having terminated, the king removed to Angóllala, his permanent residence, inviting the strangers to follow him to Debra Berhan, to witness the annual review at the feast of Maskal. Debra Berhan signifies the hill of glory; but the royal residence does not accord with the title—desolation and squalidness mark the place. From the village is seen the ancient capital of Abyssinia—Tegulet, the city of the Wolves. Debra Berhan is one of the chief dépôts for the slaves, the possession of whom Major Harris justly considers to be a disgrace to a Christian monarch. After the conclusion of the annual review and festivities of Maskal, the king visited Angóllala, which, though only recently founded, is now the capital of Western Shoa. The city is composed of four or five hundred circular huts, scattered along the hill-sides. The palace possessed all the miserable characteristics of an Abyssinian abode. The floor was strewn with grass newly cut, and a wood fire blazed in an iron stove. Here the mission had the opportunity of witnessing the administration of Ethiopic justice. A translation of the code of Justinian, modified to the habits and feelings of the country, forms the basis of legal

decisions. It is entitled the Fétha Negést, or Judgment of the Kings, and derives an importance from a tradition which describes it to have fallen from heaven during the reign of Constantine the Great. There seem to be three tribunals before which disputes are heard—first, the governors of provinces, who are compared to the feudal barons of Europe in the Gothic ages; second, a court of appeal, called the Four Wamberoch, or Chairs, and who take cognizance of civil and criminal accusations; and third, the king himself, whose decision is final. The monastery of Affaf Woira possesses the privilege of a sanctuary; not even the king himself presuming to touch the person of a criminal who may have obtained shelter within its walls. A singular provision is made with regard to a murderer, who, if he succeed in gaining the consent of the relatives of the deceased, may commute his punishment for a stipulated ransom, to be sought by public begging in every direction. But this provision, curious as it is, yields to a custom in civil actions. “In all the courts of judicature, interest for money lent is at the rate of one *amole* per mensem upon each dollar.” In the absence of notes of hand, the security is required of a housekeeper, named *wás*; and, in the failure of obtaining such a guarantee, it is a fact, that either the creditor, or one of his retainers, is chained to the defaulter, who, in this extraordinary union, wander through the country together, exciting the sympathy of the beholders by their mingling cries of “By Mary!—By Mary!” Somewhat similar, in the excess of absurdity, is the manner of the Abyssinian parents, who, upon receiving medical assistance from the mission, instead of offering any testimony of their gratitude for the benefit conferred, invariably insisted on receiving a reward, as well as a cure.

We have already alluded to the property of the King of Shoa in slaves; in his palace, at Ankober, three thousand slaves, of both sexes, are engaged in their daily occupations. The sketch by Major Harris is worth extracting:—

“In one quarter are to be seen groups of busy females, engaged in the manufacture of beer and hydromel. Flat cakes of tefl and wheat are preparing by the hundred under the next roof, and from the dark recesses of the building rises the plaintive ditty of those who grind the corn by the sweat of their brow. Here cauldrons of red pepper soup yield up their potent steam; and in the adjacent compartment long twisted strips of old cotton rag are being dipped into a sea of molten bees'-wax. Throughout the female establishment the bloated and cross-grained eunuch presides; and his unsparing rod instructs his loquacious and giggling charge that they are not to gaze at the passing stranger. In the sunny veranda of the wardrobe, tailors and curriers are achieving all manner of curious amulets and devices,

the offspring of a savage brain. Blacksmiths are banging away at the anvil under the eaves of the banqueting-hall. Turbaned priests, seated in the porch, are armed with a party-coloured cow's tail, and with it they indolently drive the flies from musty volumes, detailing the miracles of the saints, which are elevated in a rack before their ancient eyes. In one shed votaries are diligently committing to parchment elaborate inventories of tribute received; sacred books are being bound in a second. In a crowded corner painters are perpetrating in the illuminated page atrocious daubs of our first parent, carrying spear and buckler, in the Garden of Eden; and in the long shadow thrown by the slaughter-house, whence a stream of blood is ever flowing over the road, carpenters are destroying bad wood, in a clumsy attempt to fashion a gun-stock with a farrier's rasp, for the reception of an old honey-combed barrel, which promises to burst upon the very first discharge. Governors and nobles, with shields and silver swords, are seated above. Clamorous paupers, itinerant monks, and applicants for justice, fill the lower courts. The open *arada* before the great gate is choked with idlers, gossips, and immoveable beggars, having seared eye-balls and mutilated limbs, who, from the rising up to the going down of the sun, maintain one incessant howl of importunity. Oxen and asses, goats and sheep, have established their head-quarters in every filthy avenue; newly-picked bones and bullock skulls strew the rugged descent; and on the west terrace, surrounded by stagnant mire, behold Ayto Wolda Hána himself, seated in magisterial dignity, arranging the affairs of the nation. Hundreds tremble at his uncompromising nod; and appellant and respondent, accuser and accused, alike bared to the girdle, bend in cringing submission, as in a cracked and querrulous voice the despot legislator delivers his arbitrary fiat."

It may be doubted whether the residence of any potentate in the world could furnish us a companion picture.

Major Harris has collected several illustrations of Abyssinian superstition. The influence of the Evil Eye is universally believed. The *Beza*, or sacrifice for the sick, is very singular: a bullock, after being driven round the bed where the sufferer lies, is killed upon the other side of the threshold; or, if a bullock be wanting, "an egg is turned thrice towards the head of the patient, and then broken beside him." Snakes may wander about unharmed on every day of the week, except Saturday or Sunday. Sorcerers, to whom is allotted an almost endless period of existence, are supposed to inhabit the regions of air. A blacksmith is considered to be endowed with the faculty of changing himself into a wolf or a hyena; and no metal can be reduced into any desired shape in the presence of a cross, or any other Christian emblem. In every part of Shoa evil spirits are thought to take up their habitation in lakes, and in one especially—Nugareet-fer—"the drum of the water-keelpy is frequently heard." Blacksmiths, however, do

not possess the monopoly of transforming themselves into hyenas, the privilege being shared by Jewish sorcerers, who are said to descend, in this alarming guise, from the mountains at night. Omens, good and evil, are most abundant. The sight of a hare would unsettle the firmest resolves, while an antelope awakens every good hope. A fox promises success, if seen upon the right hand; but if on the left, there is no possibility of a happy adventure. The prognostics of the white buzzard depend on the position of its tail; while the croak of the goorameila is at once fatal to every anticipation of pleasure. We may mention as a curious, if not a superstitious circumstance, the practice that prevails in a certain district of Shoa, remarkable for its productive fertility, not only of estimating the wealth of a man by the number of his ploughshares, but of burying them till they are wanted.

Abyssinia, our readers are already aware, possesses several specimens of the monastic life. Of these the most remarkable is the monastery of Mantek, to which is assigned an antiquity of a thousand years. La Trappe never enclosed a gloomier fraternity. Not only are the brethren prohibited from looking at a woman, but they are also interdicted, under a severe curse, from hearing a female voice, or from eating bread which has been kneaded by female hands. Any violation of this law is punished by excommunication for twenty years. The general economy of life in Mantek is in harmony with the savageness of its creed. Upon Saturday or Sunday, whatever may be the intensity of the cold, no fire is lighted; and during the remainder of the week a strict fast is observed. Many, we are told, sit up to their necks in water for days together; whether by injunction, or merely by way of supererogation, the writer does not say. Certain seasons, however, are provided for all the members of this delightful establishment to scourge their naked bodies with rods of sharp thorns. Superior rank seems only to obtain an enlarged proportion of misery; for "while every brother sleeps, in a sitting posture, upon a hard clay bench, with his loins girt about by a tough cord, the *Alaka*, their superior, does penance continually in a massive iron chain." The porter of this extraordinary convent is in every respect adapted to the society to which he introduces the visitor. He is a blind dwarf, two feet four inches in height, and who is carried, when necessary, from his post of watching, upon the shoulders of the monks. The ignorance and prejudice of these zealots may be readily imagined. One of the most intelligent of the number is described as believing in the history of the winged chariot of Ethiopia, in which the ark of the covenant



was brought from the holy temple ; and in Leviathan he perceived a gigantic serpent carrying the world upon its back. Major Harris concludes his second volume with an account of a convention of commerce, comprising sixteen articles, which the king was induced to sign and ratify between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Shoa, and which mitigated, if it did not annul, the severity of the national maxim, that the stranger who had once entered Abyssinia should never be suffered to depart from the country.

The third volume opens with some remarks upon the traditional and genuine history of Abyssinia, of which Ethiopia is the classical name, though the inhabitants of the highlands between Nubia and the blue Nile are accustomed to give to the country the designation of *Habesh*. The chronicles—*Kebra za Negest* (the glory of the kings)—give a curious account of the early records of Ethiopia, the visit of whose queen to Solomon is affirmed to have placed the sceptre in the hands of the tribe of Judah, who still retain it: this tradition is universally believed by all ranks of people. Some time after the queen, whose name was Maqueda, had returned from her distant journey, she transmitted her son to the court of Solomon, whence, having been instructed in the laws and sciences of the Jews, he was sent back to his native land, “escorted by a large suite of the nobles of Israel, and a band of her most learned elders, under the direction of Ascarias, the son of Zadok, the high priest.” The queen, when bequeathing the empire to her son, caused a law to be enjoined, with the sanction of an oath, that females should for the future be excluded from the sovereignty, and that all the members of the royal family, upon whom the crown did not devolve, should be imprisoned upon a lofty mountain—a cruel exaction of tyranny long enforced, and which suggested one of the most famous tales of English fiction. The Emperor of Ethiopia soon assumed the title of *Negoos*, or *Negash*. Christianity, though previously introduced, did not become the national religion of Abyssinia until the beginning of the fourth century. The descendants of the Jews, who had emigrated from Jerusalem, refused to adopt the new creed, and, under the direction of a sovereign elected from their own people, they seized the mountain-fastnesses of Simien, where they were continually joined by bodies of Jews who had been driven from Palestine and Arabia.

We have already alluded to the incarceration of the immediate relatives of the Abyssinian sovereign. When the British mission arrived in Shoa, seven princes of the blood-royal were confined in the vaults of Goncho, where they dragged out a

miserable existence, cheered only by carving harps and ornaments of ivory. The younger son, and the presumed heir to the throne, is condemned to a less painful, but still irksome, seclusion in a monastery at Medák. The education of the royal family differs in few respects from that generally adopted in the country; they are instructed in warlike exercises, their general conduct being overlooked by guardians especially appointed to that charge, in connection with eunuchs and nurses. The influence of the Church shapes their system of education, which has, at least, a religious form and adaptation. They fast, repeat prayers, and read the Psalms at night. "The study of the Gebata Hawariat, or 'table of the apostles,' which comprises the seven Epistles of Peter, John, James, and Jude, and the acquisition of the Psalter by heart, is followed by the perusal of the Revelation, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Gospels; the histories of the holy Virgin, of Saints George and Michael, Saint Tekla Haimanot, and others, completing the course." Few of the priests being able to write, the Abyssinian princes make little, if any, progress in that necessary accomplishment. The mention of the king's family leads Major Harris to speak of the royal harem, which comprises five hundred concubines: the admission of a new member is preceded by a liberal present on the part of her friends. We are told that Chamie, the Galla Queen of Moolo Falada, near the Nile, accompanied the inauguration of her daughter with a dower of two hundred milch cows, one hundred teams of oxen, with ploughs, horses, slaves, gassela skins, and five hundred vessels of virgin honey, with twelve cats to protect them from the mice. The emblem of imperial rank throughout intra-tropical Africa is the *Nugareet*, or kettle-drum. It is the authoritative promulgator of appointments, edicts, and proclamations; it exercises, also, an influence over the affairs of the Church. The kingly costume is generally simple; on particular occasions, however, of state display, the tight under vest of green silk is richly embroidered, and bracelets and rings decorate the arms and fingers of the monarch, who is represented as combining many degrading vices with many endearing virtues. A sketch of his daily life will exhibit him in a pleasing aspect; we shall condense some of the particulars which our author has collected. The forenoon of every day, except Saturday or Sunday, is devoted by the king to public business, especially with a view to the appeals which are brought from the inferior courts of judicature. He listens attentively to all; the right of admission into the royal presence being universally conceded. His judgment is said to be always

prompt, and generally correct. At three o'clock he dines. The conclusion of his repast is the signal for throwing open the doors of the banqueting-hall, in which a long table is crowded with the most distinguished persons of the court. Music enlivens the entertainment, which lasts a considerable period—the culinary supplies being thrice replenished and thrice exhausted. In the midst of the Babel of sounds the king resumes his occupation—reads letters or issues directions until five, when he retires with a few intimate companions to the private apartments, where “prayers and potent liquors fill up the evening hours.” At midnight he rises to perform devotional exercises; while a band of priests remain in an ante-chamber throughout the night singing hymns, in order to preserve the slumbers of the royal sleeper from “the influence of evil spirits or apparitions.” He finds, however, a more efficient protection in a company of selected soldiers, who keep guard in his chamber at night; the palace gates are closed and watched after sunset; and he himself never quits the palace without furnishing his favourite amulet with a formidable coadjutor in a pistol concealed under his girdle. The chief officers of the household are eunuchs. The official next in rank is the Dech Agafari, or herald, his badge of authority being a rod of green rushes, with which he introduces visitors to the presence of his master. The library is under the care of the chief of the Church, originally a layman and soldier, and elevated to this appointment against all the customs of the country. The important duties of head of the handicraftsmen throughout the kingdom, and of physician in ordinary, are concentrated in the same individual; it being required of him to partake copiously of every drug which he proposes to administer to his royal patient: no medicine is taken until after this preliminary examination has been passed. The king is popular among the clergy, without sharing their bigotry and intolerance. He encourages literature, if so dignified a name can be applied to the knowledge of such a people, “and spends considerable sums of money in collecting ancient manuscripts.” His natural endowments far exceed those which he has acquired; a corrupted religion has, however, made no progress in purifying his heart. Enfeebled by excess, he exhibits the old age of the passions, even while just entering upon the autumn of life: unstained by cruelty, mild in manner, charitable in disposition, not destitute of conscientious principles, loved by his subjects, and feared by his neighbours, he wanted alone to have lived in a healthier atmosphere of habit and religion to have been a true benefactor of his country.

Of the dominions of this singular monarch some interesting notices are given. The hereditary provinces, composing the kingdom of Shoa, "are comprised in a rectangular domain of one hundred and fifty by ninety miles, which area is traversed by five systems of mountains, whereof the culminating point divides the basin of the Nile from that of the Hardash." The Christian population is estimated at a million, while the Mohammedan and Pagan inhabitants of the "numerous dependencies" approach to a million and a half. The revenues, which are chiefly derived from duties upon slaves, merchandize, and silk, imported from other countries, amount to eighty or ninety thousand German crowns, of which the annual expenses of the State are said to require only ten thousand. The mother of the reigning prince exercises a subordinate sovereignty in the centre of the kingdom, but her son takes cognizance of appeals from her decision—her dignity is, therefore, properly vice-regal. The administration of the affairs of the empire is entrusted to four hundred governors, styled *Shoomant*, together with fifty *Abagasock*, who guard the frontier. "Gold forms the exclusive privilege of royalty;" and only a few favoured warriors and chiefs of the highest rank have succeeded in obtaining an exemption from the severe penalties incurred by the use of ornaments and coloured apparel. The chapter upon the Galla dependencies, in the south of Abyssinia, communicates information both new and interesting. The people are pastoral and agricultural in their pursuits, possessing the finest breed of horses in Ethiopia. The women, like the men, excel in horsemanship. There is something pleasing and picturesque in their habitations. "The hamlet is often concealed amid the dark green groves of towering cedar-like juniper, of which sombre forests grace the deep broken ravine; and through each rocky channel tumbles the foaming cascade, to meander over the luxuriant pasture, redolent of aromatic herbs. Bees form a portion of the wealth of every family, and the flower-clothed meads, fostered by an Italian sky, are covered with them."

The remarks of Major Harris on the unexplored countries to the south deserve attention. We can only allude to his description of the Doko—a race of pigmies, whose stature does not exceed *four feet*. Their complexion is a dark olive; their lips thick; their eyes small; their noses flat; their nails uncut; they wear no clothes, and dwell in the gloomy depths of bamboo forests, in wigwams constructed of bent canes and grass. "They have no king, no law, no arts, no arms; possess neither flocks nor herds;" are neither hunters nor agri-

culturists, but subsist upon the spontaneous productions of nature. They, of course, furnish an easy prey to the slave merchants, who find them a very profitable article of commerce. Major Harris identifies these remarkable savages with the pignies of the ancients, mentioned by Herodotus, who were said to be found only in tropical Africa.

The river Gochob—which is calculated to exercise so vast an influence on the future civilization of Africa—is rendered especially interesting by the countries through which it flows. On either bank are scattered communities of Ethiopian Christians, preserving, amid the mountain solitudes of a Pagan and Mohammedan country, some embers, at least, of a holier creed. The Church of Emanuel, in the lake Zooai, is particularly mentioned, as containing “the holy arks, umbrellas, drums, gold and silver chairs, and other furniture, belonging to all the sacred edifices of southern Abyssinia.” Gurague is inhabited by a Christian population; and between Garro and Metcha a tribe of Christians has been discovered concealing themselves from the persecution of their Heathen neighbours in caves among the mountains. On the frontier of Gurague lies the little mountain district or state of Cambat, almost entirely inhabited by Christians, who, in addition to fifteen churches, possess numerous monasteries, but are destitute of priests. Not very remote is Wollamo, also a Christian province, “whose inhabitants are purchased for twenty pieces of salt, and frequently brought by the slave dealers to Shoa.” Of these various principalities, fragments of the old splendour of Ethiopia, Susa is described as the most important, exceeding Shoa in extent, but strongly resembling it in manners and customs. Gold, as in Shoa, is confined to the dress of the royal family. The capital is Bonga. The religion of the country is nominally Christian, but debased by the most grovelling blasphemy and superstition, of which a single awful illustration may be produced. There hangs in the cathedral of Susa a leathern bag, brought by the priests from Gondar, and into which it is asserted that the Patriarch of the Abyssinian Church had blown the breath of the Holy Ghost. The ceremony of ordination seems to consist in “opening this bag, and causing a puff to pass across the face” of the candidate. The priests wear antique robes and silver mitres. Some of the customs speak of an eastern origin. The king, though he is present daily in the banqueting-hall, is concealed by a curtain from the observation of the guests. Like the ancient Egyptians, they braid their hair in long tresses after the slaughter of an enemy. The Sabbath-day is observed with peculiar strictness, so far

as regards business and occupation. The people are active and warlike: their diet resembles that of Shoa: raw flesh, seasoned with pepper, is a chief article of food; coffee and tea grow wild, and, together with snuff, constitute some of the luxuries of the natives. Their superstitions are numerous and absurd. No person would venture to employ a new knife in cutting meat before it had been blown upon by the priest. The same fear of iron-smiths which prevails in Shoa exists also in Susa. If the punishment of theft be taken as an example of their criminal code, it is impossible to deny their claim to considerable originality and refinement in cruelty. The thief, having been sewn up in a green hide, is "suspended by the heels in the market place, with the stolen property about his neck, until the contraction of the drying skin" terminates his lingering torment.

In this part of his narrative, Major Harris introduces a sketch of the religious history of Ethiopia. It was in the year of our Lord 330, that a Tyrian merchant, engaged in a commercial voyage to India, was murdered upon the barbarous coast of Ethiopia, while his sons, Frumentius and Edesius, were made prisoners and taken before the emperor. Their abilities and prudence, however, soon conciliated the esteem of the monarch and of his people. The brothers employed their influence in laborious efforts to effect the conversion of the natives; and when, at length, Frumentius communicated to Athanasius, in Alexandria, the success of his enterprise, he was consecrated the first Bishop of Ethiopia, thus commencing an intercourse with Egypt, which, during fifteen hundred years, has remained unbroken; the office of Patriarch Aboon ("our father") of the Ethiopic Church having been constantly bestowed upon a Coptish priest. Upon the return of Frumentius, "baptism was instituted, deacons and presbyters appointed, churches erected, and a firm foundation laid whereon to establish the Christian religion in Abyssinia." The fire of controversy which the Council of Chalcedon kindled in 481 was felt in Abyssinia, which sided with the Patriarch of Alexandria. Soon after this period, Ethiopia began to recede even from the vision of polemical eyes, and during ten centuries remained unknown to the observation of Europe, yet "preserving her independence from all foreign yoke, and guarding in safety the flame of that faith which she had inherited from her fathers." Asceticism followed controversy; monasteries rose; and an ecclesiastic, under the title of *Etcheque*, had the supervision of all the religious establishments in the country. The new faith spread "from the great river Gochob to the fron-

tiers of Nubia—the crutch and the cowl pervaded the land. Churches were erected in every convenient spot, and the blue badge of nominal Christianity encircled the necks of an ignorant multitude.”

It was at the beginning of the sixteenth century that the existence of a Christian kingdom in Africa, venerable for its antiquity and its bravery, was proclaimed in Portugal; and during forty years an intercourse was maintained between the two countries, so contrary to each other in their habits and customs. We shall not attempt to give any account of the desperate and persevering struggles of the Jesuits to fix the roots of their baneful system in the rich soil of Abyssinia; it is sufficient to say that they proved ineffectual, and the expulsion of the brethren of Loyola from the country was hailed with all the ardour of national enthusiasm.

We shall now endeavour to present to our readers some of the facts which we have gleaned from these travels with relation to the Church in Abyssinia. Christianity is the national religion; the Aboon, or Archbishop, being the spiritual head, and endowed with large revenues. - He possesses the single and exclusive power of consecration to every ecclesiastical office. The second rank is held by the Etcheque, or Grand Prior of the monks of Debra Libanos; the Comus, or Bishop, occupies the third step. The inferior clergy amount to the surprising number of twelve thousand. No person is admitted to the order of priesthood until his beard has become manifest. The churches in Abyssinia are said to be more numerous than in any other country of the world—but they are miserable specimens of architecture, being composed of wattle, plastered with mud, and “circular in form, with a door to each quarter of the compass, and a conical thatch, the apex surmounted by a brazen cross, which is usually adorned with ostrich eggs.” Like the Jewish temple, the Abyssinian church is divided into three parts. The first, called *Kene Mahelet*, strewn with green rushes, eight feet in breadth, and encircling the building, is appropriated to morning worship. The second division, *Makdas*, is the sanctuary, devoted to the service of the priests, having “a corner set apart for laymen during the administration of the Holy Supper, while a cloth screens the mysteries of the interior.” No footstep, except that of the Alaka, enters the *Kedis Kedisen*—holy of holies, which contains the vessels or the celebration of the Communion. The threshold and door-posts of the church are kissed by the worshipper upon his entrance; and the Abyssinian, like the Hebrew service, commences with the Trisagion. The dance:

forms also a chief feature of the ceremonial. The lessons, selected from the Scriptures, or from fabulous histories, are in the ancient Ethiopic language, and therefore unintelligible to the congregation. Of the nature of their creed, the following confession presents a painful exposition :—

“ That the Alexandrian faith is the only true belief.

“ That faith, together with baptism, is sufficient for justification ; but that God demands alms and fasting, as amends for sin committed, prior to the performance of the baptismal rite.

“ That unchristened children are not saved.

“ That the baptism of water is the true regeneration.

“ That invocation ought to be made to the saints, because sinning mortals are unworthy to appear in the presence of God, and because, if the saints be well loved, they will listen to all prayers.

“ That all sins are forgiven from the moment that the kiss of the pilgrim is imprinted on the stones of Jerusalem, and that kissing the hand of a priest purifies from all sin.

“ That sins must be confessed to the priest or saints invoked, and full faith reposed in charms and amulets, more especially if written in an unknown tongue.

“ That prayers for the dead are necessary, and absolution indispensable ; but that the souls of the departed do not immediately enter upon a state of happiness, the period being in exact accordance with the alms and prayers that are expended upon earth.”

Some slight but interesting remarks are given upon several rites and practices which the Abyssinians seem to have borrowed from the Jews. The interdiction against partaking of animals pronounced to be unclean is equally binding on both nations. The “ sinew which shrank ” is never eaten in Shoa. The Jewish Sabbath is rigidly observed : cattle repose and the labours of husbandry are suspended. They fasts on Wednesday and Friday, and the forty days preceding Easter, are kept with especial strictness. “ According to the Jewish practice, all culinary utensils must be thoroughly cleansed and polished, to the end that no particle of meat or prohibited food may remain to pollute the pious intention. Journeys and travels are strictly interdicted : and from the Thursday until Easter noon, no morsel should enter the lip, and the parched throat ought to remain without moisture.” The Jewish confession of sins upon the day of atonement is reflected in the Abyssinian confession in the fast of Hodada. A resemblance to a Latin custom is also mentioned—“ As the slave, in token of his freedom and dismissal, received the blow from the Roman prætor, so the penitent, on absolution, receives a stroke over the shoulders from the branch of the woira tree as a sign of his deliverance from sin and Satan.” The hired



mourners of the Israelites are supplied by the weeping friends and relatives of the deceased. Many Talmudical legends have become woven into the texture of Abyssinian superstition; and they entertain the strongest belief in the efficient assistance of departed saints, even in temporal things.

From the Church, we pass to the people of Abyssinia. The complexion varies from an olive brown to the deepest hue of blackness. In stature, they are tall and well-formed. The women endeavour to heighten their natural charms by plucking out the eyebrows, and supplying their place by "a deep narrow curved line," painted with a strong permanent blue dye; and persons of rank and fashion complete the attractions of their appearance by imparting to their hands and feet a crimson colour, obtained from a bulb called *ensosela*, "securely plugging up the nostrils with lemon peel, or some aromatic herb, so that the end of the bouquet may dangle before the mouth." No shoes are worn either by the king or his subjects, and the priests and monks alone have a covering on their heads. Water is regarded with a religious terror, and the application of his discoloured robe to his eyes is the only ablution which the Christian of Shoa bestows upon his features when he rises from his repose. Black and yellow are the colours appropriated to mourning; or if the common dress be still worn, it must be *steeped in mire*. A small cord of deep blue silk, emblematic of the sky, is the universal ensign of the Abyssinian creed. Of their dwellings, Major Harris gives a picture at once minute and wretched. Composed of a rude frame-work of stakes, daubed with mud, with holes in the walls instead of windows, and a wood-fire, having no chimney up which to pour its smoke, they affect the civilized visitor with sensations of disgust; but characteristics far more miserable remain:—

"The absence of drains or sewers compels the population of the towns and villages to live like swine, inhaling all the odours of decomposing matter and stagnant water. The comfort of space is never consulted; stables and outhouses are far beyond the notions of the proprietor; and, in the absence of all tidiness or comfort in the arrangement of the yards, the unseemly dunghill, which in other countries is carried away to improve the soil, is here suffered to accumulate and rot before the entrance, poisoning the atmosphere with its baneful exhalations; it is periodically swept away by the descending torrents, to feed the rank weeds which fatten in the mire; but no attempt is to be seen at the small trim garden, or neat rustic porch, even in the low farm standings which are scattered throughout the country. All alike present a dreary look of desertion. The poultry, and the mules, and the farm stock, and the inhabitants, all reside under the same roof.

walls and slovenly thatch rise from a straggling wattle stockade,

which environs the premises, to preserve the inmates from the nocturnal attacks of the prowling hyena, and to impart the fullest idea of confinement and misery. Few trees break the monotony of the scene. No busy hum of glad labour is to be heard—no bustle or noise among the elders—no merry games or amusement among the children—and thus, to the European visitor, the whole appears strange, savage, and unnatural.”

We now return to the kingdom of Shoa, which was the immediate object of the visit of the mission, and shall endeavour to collect a few miscellaneous notices of its manners and customs, in addition to those which we have already produced. The pursuits of the inhabitants are agricultural, and might be supposed to render them averse to war and distant expeditions; in that case, exemption from service can only be purchased by a fine of eight pieces of salt, amounting in value to twenty-pence sterling. The forfeit, however, is rarely paid, the peasant being anxious to join in any plundering excursion which might afford him an opportunity of capturing a slave or a flock of sheep. The higher classes, not employed in Government situations, spend the greater portion of their time in basking under the sun, in idle talk with their neighbours, or in playing at *Gébbeta*, or *Shuntridge*, the Arab game of chess, slightly altered. A singular provision marks Abyssinian intercourse; we refer to the *Caldoraba*, or “introducer,” who, upon the first introduction of a stranger, is selected from the establishment for his especial service. “He is designed to illustrate the agency of the holy Virgin and of the saints, between the Redeemer and the sinning mortal.” Through this extraordinary official, admittance by the stranger can alone be obtained; and a visit made in his absence is certain to prove ineffectual.

The domestic economy is very simple. Two meals are taken in the day—at noon and sunset. The doors are closed and a fire is lighted before the repast is commenced; the first precaution being taken against the Evil Eye, and the second to prevent the entrance of devils in the dark. Bruce’s description of the manner of Abyssinian eating is confirmed by Harris. In the absence of napkins, they wipe their fingers on the cakes of bread, “which serve as platters, and are afterwards devoured by the domestics.” A loud smacking of the lips, while partaking of food, is considered an indisputable sign of politeness, and familiarity with good society. A person who does not possess this accomplishment, they say *eats as if he were ashamed of it*. Raw flesh is the chief article of diet, and is much esteemed if torn from the living body. Sour bread, with pottage of onions, red pepper, and salt, is eaten by the lower

and middle classes ; the finer kind—*daboo*—being restricted to men of rank and opulence. Mead is the champagne of Abyssinia, and its preparation is confined to the sovereign, who possesses the entire monopoly of the manufacture : it improves with age, and the present king has some jars of it in his cellar which was brewed thirty years ago. The hour for retiring to rest is usually an early one. No luxuries are required or sought. “A bullock’s hide is stretched upon the mud floor, on which, for mutual warmth, all the inferior members of the family lie huddled together. The clothing of the day, forming the covering at night, is equitably distributed over the whole party ; and should the master of the house require sustenance during the nocturnal hours, a collop of raw flesh and a horn of ale are presented by a male or female attendant, who starts without apparel from the group of sleepers, exclaiming, ‘*abiet !*’—‘my lord !’—to the well-known summons from the famished *gaita*.” Coffee and smoking are interdicted ; and during six months of the year no meat, eggs, or butter, are allowed to be eaten. From sunrise to sunset a rigid abstinence from all food is observed ; and they who are unable to procure fish are obliged to satisfy their hunger with a small quantity of boiled wheat, dried peas, or cabbage leaves, smoothed over with vegetable oil. “The fast of the apostles continues eighteen days ; that of the holy Virgin sixteen ; Christmas seven ; Nineveh four ; and Lent fifty-six.” During this long period all labour comes to a pause. The greatest holyday in Abyssinia is celebrated on the Epiphany, styled “*temkat*,” which means *baptism*. This annual purification is supposed to wash away the sins of the year. “On the evening preceding the festival, the priests of all the churches in Ankober and the environs, carrying the holy *tabots* under gaudy canopies, assembled in the open space, termed *Arada*, immediately in front of the palace. Here, according to custom, they were received by the governor of the town, who, after falling prostrate on his face before the arks, escorted the procession to the river Airàra, the clergy dancing and singing, while the female portion of the inhabitants lined the hill-side to indulge in the shrillest exultation. A tent for each Church had been erected on the bank, and after the completion of a temporary dam across the stream, the night was spent in chanting appropriate hymns and psalms. Long before dawn the pent-up waters having been blessed by the officiating priest, the entire population—the young, the old, the wealthy, and the indigent, gathered from many miles around—casting off their habiliments, flocked promiscuously into the pool.” The most disgraceful scenes are said to accom-

pany and to desecrate this religious ceremony—intoxication and license prevail, and every blasphemy is committed against the sanctity of Him whom they profess to honour. The clergy differ from the laity in personal appearance and costume. They wear beards, and their heads are swathed by enormous white turbans, which they regard as representing the veil with which Moses covered his face when he descended from the mount with the tables of the law. Their outward dress consists of a black woollen cloak, “studded with emblems of the faith and furnished with a peaked hood.” The robe in which they officiate is either of scarlet cloth or variegated drapery. They never move without a silver or brazen cross and a slender crutch; and upon particular occasions they exhibit the mitre, the censer, and the umbrellas.

We may here refer to the author’s chapter on the language and literature of Abyssinia. Until the fourteenth century the ancient Ethiopic continued to be the national language; it has now been superseded by the Amharic, which is descended from the old Ethiopic: it is the only language in Abyssinia which possesses a written form. Among the customs introduced by the Jews into Abyssinia, that of writing on parchment rolls still prevails. “The ink is a mucilage of gum-arabic mixed with lamp-black: it acquires the consistency of that used in printing, and retains its intense colour for ages. The pen is the reed used in the east, but without any nib; and the ink-stand is the sharp end of a cow’s horn, which is stuck into the ground as the writer squats to his task.” The process, however, seems to be performed with great difficulty. The transcription of a single manuscript has occupied seventeen years, and unwearied diligence could alone succeed in filling one page in an entire day. “A book is composed of separate leaves enclosed between wooden boards, usually furnished with the fragment of a broken looking-glass for the toilet of the proprietor, and carefully enveloped in a leathern case.” The illuminators of missals and other books in the middle ages might stare at the tools and productions of the Abyssinian artist, who works his prodigies of pictorial skill “with the chewed point of a reed dabbled in the yolk of an egg.” The chronological absurdities are not less entertaining: Adam, in the enjoyment of his paradisiacal state, is delineated in a kind of court dress, with an emblazoned buckler and silver sword; while Eve appears by his side with a wig in the shape of a bee-hive, and enormous silver ear-rings. The literature of Abyssinia is all included in one hundred and ten manuscripts, of which Major Harris gives a list in the appendix to his third

volume. Of these, four only are written in the language spoken and understood by the people; and, with the exception of the holy Scriptures, they consist entirely of controversies and legends. "Four monstrous folios, styled *senkesar*, which are to be found in every church, briefly record the miracles and lives of the countless saints and eminent persons who receive adoration in Abyssinia; and on the day ordered by the calendar for the service of each, his biography is read for the edification of all those of the congregation who comprehend the Ethiopic tongue."

The influence of such a literature as this must be feeble indeed. There is no popular education; even the rudiments of instruction are confined to those children who are designed for the priesthood. The five churches of *Ankober* are able to collect an aggregate of about eighty persons who possess an official acquaintance with religion and reading; while the uninformed population of the city amounts to twelve or fifteen thousand. The preparation for the priesthood, including singing and playing upon the *tsnasin*, occupies seven years. It may be observed, that as princes and priests alone are taught while living, so to none but the king is a coffin allowed when dead, "manufactured of sweet wood, and perforated with many apertures; it is placed on stone trestles amid clouds of frankincense, and after a season is removed into the mausoleum."

Major Harris introduces some brief but valuable remarks upon slavery and the slave trade in Shoa. In Africa, slaves exceed freemen in the proportion of three to one. *Enarea* and *Gurague* are the chief marts frequented by the dealers trafficking with Abyssinia. The king not only possesses the right of taxing one in every ten, but also of becoming the first purchaser of any slaves passing through his dominions: his household comprises eight thousand of both sexes. Slavery is hereditary. The common price of a slave at Shoa varies from ten to twenty German crowns. It is proper to add the writer's assurance, that the African bondage is "tinctured with none of the horrors of West Indian slavery." He traces the introduction of the slave trade to foreign wars, intestine feuds, and especially to the Mohammedan invaders. The reigning monarch is sensible not only of the evils of slavery, viewed as a domestic institution, but also of the possibility of replacing it by a better system of economy; but any interference with a habit so woven into the popular mind would be fatal to its popularity. Major Harris considers that the instrument of suppressing the barter in slaves must be sought in the Aboon, or head of the Ethiopian Church, who possesses unequalled

influence over all classes of the people, and than whom, he says, "one better disposed is not likely ever to fill the episcopal throne at Gondar."

The present condition of the kingdom of Shoa cannot be contemplated without feelings of interest. Its burdens are oppressive: an agriculture heavily taxed; a Church Establishment, ignorant, avaricious, superstitious, and corrupt; a judicature paid by bribes; destitute of schools to diffuse education, or roads to promote commerce; it, nevertheless, possesses many rich endowments, and many rudiments of a better state of government. The plough has replaced the rude African hoe; the soil is fertile; the crops are abundant. The despotism of the monarch does not entirely fetter the liberty of the subject; the rights of private property are recognized; most of the land is brought under cultivation, though with rude implements, and without any aid from scientific husbandry. The population does not exceed the produce; the mountainous character of the country produces a variety of climate; the high table-land being cool and healthy, while the low wooded valleys are unwholesome and hot. September is the fever month, when even the wild birds emigrate to a more healthful atmosphere. Rains are abundant. The "rain of bounty" commences in February, and continues for thirty days, while the "rain of covenant" frequently descends, with little intermission, from the close of June to the end of September. Forty-three species of grain and other useful products are said to be already reared from this fertile soil. The aspect of the country presents every variety of grandeur, beauty, floridness, and repose. Pastoral farms nestle in shadowy glens, and picturesque villages hang upon the mountain sides, composing a delicious landscape. "On the elevated plateaux, a succession of gentle undulations of pasture and arable land, intersected by green meadows and bare-banked rivulets, rise in endless continuation to the view, undisturbed by a solitary tree. Villages and farm-houses proclaim a country which has long enjoyed the blessings of peace. Its craggy mountains rise in magnificent ranges from the centre, divided each by a thousand chasms, in whose depths run clear gushing rills. Tangled bushes and evergreen shrubs diversify the cliffs, many of which are crowned with magnificent woods. In every nook are to be seen and scented the myrtle, the eglantine, and the jasmine. The intervening slopes, which form the most desirable sites of residence, are clothed in luxuriant crops, and in herbage fed by the oozing streams from above; and at the foot of the range repose the rich and smiling valleys, hid in all the luxu-

riance of tropical foliage, from the gigantic sycamore, beloved of the heathen Galla, and measuring upwards of forty feet in circumference, to the light and elegant acacia, which distils the much prized gum." From such a country much might be expected, and for it much ought to be done. If Africa be ever christianized and civilized, it must be by Africans—if ever that moral wilderness is to blossom like the rose, it must be by the aid of native gardeners. May it be the glorious privilege of England to sow the seed, and to commit the bread of life to the waters, waiting and hoping in holy patience to find it after many days!

We feel that we have been enabled to offer, within our contracted limits, only an imperfect abstract of these volumes, which must undoubtedly take their place among the most important contributions which recent enterprise has added to our geographical knowledge. The intrinsic interest and novelty of the subject cannot fail to lend a charm to the narrative. As a literary composition, the work has many and grave defects, for which the writer offers his best apology, in the assurance that it was written in the centre of Abyssinia, amid a multiplicity of annoyances, far from books and other sources of illustration. A great want of method and arrangement is perceptible, and the chapters seem to follow each other in no clearly defined or illustrative order. This circumstance produces an appearance of confusion that might have been easily avoided, and has necessarily imparted to our own analysis a discursive character. To the language and style, also, serious objections might be fairly advanced; it is inflated and florid, where a lucid simplicity was so desirable and expedient. Major Harris seems to have read Gibbon, until, as Cowper remarked of the imitators of Pope, he has *the tune by heart*. The defect is chiefly conspicuous in the first volume; as the writer advances into the recesses of his subject he has more to tell, and therefore spends less time in considering *how* to tell it. The merits of the work, however, far exceed its defects, and it possesses an internal principle of vitality which will protect it from that rapid decline and death which weaken and waste away so many promising tours and foreign visits in this age of universal transit.

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ART. VII.—*Doctor Hookwell. A Novel.* Three volumes.  
London: Bentley.

BOOKS that are commonly known by the name of *novels* seem chiefly or entirely to be compounded of conversation, narrative, and description: and this compound rarely assumes a serious turn, but still is often pregnant with sound rules of good manners, honour, and morality. All of them, more or less, are written in a captivating and entertaining style, according to the genius and disposition of the writer, and according also to the circulation and sentiments of the recipient of the writer's efforts. Sir Walter Scott has written in the highest order of entertainment and captivation to a vast number of educated and polished minds, while others would prefer the tales of fashionable life and more modern story.

But knowing and perceiving the great fascination attendant on the perusal of novels, it is not to be wondered that writers on religion, morals, and philosophy, should endeavour to make them vehicles for the conveyance of their opinions and sentiments; and thus, since old Fuller quaintly says,

“A verse may catch him who a sermon flies,”

strive pleasingly to introduce their principles to the fire-side or drawing-room of every mansion of degree in the land. Thus we have the moral novels of Fielding, and Richardson, and Miss Edgeworth, and very many others; while we can read also the dramas and religious novels of Hannah More, Mrs. Woodruffe, Miss Kennedy, &c. “*Cœlebs in search of a Wife*,” and “*Father Clement*,” having become popular, if not standard, publications. But, until the appearance of “*Doctor Hookwell*,” we know not that what is called indiscriminately the “*High Church*” portion of Christians have ever employed the novel as a medium for their thoughts, feelings, and principles. The conventionally styled “*Evangelical*” party have done so, and with success—indeed they often seem to proceed on the principle—not a safe one, and too Popish perhaps—that the evil one should not have all the ways of allurements to himself. It must be well to enlist the higher order of human art in the service of the Divine Being, and thus architecture, music, poetry, and painting may be fully resorted to; but there may be halts on the descending scale whereon it would be well to stand awhile, and consider whether, in the employ of such and such means, we are rendering real service and honour to the Holy One, and increasing the worth and dignity of those revealed things which, in themselves and by themselves, are so



noble, so elevated, so truly sublime, as to cast into shade the best efforts of man, his genius, his labour, his forbearance, or charity ! With these matters in our mind, we have been deeply considering the style and mode of the novel, "Doctor Hookwell ;" and while, abstractedly, we might find objections to such a means of moral and ecclesiastical instruction, yet somehow or other the perusal of the work dissipates all our finely-drawn and fastidious notions, and we sufficiently overcome them, so as to sit down and read greedily the whole, from the egg to the apple, the commencement to the end. We hesitate not to say that we should have wished to have seen its sound theology imparted in another shape—not certainly in that of the *Socratic dialogue*, nor after Lucian, Wieland, &c., but more in construction similar to Erasmus, Petrarca, Fenelon, Bishops Berkeley and Hurd, or Lord Lyttelton and Addison, but we are not quite so certain as to the style of Lander. Indeed, Plato and Cicero might be the best and most stable models, and followed, we think, by the author of "Tremaine," in a more recent publication ; yet, after all, the form of letters would have been our chosen one—and if elegantly written, and simply adorned with natural feeling, would have formed a work from which the public, however particular the subject, could hardly have turned its universal eye. In conversation, too, "Doctor Hookwell" by no means presents a general portraiture of the age, albeit its standard be a growing one. It is not the conversation of the fashionable or frivolous circle, neither of the club or lounge, nor the hunting-field and gaming-table, nor is it party-political and sectarian, but it is the open and honest converse of the country gentleman and the divine. It is marked with argument against certain opinions, and which opinions are also defended with argument ; for, as Franklin used to say, difference of opinion is the soul of conversation : and, on the whole, may come under the description given by Rousseau of what constitutes good conversation—

"The tone of good conversation is neither dull nor frivolous. It is fluent and natural : sensible, without being pedantic : cheerful, without being boisterous. Each one expresses his opinion, and supports it in as few words as possible ; and no one attacks that of another with warmth, or upholds his own with obstinacy. All impart information, and all are entertained."

In "Doctor Hookwell" there is more of ardour than the above seems to imply ; but still it strikes us that the plot of the work is rather too constrained, and the conversation glowing enough, but rather lacking freedom and dilation. But it is foreigners, or those who imitate them, that excel most in

fluency of conversation; and while Delille, Vannoz, and Charet may be studied with advantage, we would more especially recommend Diderot and Madame de Stael for eminence in the delightful and vigorous portion of the conversational talent. Goldoni might gather from "Doctor Hookwell" a correct notion of the converse of a refined, influential, and good circle of English society; but he could not derive the characteristics of the nation (alas! for it) from its nature and manner.

The novel (and it deserves a superior name) of "Doctor Hookwell" is, *par excellence*, the book for the English country gentleman: it gives us the full picture of what the country gentleman of England may be, and ought to be. The character of the Yorkshire baronet, the description of his ancient residence, of his pursuits, his talent, his benevolence, and his churchmanship, are things that must be read, and read too, not in a cursory manner, as one reads a book from a public library or reading society; but read to be pondered on, to be minutely observed, and correspondingly practised, with the spirit of the motto hovering over us, from the moment we sit down to it in our huge arm chair by the library fire-side, "Go thou and do likewise." No country gentleman can act and speak as this baronet did, and not be honoured and beloved as he was; and no country gentleman, by so acting, could more successfully labour to dissipate the infuriate mania of the Chartist demagogue, or the narrow and sour sentiments of the envious Dissenter. The result might surely be given in the words of the Roman poet—

"Jam Fides, et Pax, et Honor, Pudorque  
Priscus, et neglecta redire Virtus  
Audet: apparetque beata pleno  
Copia cornu."

The author well concludes the description of this fine and manly character with the brief, but impressive exhortation—one rendered doubly valuable, in a truly patriotic sense, by the nature and complexion of the times in which we now vegetate, and—

"Sic ades insistit—secumque ita corde volutet!"

In other words, hear our author:—

"O that all country gentlemen would follow the noble example of *Sir John Armytage*, mingle with the poorer classes, and at all times be ready to assist them. Among these classes are many honest, industrious, Christian men, who would be cheered onwards in the paths of sobriety and peace, if their superiors would but kindly notice and aid them; and, on the other hand, many are driven to the ale-house and

to dishonest courses of livelihood, because they find themselves utterly neglected by the gentry around them. The country gentleman has an opportunity of witnessing the striking effects of his benevolence, which may be denied to the rich merchant and manufacturer; and blessed for ever be he who provides things honest and honourable in the sight of all men; who supports Sunday and weekly schools, attends to the comforts of the poor as far as lies in his power, and, by personal precept and example, renders them a contented, happy, and improving people! The poor are rarely ungrateful for kindnesses shown to them; but even their ingratitude would be no excuse for any system of conduct which should tend to confirm them in that horrid disposition."

Certainly the humbler classes are left too much to themselves in every way, especially in their leisure time and recreations. There has been too much interference with their rural games, and not superintendence enough over the maintenance of rustic mirth; and thus licenses for music and dancing, in their hurtful degree, only the more abound, and we get an immoral and licentious, in lieu of a more innocent but not less joyous, people. The immoralities of wakes may be abolished, but the saint's-day should be observed, and, indeed, all the holy-days of the Church indulgently kept. Lord John Manners is perfectly right in his view of these things, and there is a singular identity of opinion between his lordship and the sentiments of the book before us. Our readers, perhaps, will desire at once to rush into the interior of these volumes, and be impatient for a catalogue and description of the *dramatis personæ* who so charmingly figure on the unveiled arena of family thought and family conversation. It must be confessed that the catalogue is a scanty one, and choice spirits only are allowed to pass before the eyes of the beholders. But this is all in keeping with the texture of the book; and, in similar manner, as no characters appear but those absolutely necessary to give the required compass and variety to the whole matériel of the narrative, so likewise not a word is spoken or written that could be properly erased; and thus it may be guessed that each sentence is pregnant with meaning and requisite reasoning. This, of course, distinguishes this three-volumed novel from the *habitués* of the fraternity, and the condenser would be cunning indeed who could give a satisfactory analysis in any endeavour to curtail the work. We do not say but that the three volumes might be compressed into two goodly-sized ones, but we do insist upon the fact, that not a word should or could be suffered to drop to the ground. Proof will be given of this view in the following extracts, which convey an entirely varied delineation

of character, and yet the style will at once be perceived to be so graphic and terse, without undue abbreviation, that the reader would not willingly part with a single word, epithet, or sentence, much less adduce an atom of a charge interrogatory of its verbosity or prolixity, those marked bores and vanities of the present age. Take at once the manly form and cultivated mind of the worthiest baronet that ever laid claim to the bloody hand :—

“In person he wast all and thin, with a fresh complexion and remarkable height of forehead ; and, being gifted with more than ordinary activity and energy, his appearance was singularly prepossessing. His talents and attainments alone would have commanded respect ; but these, combined with the winning and unaffected benignity of his nature, secured for him the affectionate regard of the whole vicinity. Wherever he moved he seemed to create an atmosphere of intelligence and kindness : there was something in his look, the eagle eye and Roman nose, to arrest the attention of the passers-by. He bore a manly and heroic appearance—a countenance vigorous with determination of purpose, yet absolutely radiant with frankness and benevolence—an aspect which seemed to speak encouragement to modest and retiring worth, while it appeared to invite the approach of misery and affliction, as to a sanctuary and a place of certain sympathy and aid. The peasantry around Swanbourne-hall are the best panegyrists of his sweetness of temper, his genuine singleness of heart, his considerate compassion for the feelings of others, and his openness of hand. Habitually forgetful of himself, he has laboured to elevate others alike from poverty, ignorance, or disgrace, and in his own family to produce the graceful and solid fruits of learning, elegance, and domestic peace. Such a man must be valued in any country—must be beloved by the people around him : none of his words, in public or private assemblies, can fall to the ground, for his moral and benevolent character will cast a halo of steady attachment around him, while his learning and position in society will add weight and importance to whatever he may undertake.”

We cannot linger to pourtray the striking lineaments of the ancient mansion yclept Swanbourne-hall—lineaments, we say, because really the fine old place seems to speak to us with all the awful authority of the greatness that hath passed away. Its park, its woods, its blue hills and shining river, the huge trees that never were pruned, “the aptest monuments of England’s wealth and England’s antiquity ;” the Roman encampment, where the peasantry met for the purpose of rural recreations ; the hall itself, in the architectural style of Henry II. ; the great outside bells, the yelping dogs, the bounding deer, the old-fashioned gardens ; the amusements always at hand in connection with the profession of the gamekeeper, the hunter, the

fisherman, till no one was ever oppressed with *ennui* at Swanbourne-hall ; all the delightful drives and walks on noble terraces, with huge stone bears and other imaginary monsters frowning around ; the busts, the temple to the Muses, and the miniature Pantheon—all this must rest awhile, and only awhile, we predict, in the fertile imagination of the reader, whilst we hurry on to give the enchanting description of the excellent baronet's elder daughters :—

“*Cecile* was a lovely girl, possessed of much talent and of surpassing sweetness of disposition. Her person was elegant, her face beautiful and full of tender expression. Her conversation was edifying to the highest degree : she could be both a philosopher and a humourist, yet she had not an atom of the blue-stocking about her, and was free from the starchiness of Lord Byron's literary lady. She never forced her knowledge upon any one, and was less eager to start topics of conversation, than to join in them when begun by others.

“She was her father's idol, and she too adored her father ; every conclusion that he arrived at was decisive with her. She had thrown a depth of sanctity around the very name of father that no power on earth could dissolve ; and until a stranger had gained his warm approbation, he would in vain aspire to the goodwill of *Cecile*.”

This is a concise picture of filial piety and tenderness : and list the following :—

“*Emily*, her attached sister, was most engaging in manners, but of a different character. She was of a sprightly and affectionate nature, which, aided by her frankness and unaffected simplicity, endeared her to all who knew her. She entertained far too good an opinion of the generosity and harmlessness of the human race ; she could not believe there was a wicked person on the earth. Prayer with her was the offering of a pure heart in thanksgiving and praise ; and if the Church told her of a catalogue of vices, she could scarcely believe in their existence—they were evils that might fall upon the earth. All persons were amiable and agreeable in her sight, excepting a prude and a blue-stocking. She clothed everything with a mantle of romance, that blinded her eyes to every defect. Poor *Emily* ! as may be well supposed, she could neither argue, although she would ask many questions, nor support, when challenged, even her most favourite ideas. Thus the victorious inferences and mild admonitions of her sister *Cecile* sometimes, though rarely, caused a momentary cloud to pass over her naturally fine temper.”

Charming ! angelically charming ! eclipsed only by the benevolent assiduities of these veritable sisters of charity. O Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ajax ! O Horace ! did such a Chloe, or such a Lydia, or Phyllis, or Chione bloom in your time ; and O you county palatine of Lancaster, have you such witches presiding over the destinies of your non-arcadian

swains? These could not be without their loves; but O tender goddess! should not every arrow in thy too blind son's noted quiver rattle as though itself were gestative of the dead man's bones?—for only give a glance on the uncouth cub of Yorkshire aristocracy, and be dumb-founded as in the presence of a red man of the wild woods:—

“There was a young visitor at this time staying at Swanbourne, who was decidedly attached to *Cecile*, and who possessed many qualities that engaged the admiration of *Emily*. This was *Philip Stapylton*, a young scion of a good old family root in Yorkshire, though of slender expectancy, and bred to no settled profession. It seemed to be his chief amusement to pass almost his entire existence among horses and dogs, and their scarcely superior attendants, grooms and gamekeepers; and hence, in the knowledge of these animals, and in the skill and strength requisite in the chase, he greatly excelled. This uncongenial person actually fancied, and hoped, that the mild spirit of *Cecile* could amalgamate easily with his own daring and adventurous character. Such a person *Emily* admired; and truly much may be said in favour of *Philip Stapylton*; for under an habitual carelessness and thoughtlessness of character were found, by those who mingled with him at all times, many germs of excellence, which only needed a fostering hand to enable them to reach maturity. He was good-natured, gay, and full of humour; and this kind of disposition never produces a hardened or scheming villain. Indeed, all poor *Stapylton's* vices lay on the surface; but of his absolute amendment there seemed little likelihood, for his bluntness of speech, his ridicule of the Church, with the known tendencies of his habits and pursuits, pertinaciously scared away all the good-natured endeavours made for his improvement; and the quiet approach even of such disinterested friendliness, ever, as he thought, assuming the spirit of dictation, often strongly aroused his ire, and generally led him to avoid the society of his kind monitor. Yet, as the sequel will show, *Philip Stapylton was to be held up, in the sight of all men, pious and impious, as the grand reformer of every ill to which human flesh is liable—as the man without whose presidency all goodness must languish and die; in short, he was to be the purifier and regenerator of his country both in Church and State.*”

Is there not a point of resemblance between this personage and the Dissenters' pure and immaculate friend and champion, TOM DUNCOMBE?—albeit Tom Duncombe be a dandified and very elegant appendage on Almack's quadrilles and west-end drawing-rooms and saloons. But what a relief to this unchiselled scion of a good old root succeeds in the opposite portrait of the good baronet's second son:—

“*Reginald* was the only son at this time at home, and he was engaged partly in the library, and partly in writing in the morning-room, where his sisters and young *Stapylton* usually sat. He had been educated at Eton and Oxford, and was a young man of considerable

parts, but of a reserved and bashful demeanour. Those who knew him intimately loved him as their own souls ; and he had a strong troop of firm friends, both at Eton and Alma Mater. He was not intended originally for the Church ; indeed he had kept his full terms at the Temple, but he conceived a strong presentiment that the bar was not the profession suited to his retiring disposition ; and having taken up some strong views in regard to religion, he at once resolved on consulting his father as to the propriety of taking holy orders.....His natural sweetness of disposition, with his freedom from narrowness of feeling and opinion, led him rather to imitate the ' Evangelicals ' in their zeal and earnestness, than in the promulgation of their peculiar and modern doctrines. Still, he commenced his profession with rather an abhorrence of what are called ' High Church ' principles, and generally preferred the works of Scott and Henry, Venn, Newton, and Simeon, and perhaps even some of the Puritan divines, to those of our old Anglo-Catholic standards of example and doctrine. It cannot be said that he belonged to any party or faction in the Church, for he worked alone in his little vineyard. His one aim was to promote the glory of God in a knowledge of Christ crucified for rebellious man ; and he would have shuddered at the thought of using the divine word for the furtherance of any earthly design, such as the mere advancement of party must necessarily be. His discourses from the pulpit were of a truly original kind, and free at once from any of the cant expressions or confined notions that too often demonstrate a style of degenerate imitation, rather than that of an individual conviction emanating from a diligent study of holy writ, and an extended acquaintance with the best models among the works of the British divines. He never preached for effect, or sought popularity ; but still his quiet, earnest, and sincere style, like the speaking of Sir Samuel Romilly, was not only acceptable, but extremely captivating to his congregation, and his Church was always well filled ; for at this time he gave a general invitation to all men to come and hear the Gospel, never thinking of that courtesy and deference which were due to the apostolic preachers in his neighbouring parishes."

*Reginald* is depicted as a man of strong mind and deep research, and we find an alteration occurring in his views, as he himself afterwards says :—

" My whole heart is concerned for the establishment of God's true religion all over the world, and hence for the extension of the Catholic Church, which has the promise of Christ's presence to the end of the world. Let us believe this ; let us act upon this ; and let the words always be before us, '*Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world,*' and then we shall never be weary, and never grow faint in our hallowed work. And when '*All the proud men speak, saying, Thou speakest falsely : the Lord our God hath not sent thee*' (Jer. xliii. 2) ; then let us cherish deeply, and look into the proof and responsibility of the apostolic succession, as a doctrine which the spirit of division will never admit, but with which the spirit of charity must

never part. Then let us say we will have no fanatical Protestantism ; we will read, and not burn, Chillingworth's Works, as the Puritans did, together with the writings of the other noble divines in the apostolical succession ; we will hold fast with one mind and one heart to the one Lord, the one faith, the one baptism, the one universal and apostolical Church."

But now for another lover, and also for the redoubtable hero of the sweetly-domestic Anglo-Catholic family :—

"Our travellers were interrupted at this point ; and it may be well to give a brief description of them, as well as the interruption. The last speaker appeared to be what he really was—a learned and most zealous divine of the apostolic Church of England, who devoted every hour of his time to some practical purpose. He was not tall, but broadly built across the chest ; and although his countenance might be considered plain, yet there was something peculiarly striking in the stern serenity of his look, mixed with a kindness and honest zeal of manner, that clearly showed his devotion to the great labours of his profession and of the age. He seemed as one that could not be daunted by the frown or bribed by the smile of the many ; and come weal, come woe, come wealth, or come poverty, he would be at his post, working out the important objects for which his mighty heart and superior disposition were given. His companion was somewhat different in appearance, for he was tall and elegantly made—young, and of a handsome and expressive countenance, but apparently not in the enjoyment of robust health. There was something so peculiarly engaging in his manner, that one always felt encouraged to approach him and engage in conversation ; and his discourse was ever edifying and rational, recommended by a modesty of suggestion, and free from any controversial spirit. His appearance indicated high birth, and his mental endowments showed a high state of natural ability and studious cultivation ; and although younger in years and wisdom than his beloved friend, yet he seemed to be meet companion for such a one ; if not to exchange deep thoughts, at any rate to be a delighted listener to his reverent and pleasant discourse !"

There must be heartiness and goodness in the writer who could limner forth such stalwart and sensible personages as these largely prove themselves to be ; but it must not be disguised, indeed it cannot, that much assistance was clearly gained from the living original, in the case of one of them, before the writer, in the person of the estimable and intellectual vicar of Leeds. *Doctor Hookwell* plainly portrays the living goodness and greatness of the Rev. Dr. Hook, who presides in the completest pastoral efficiency over the enormous parish and patronage of the town of Leeds. There are other Yorkshire names given ; and, indeed, is not the name of "Armytage" Yorkshire to the back-bone, and familiar alike to the resident, tourist, and traveller ? Does any one object to this



personation of Dr. Hook ? There possibly may be some—and there is just this one objection, viz., that the picture might be calculated to minister to the pride of poor mortal man ! The *Doctor Hookwell* of the novel is the full-length portrait of a perfect divine—perfect in intellect, in disposition, in speech, and in action ; and the whole bench of bishops, fused into one sentient being, could not exceed our hero in an unwearied course of piety and benevolence, an indisputable readiness of argument and eloquence, and an ever-constant soundness and safety of discourse and well-doing throughout a bearing that is brought in contact with every species, high and low, rich and poor, deeply learned and grossly ignorant, reverent and irreverent, of the vast human family. It would be affectation, and worse than affectation, to aver other than that the Rev. Dr. Hook, of Leeds, though a man of consummate ability, in strength of thought and in arrangement of thought ; of acknowledged firmness and suavity of temper ; indefatigable labours of love, and graced with moderation becoming a son of the Church of England ; yet that he cannot, and does not, equal the noble, manly, and learned reflection or actual representation of a superior mortal, as delineated in the *Doctor Hookwell* of this well-written Anglo-Catholic novel. It would betray the meanest littleness and most fulsome extravagance in the parasites of Dr. Hook (if such there be—for there can be no need of them), were they to set up the original above the ideal ; and hence the only question that can remain (a question it would be needless to discuss here)—whether to any sensible and truly good individual, such goodness as necessarily includes the virtues of humility and self-abasement, it is not far more odious to be over-exalted and bepraised, than it is sometimes mortifying not to be duly clothed with that esteem of others which all good Christians desire and may expect ? From all that is so publicly known of Dr. Hook, it may well be argued that he had rather not have sat for the beautiful portrait assigned to him, or, having sat, must exclaim, on seeing it lifted from the colours of the easel, “ I am not worthy ! ” It cannot be fitly asked, with the Roman poet—

“ Quid ? si quis vultu torvo ferus et pede nudo  
Exiguæque togæ simulet textore Catonem :  
Virtutemne representet moresque Catonis ? ”

For certainly the inner qualities of our theological champion are more fully developed than any simulation of *vultus* or *togæ*.

Aptly, and gently introduced by the sweet quotation from Wordsworth—

"He is retired as noontide dew,  
Or fountain in a noon-day grove,  
And you must love him ere to you  
He will seem worthy of your love," &c.,

steals acceptably on our sight the *Rev. Alfred Churton*. His character is drawn so closely, in conjunction with that of a large body of the clergy of the Church of England, that we must give nearly the entire picture ; and it is one of the most just, satisfactory, and pleasing, that may be found in the three volumes. What a delightful neighbourhood our author must reside in ; truly, it may be a common one, but still not the less delightful. Hear him :—

"The *Rev. Alfred Churton* was one of those retired and excellent men who abound in the Church of England, and whose characters, respected by those who are cognizant of them, form one of the strongest bulwarks of the venerable Church. Honest and sincere to the very heart's core ; never uttering a word in their sacred profession which tends in the least to contribute to any selfish love of vain display ; shrinking from every vote of proffered approbation ; having no respect of persons, but as their Master himself has respect ; independent in means, yet making themselves poor for any purpose of luxury by the largeness of their alms ; willing to be the servants of all men ; meek, humble, yet highly educated, and polished in their manners ; well received and respected by the yeomen of their neighbourhood, and regarded as true friends by the peasantry—these men serve to keep the fabric and organization of society together, to ameliorate and elevate the condition and habits of all, and to add moral strength and power to all the regulations of the land, as respects honesty, godliness, and mutual goodwill and peace. Such men may love to watch, but are not led astray by the novelties and religious insurrections of the day ; they will not hastily follow the suggestions of the Oxford Tracts, neither will they narrowly and arbitrarily pronounce the Calvinistic scheme to be the sole means and way of eternal salvation ; and their minds are too well balanced to be tossed about by any minor topics of agitation, such as the Millennium, &c. While they feel thankful for the right of private judgment in part, yet they acknowledge the deep responsibility that must accompany such a permission to understandings notoriously liable, and perhaps inclined, to error, combined with a morbid love of originality ; and therefore they do not ride their steed into the morass, or over the rough and sharp places of their course, neither do they break his wind against the hill, or, what is worse, turn him against the very people among whom they should ride tenderly, charitably, and considerately, and thus trample to death those whom they are commissioned to save. The clergy of the Church of England are a vast and independent body ; not only, I mean, independent in point of earthly wealth, but independent in spiritual action and pastoral exertion.

"Although the discipline of the Church be strict—although each

clergyman is under the perfect control of his bishop, and is watched over by archdeacons and rural deans, yet such is the confidence that may be securely reposed in him, that very rarely would a bishop seek or wish to interfere with any of the plans and modes of working adopted among his lower brethren in the great vineyard. One day certifieth another in regularity of conduct and sacred pursuits ; and many clergymen being settled at distances from each other, and meeting only now and then for interchanges of kindness and hospitality, the passing events of the agitated world do not ruffle nor excite them, and the vast body to which they belong cannot be injured by the sarcasms or ill-natured speeches of individual opponents : in short, all the turmoil and chicanery resorted to in towns is unknown among them, and would have no effect in the large agricultural portions of the country, where the daily pursuits of man are ever tending to feelings of stability and peace !”

How calm, large, and beautiful is this picture of healthy action and due repose !—how different to the unclean, agitated state in which the “*reverend*” Baileys and Quaker Brights move their uneasy and most loathsome selves ! How truly pious and noble has been the conduct of the clergy in not rushing into the mire of Corn Law politics and other dead-bury-their-dead matters, in which the seditious and unquiet Dissenters are involved, even to the disgust of such personages as Lord Melbourne, Lord Brougham, and John Arthur Roebuck.

And this brings us in due rotation, and of course in the books, in continued juxta-position, to the really *Reverend Mr. Holmes* and the *mock Reverend Eustace Gill*. By-the-bye, *in transitu*, has it ever been elaborated why these Dissenting gentry, from the American D.D. to the cobbler of the tribe, call themselves after the manner of the Church, and duly array themselves in black coat and white cravat ?—thus signally telegraphing themselves as endangering an approximation to the “hoary and bloody harlot,” not so transcendently consistent with the dire necessity of a little “keen hatred and round abuse” as one would be led, in all sober seriousness, to imagine.

*Entrè the Rev. Mr. Holmes*—and though his kind may not be Legion, yet are they verily a troop. See him, a man of large growth, but not of manly frame or feature, with an appearance that seemed to tell the love of ease, which encroaches so fast on a complacent spirit :—

“ Yet he was a man of no mean desert in his sacred profession, for if he preached not always his own sermons, yet he had tact sufficient to choose very excellent ones ; and albeit his delivery was ponderous in the extreme, yet he contrived to excite partial admiration among a portion, at least, of his somewhat numerous congregation. But he

shone most of all as a contented and placid spirit out of the Church, ever ready, with extreme benevolence, to do any service for any of his parishioners, and yet not active in suggesting amendments, or in striving to effect those religious and moral reforms which the clergy now-a-days are expected, almost magically, to produce, as the proof of unabated exertion. All people would be very good who would follow *Mr. Holmes's* advice and example, for his character was irreproachable; but whenever strong remonstrance was needed, ere a moral cure could be brought about, there he signally failed. With Dissenters, too—and they swarmed in his parish—he was too weak and complying, and the consequence was, that those artful fellows soon took advantage of his imbecile points; and then, when fairly in their meshes, he had no power to extricate himself.”

Onward in the book we further read this description of *Mr. Holmes*, after being treated to much that falls from his tongue :—

“Now *Mr. Holmes* was a man who had never read, and never would read, the Oxford Tracts; and even if he did read them, and should be compelled to acknowledge some few grand truths that militated against his own more confined ideas, yet he would turn a deaf ear to the charmer, charm he never so wisely. He was of a certain age, and he would esteem any new course a change of principles; and how would his congregation approve of it; and how would the Dissenters take it? All these are questions that weigh much with a weak or timid mind; for, indeed, it requires a fine moral courage to adopt and enforce truths that, through the popular neglect or wilfulness, have fallen into desuetude. Convince *Holmes* ever so thoroughly of a truth, yet he would not heed even his own conviction. With such a man, therefore, little benefit could be the result of sacred colloquies. Even beat down objection after objection, still he would change ground, and start something very futile, but which might afford a satisfactory covert to his own mind; and often he was glad to retreat behind a very shadow.”

We have next a most graphic portraiture of the *Rev. Eustace Gill*, Baptist minister—and a worthy member he would indeed make of the Anti-Corn Law League—a veritable orator after their own hearts.

“Cui tristia bella,  
Iræque, insidiæque, et crimina noxia cordi—  
*Tu potes unanimes armare in prælia fratres,*  
*Atque odiis versare domos* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* tibi nomina mille,  
Mille nocendi artes: sæcundum concute pectus,  
Disjice compositam pacem.”

And well may the sober and pious lover of loyalty, order, and peace, exclaim to the mob over whom such as *Eustace Gill* bear iron rule—

"Quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis, inquit,  
 Heu miseræ cives! non hostem inimicaque castra  
 Argivum; vestras spes uritis."

But all in vain; political Dissenters must have their angry and envious day, and it may be the best policy to leave them to ruin themselves. This character should be read with reflection, for it is a too true one, and the masterly letter of *William Hey*, of Leeds, in correction of such an unhallowed and awful firebrand, is beyond all praise.

We could dwell on many of the minor characters, the lawyers, the butlers, the peasantry, &c., and especially on the *spirituelle* caste of poor *Agnes Petre*, the Roman Catholic gem of a noble family; but we feel assured that the reader, with the delicious sketches of character before him, must long to hear all that they converse upon; for, as "fine spirits are not touched but to fine issues," so veritably such uncommon people as we here fall in company with must necessarily be somewhat uncommon, if not *recherché*, in their conversations. Well then, they discourse upon all things that usually beguile the dignified or easy hours of country families; but the three grand topics of the work may be classed under the following heads:—the apostolical succession—the reasonableness of attending to the voice of the Church—and the good and delectable paths of genuine and mild Conservatism. These matters are all gently and lovingly discussed, and in that erudite, yet familiar way which amply entertains, while it informs us of the whole arcana of Anglo-Catholicism, and thus of what all are enquiring after—namely, a knowledge of what the Tractarians are doing on the score of fundamental principles; and this is openly, fully, and satisfactorily developed, as far as the two leading topics just mentioned are concerned.

It is said that no phraseology but the mathematical is capable of perfect precision—and so the construction of even any fundamental point must lead to difference of opinion; but still we are bound to say, that the argument on the apostolical succession is grandly made out. This is a question of questions in the present day, and some bishops speak resolutely, and some tenderly, upon it. We say "tenderly," because none can deny its extreme probability, who yet doubt its absolute certainty. Bishop Short is known always to say, "that there is very much to be said for it, and *nothing against it*—whatever argument exists is on its side." Other bishops, in elaborate charges to their clergy, seem also to speak with such an uncertain phraseology, as to defy its interpretation; and this is the tone of all the more able divines who close not

wholly with its proof ; while it is reserved to Dissenters alone to vilify and coarsely abuse the doctrine, as though it were some ruffian of the wilds, eager and rampant to cut off their very existence with the drawn knife, rather than to discourse with the mild remonstrance of wisdom and religion directed against the infuriate passion of a rabble war-cry. *Doctor Hookwell*, after having given the divine origin of the apostolic succession closely from the Scriptures, and having stated the opinions of the fathers who consorted with the apostles as favourable to it, together with the sentiments of the ancient Church, proceeds :—

“ And yet we have such evidence as can be adduced on behalf of no other succession (replied the Doctor) ; for if it be a moral impossibility that any man in these days, who has not been duly consecrated, can be regarded as a bishop of the Church of England, then it must be proved how that which is morally impossible now could have been morally possible at any other time, especially since the same rules have ever governed the Church—rules recognizing the bishops only as authorized to ordain ; and no one point of ecclesiastical discipline was ever more guarded than this. See how all the Churches that can be named—the British, the Gallican, the Spanish, the Roman, the Carthaginian, the Alexandrian, the Antiochean, &c.—acted ! All of them were agreed on the point, that all the bishops ought to be present at the consecration of any bishop, and if circumstances hindered this, then at least three of them should be present ; and if, by any urgent necessity, three could not meet, what earnest discussions took place on the subject ! Thus showing how morally impossible it was, in any age, that a man could be received as a bishop who had not been duly ordained by bishops.”

The learned Doctor also gives a noble list of Reformers, all asserting, in more or less positive terms, what Bishop Hall wrote, “ *If we could not fetch the line of our pedigree from Christ and his apostles, we were not fit for the Evangelical altars ;*” and, moreover, the apparent objections of opponents, who bring forth charges of Popery, exclusiveness, want of charity, novelty, &c., are ably met and hurled back with a *suaviter in modo* but *fortiter in re* persuasion that must make them wish they had never come forward in their flimsy and showy armour, like carpet knights in a great battle, at all.

“ It appears to me, *Doctor* (said *Sir John*), that the fact of our having preserved the episcopal succession in our Church may be the very cause why it has pleased God to continue our Church so long as a bulwark against Popery ; for thus we are allowed to fight with scriptural weapons against it.”

The scriptural weapons have been before proved, and so the observation is admirable—and not less admirable are the on-

ward remarks of *Doctor Hookwell* and *Reginald*, not to omit also the sweet inquisitiveness of the arch and ever ready *Miss Emily*.

We will just give the opening argument in support of granting due attention to the voice of the Church, for time and space will not permit us to follow out what we would desire; and, as we have said before, all this must be read, and read again, till our readers be masters of the incontrovertible matter so well laid down; albeit we perceive that our author, with verge and scope enough, has stamina within him for a more sustained and terrific onslaught than he has yet administered. Take this as a mere specimen of the opening only of the Doctor's ensuing wide range of palpable demonstration—

“When we are told, my dear friends, in the word of God, that ‘*he that believeth shall be saved,*’ the first question of every anxious enquirer after salvation must be, ‘What am I to believe?’ This is a question of exceeding difficulty among men; and when we return answer, ‘Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved,’ we are compelled to remember that the Lord Jesus Christ is believed on in such a way by multitudes as positively to exclude salvation, and, therefore, that the words of St. Paul can never be used without a further explanation of the apostolic meaning. Then comes the inward question, ‘In what way shall I explain it? Shall I take the Unitarian or the Trinitarian view of Jesus Christ, for both are ably supported by men mighty in the Scriptures: or shall I adopt the Arminian or Calvinistic view of Jesus Christ and Him crucified?’ A plain man may say, ‘Oh, take no extreme views; enter only upon the *leading essential doctrines*, and God will impart his grace to your words.’ But then it is on the *leading essential doctrines* that men so warmly differ; it is on the natural depravity of the human heart, the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and the efficacy of the atonement, that men put forth all their controversial might, and will not be denied a hearing. ‘Then (says another [plain man]), go to Scripture, and you will see these things written as with a sunbeam there.’ Alas! your adversary goes to Scripture also—he meets you on that ground, and you soon find that you would be glad of further aid wherewith to support your baffled soul. It is, then, to strengthen the sincere Christian in his enquiry after truth, and to endeavour to produce something like unity in the Christian world, that the spiritual High Churchmen of the present day have stood forward—

‘Shielded, and helmed, and weapon’d with the truth,’ in order that, by the blessing of God, the ‘one fold and the one Shepherd’ may be made more visible to them that are without, and more lovely to them that are happily within; and because, unless we live in peace, we shall never *depart in peace*.”

Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, seemed to think that the errors into which sectarians fell by an unlimited exercise of private judg-

ment were often exaggerated, although he ever mourned over the sad display of egotism and ignorance too frequently made by them. But Dr. Arnold's benevolence clearly led him to blink the matter ; and while we will believe that the foremost article in a Christian's creed is love, still we must remember that charity to the soul is the soul of clarity, and that the most charitable as well as the wisest course is that which is "first pure, then peaceable"—and that we must contend for the truth *as once* delivered to the saints. In proof of the usefulness and rationality of following the rule of Vincent of Lirins, or of attending to the voice of antiquity in the Church, *Doctor Hookwell* gives us, in due chronological order, extracts from such names as must command reverence and regard among all Reformed Christians, viz., Jewell, Ridley, Bradford, Cranmer, Whitgift, Bancroft, Bilson, Hooker, Andrews, Overall, Godwin, Donne, Field, Mede, Chillingworth, Morton, Laud, Selden, Hall, Montague, Jackson, Usher, Saunderson, Bramhall, Cosin, Hammond, Jeremy Taylor, Baxter, Sancroft, Brevint, Patrick, Comber, Barrow, Bull, Beveridge, Ken, Dodswell, Hickeys, Leslie, Bingham, Nelson, Wilson, Brett, Sir T. Browne, Tillotson, &c. ; a goodly array that should at least serve to make us extremely cautious how we speak without book, or rather *in the presence* of a cloud of illustrious witnesses that nobly and resolutely testify to the great truths in our Anglo-Catholic debate. Some few great names have been passed over, such as Sandys, Mason, Buckeridge, Carleton, James, Lynde,\* Twysden, Nicholson, Heylyn, Thorndike, Kettlewell, &c. ; but when the mind is once set onward in a right direction, it will soon fill up all vacant places, and love to adduce every name in connection with the grand choice of our eternal Church.

Come we now to the more secular subjects of the work. These are wisely separated from the theological conversations ; although where a scene of benevolence or extreme pathos is drawn, there, of course, religion is the prime mover of the willing hand and impartor of the sympathizing word. The good family, like the spectral form of the veritable *Anchises*, as drawn by our Mantuan bard, might each in spirit say, even of their sojourn here—

" Non me impia namque  
Tartara habent tristesque umbræ : sed amœna piorum  
Concilia, Elysiumque colo."

For they truly followed the wholesome advice of good Bishop

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\* Sir Humphery Lynde's *Viâ Tuta*. 1630.



Hackett, who taught all his flock "to fear God and be cheerful;" and ever ready to promote harmless mirth, they yet shone most in cheering the lonely cot of the peasant, by weeping with them that wept—and perhaps a more simple and pathetic scene has not been related by the pen of man, since that of the death of *Steenie Mucklebackit*, in the "*Antiquary*," than the funeral of the poor and pitied *Jeany Wray*. This, with the harrowing description of the death of *Agnes Petre*, in the convent, demonstrate very high powers in the author, and are certainly the stories that will not fail to affect the heart of the general reader. We predict that the writer will be largely run after by the editors of the annuals, albeit he may not stoop to such perishable fame. But, of more purely secular matters, what can exceed the graphic account of the Yorkshire election? It is drawn to the life, and must have been witnessed, we should suppose, ere it could have been so vividly sketched, as it were, by a daguerreotype process.

Preparatory to this great election (and *Sir John* had been victorious in others before), we have able sketches of all that lowness and intrigue which the little men who are raised into magnificent importance at these seasons scruple not to put in practice. "O that committee-room at Leeds!" is the exclamation of *Stapleton*, with the malicious envy of the Baptist *Gill*, the worldly cunning of *Pawson*, the plausible letter from the *Honourable Philip Stapylton* to the freeholders, and all the tactics of a democratic party; what a food of serious warning does it set forth! And then the retirement of the Christian *William Hey* from the turbulence and violence of party, and his beautiful letter to *Eustace Gill*, with the enumeration of the errors of party politicians, and the exposure of the arbitrary power and presumption of the Whig-Radicals and Dissenters—these are matters to the correct and healthy delineation of which every *soi-disant* M.P. will testify, and to which every embryo longer for a seat in St. Stephen's would do well to give ample and close attention. Just let us give a few lines out of the large description:—

"And now, in the midst of this tumultuous scene of rancour and poor spite, the drums and bugles are heard to give loud notice of the approach of *Sir John* and his gallant company. On came the band and standards first, and when the thousand horsemen pass, the good townsmen deem them to be the procession at large, and a rumour runs that *Sir John* has resigned, for they never would place him in the utmost rear. But lo! the troop passes by, and on rides *Sir John*, hat in hand, surrounded by his faithful body guard, who escort him with deafening hurrahs. To use the words of the poet Otway, the old baronet,

‘Comely as rising day,  
Amid ten thousand eminently known,’

was in himself a very picture and pattern of what the courteous, charitable, and enlightened English gentleman ought to be ; and now, as he rode up the densely-peopled street, his fine countenance, in which heroism and benevolence were equally mingled in firm yet bland expression, could not but excite the admiration of the beholders. But when he had reached the centre of the town, and his men were forming in the large square, and troop after troop of friends kept riding onwards, then indeed was admiration turned into wonder, and foes involuntarily exclaimed, ‘What can stand against this strength ?—how loved this man must be in the county at large !’ ”

Yes ; here was the true pattern of the member of Parliament, firm in principle, kind in demeanour, independent of place and pension, or ministerial favour. Horace has written his character :—

“ Est animus tibi  
Rerumque prudens, et secundis  
Temporibus dubiisque rectus ;  
Vindex avaræ fraudis, et abstinens  
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniæ :  
*Consulque non unius anni,*  
*Sed quoties bonus atque fidus*  
*Judex honestum prætulit utili,* et  
Rejecit alto dona nocentium  
Vultu, et per obstantes catervos  
Explicuit sua victor arma !”

We must give one noble extract containing an explication of a fallacy connected with the workings of Dissent, and then close our review with the impression, that the eloquent and erudite narrative of *Dr. Hookwell* forms one of the most captivating and instructive books of the present age ; and we confidently prophesy it will be in the hands of thousands of our countrymen ere it migrates to American and other shores. For just let the following ideas manifest the masterly way in which a somewhat forbidding subject may be treated—the leading idea of the eagle-eye of Wellington is admirable :—

“ ‘I fully understand (said *Dr. Hookwell*) that there are bodies of Dissenters entirely hostile to the Church, and the fact is exceedingly to be regretted.’ ”

“ ‘Yet (observed Mr. Holmes) they call themselves—and can they justly do so ?—“the light troops of the Church :” and assert that they are not its opponents, but its helpers.’ ”

“Stapylton would have laughed outright, had not Sir John begun to speak.

“ ‘I have often (said the baronet) tried to look on Dissent in this way ; but I have found that honesty and charity could not meet

together in approval of it. No (he continued with emphasis), picture to yourselves the army of England on the field of Waterloo, with Wellington at its head. The army of the State is finely equipped, and acting under prime order and command. The battle commences and is waxing warm, when another body of men in, or without, the garb of soldiers, rush upon the field and mingle in the combat. The eye of Wellington perceives the confusion, and he despatches an aid-de-camp to learn who these new comers are, and by whom they are sent? They return answer that they are volunteers, that they are full of zeal and warm blood in the same cause, that they have the same commission to fight as the best of the general's soldiers, and that they can fight as well: for ability to fight is all that can be required. The sagacious brow of Wellington lowers, and he would examine them himself, and oblige them to put themselves under his orders. No (say they): you must leave us alone, we must fight in our own way: we will not obey you, but still we consider ourselves as allies in the same cause with yourself. Now, we will grant that Wellington accepts their services (a thing that could not be done in the army), and the battle continues. But lo! and behold! before long these volunteer allies, these *light troops* of the grand army of the State, turn the bayonet against the very soldiers whom they profess to serve, and fire their severest volleys against the general himself and his officers! Occasionally, to keep up appearances, they discharge a straggling shot against the enemies of each, but their hearts and minds are bent on destroying the army of the State, or deposing Wellington from his command, and (*horrendum dictu!*) they actually form a league with the enemies of Wellington and his army, in order that their deceitful purpose may be accomplished. I will carry the illustration no further, but leave it to any intelligent and patriotic mind to determine on the utter baseness of such conduct, and leave it also to others to say, whether such dissemblers before God and man ought to be treated with conciliation and courtesy.

"The baronet's illustration made a great impression; and *Stapylton* declared that at any time an open and avowed enmity was preferable to such double dealing!"

We say "Amen" to this—although we agree with *Doctor Hookwell* in the view he takes of those Dissenters (a little and retired company) who may really be called "conscientious." We would, with him, be tender of the conscience of every man, but would show no mercy to those who made it an affair of "conscience" to act deceitfully, or to deny and avert the payment of just dues. And what "conscience" is there in the unholy league which Dissenters of all denominations form against the Church, when Pilate and Herod shake hands together and play the orator on the public platform? This confederation will do the country and religion no good—but it will rather remove peace, and introduce bitterness. As far as Parliament is concerned, the Romanist is playing the game of

the Sectarians, and the Sectarians giving a helping hand to the Romanists; but with this difference in the result, that the Sectarian (if successful) will only partially triumph, but the Romanist more permanently: for the Romanist halloo on the Dissenter to destroy the Church, and when the Church is away, and all is civil and religious discord and confusion, then the Romanist would seize the best opportunity to establish his Church, and vast powers would be enlisted to bring about (to him) such a devoutly wished-for consummation. It would be in vain to look for any popular insurrection to an extent equal to cope with the power and influence that would then be in the hands of the Romanist Church, for he can ever work victoriously with the multitude. But if we can check Sectarianism, which is at present the *right hand of Romanism* (as much so as when the Pope paid Puritan preachers to further his designs by throwing all into confusion), we shall place the efforts of the latter at a sore discount; and heaven grant that the Church may be long an impediment to the success of the designing foes, under garbs of extreme opinions, both of religion and of the State! At the same time that we would deplore the progress of Romanism, we are of those who, with the judicious Hooker, do not "measure religion by dislike of the Church of Rome, and think every man so much the more sound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof seem to be large"—for, while we mourn over the errors of Rome, we mourn more over the schism, the heresy, and often the apostasy, of modern Dissent; we mourn over those hydra-headed schisms which endeavour to thwart the best considered plans for the promotion of Gospel knowledge and national education at home, and which are so cruelly apparent in the hindrance and perversion they give to missionary exertions abroad.

The Church of late hath nobly exhibited her powers of strength, powers not to be paraded *nisi dignus vindice nodus*. As Waller said of Denham, when so successful in a dramatic piece, "Denham had broken out like the Irish rebellion, 60,000 strong, when no person suspected it;" so we may say, in part application, of the Church. But we must thank the writers of the last ten years for this, and allow that it is their reasonable and devout publications that, under superior guiding, have influenced the public mind. And while saying this, we could only wish that the chapter on "Tithes," in *Doctor Hookwell*, with the chapter also on "*Wesleyans*," and the concluding one on the liberality, moderation, and love of the Church, with the mode in which every minister and ambassador of the Gospel ought to act, were in the hands of the people at large,

which desire for a somewhat cheaper edition will probably be demanded ere time hath added much to the progress of its race. If it did not, the author would have reason to cry out with poor Dennis, "S'death, how these rascals use me: they will not let my play run: and yet they use my thunder"—for to a certainty *Doctor Hookwell* will be a descendant of Boanerges for some time to come—indeed, until that time when his principles will be so common and known, as to lose the *distingué caste* at present attaching to them, and elevating them.

ART. VIII.—*The History of the Peloponnesian War*. By THUCYDIDES. *A new Recension of the Text, with a carefully Amended Punctuation, and Copious Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory.....accompanied with full Indexes, both of Greek words and phrases explained, and matters discussed in the Notes.* By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D., F.S.A., &c. Illustrated by various Maps and Plans. Two vols. 8vo. London: Longmans.

IN this age of useful knowledge Dr. Bloomfield has endeavoured to furnish students with a really and thoroughly useful edition of Thucydides, and we think that he has succeeded in this endeavour. He has given a text which sets the student fairly at work, and notes which facilitate the understanding of this most important and most difficult of the Greek historians. And in the notes, all the difficulties are pointed out and discussed, so that they cannot be read without great advantage; and if in any of the disputable passages a different sense from that contended for by Dr. Bloomfield should ultimately be regarded as the true sense, the help derived from these notes, which bring before the student the real points of the question, will certainly much conduce towards determining and establishing that better meaning. There is scarcely a single difficulty which has not been carefully considered, with all the critical assistance that could be obtained, and by a mind long conversant with the examination of such subjects, and with this particular author; so that we are brought into the most favourable position for seeing all the bearings of a question, and have, moreover, the deliberate judgment of one who has already published two editions of the history now before us. Dr. Bloomfield tells us that the present work is to be regarded—

“Not as a new edition of his former Greek Thucydides, but as an

entirely distinct performance on a far more extensive scale, in which it has been his purpose to embody the combined results of his classical and critical researches, as carried on during a long course of years previous to the publication of his English translation with notes, and of his smaller Greek edition, and as continued in subsequent researches, which, while immediately directed to another and far higher object, afforded at the same time large scope and ample materials (of which the author was accustomed studiously and systematically to avail himself) for the incidental illustration of the great writer whom he had already translated, explained, and edited; but of whom it was still his anxious wish and long-cherished design to produce an edition on a scale somewhat commensurate to the merits of this most *distinguished of historians*, and sufficiently extensive to comprehend whatever might be essentially necessary to the emendation and explanation of this most *difficult of writers*.....Sensible, indeed, he is, that after all that he has attempted, and all that he trusts he has effected, he has fallen short of what would, in his own estimation, be adequate to the merits of the illustrious writer who forms the subject of his labours. Leaving it, however, to an enlightened public to decide as to the value of these results of long-continued investigation, he can truly say, that the lapse of years, which has only called forth closer and closer application to the object he has had in view, has tended to render him more than ever sensible of the great variety and depth of knowledge required in an editor of *Thucydides*. And when he considers that the present advanced and still advancing state of Greek scholarship renders it improper in any one to come before the public without bringing something like a mastery of the subject that he has chosen to treat on—so far from wishing he could have produced his long-meditated edition of the illustrious historian *sooner*, he would gladly have deferred it *longer*, could he have entertained any reasonable hope of materially improving it. As, however, that is by no means the case, the editor must rest satisfied with having, in the formation of the present work, put forth his whole strength, and used his most strenuous endeavours; which to see crowned with success, and made available to the cause which it has been the main purpose of his life to promote—the union of deep and solid learning with sound religious knowledge—will, he trusts, independent of any personal consideration, more than indemnify him for labours however irksome, and sacrifices however unsparing.”—*Preface*, i.-x.

When such have been the motives of a man, and he has exerted all his energies for the attainment of ends thus high and holy, far be it from us to look upon his labours with cold indifference; farther still be the thought of seeking, by carping criticism, to deprive him of the fair fame and just reward to which he may be entitled. Nor would it be literary justice to regard this edition of *Thucydides* as an every-day publication; seeing it is a work to the preparation of which the most strenuous endeavours of a first-rate scholar have been devoted for a

great portion of a studious life, and to the perfecting of which he has made all his other studies subservient. It has been undertaken in full consciousness of the difficulty, with earnest endeavours to obtain all possible subsidiary help, and with persevering resolution in overcoming the obstacles, under the firm conviction that deep and solid learning and sound religious knowledge would be promoted thereby.

The first care of Dr. Bloomfield has been to furnish a correct text—a text on which more reliance may be placed than on that of any one of the preceding editions of Thucydides. This has been accomplished by carefully comparing them all, and especially the four which may be considered as the most important, but are so different, that they may be regarded as four distinct texts—those of Haack, Bekker, Poppo, and Goeller. From each of these Dr. Bloomfield has selected those readings which he thought the true reading, and has combined them so as to form one standard text. The reasons for preferring that reading which is finally adopted are assigned in the notes; which not only enables the student rightly to appreciate the motives for selection, but so improves his critical sagacity as to enable him, in other cases, to come to an independent judgment for himself. But the student is warned in the preface against being too sanguine—warned against expecting that all the difficulties which have been complained of in Thucydides will be removed in this edition. The extensive learning and unwearied diligence of the former commentators have failed in removing many obscurities, and Dr. Bloomfield implies that he is also obliged to leave many of the most puzzling passages in a state nearly as obscure and perplexing as they were in the time of Cicero, when they extorted from him the confession of his own difficulties in the assertion, that Thucydides is occasionally almost unintelligible. Much of this difficulty in understanding Thucydides has been ascribed to a peculiar cast of character, wrought into still more distinct individuality by the course of his life, and especially the circumstances of his banishment; so that the thoughts working in his own mind, and the mode of expression through which they found an utterance, were unlike the thoughts and expressions of ordinary men. “Hence one might apply to Thucydides, in this sense, what Mr. Mitchell says of Aristophanes in another—‘Such as he is, he stands alone in the world. Nature made him, and broke the mould in which he was cast.’”—*Preface*, vii.

This originality certainly interposes a difficulty; but there can be little doubt that it constitutes also one of the charms of Thucydides. We like that which is rare—that which is unique;

and he is a curiosity in literature, exciting all succeeding generations to emulate each other in exploring its depths and intricacies. But Thucydides is more than this; the subjects he treats are of the highest interest; and his own intrinsic merits as a writer, and estimated by comparison with those who have written on similar subjects, are of the very highest order. Thucydides recorded events which influenced, in a remarkable degree, the fate of Greece, and at a time when the fate of Greece would affect the future fortunes of the whole world. He related the incidents of a war in the conduct of which he was himself engaged, and traced it to springs of action to which no one had better means of access than himself; and from this personal knowledge, pronounces it to have been more important in its effects upon Greece than any war which had occurred within the range of history. And this opinion of Thucydides has been confirmed by posterity, not only concerning the past, of which alone he could then speak, but concerning the succeeding history of Greece; as no war of greater importance, or more influential in its consequences, occurred during the time that Greece retained a place and a name among independent nations.

The Grecian history is taken up by Thucydides where the history of Herodotus terminates, but he never mentions a state or a town without a short but clear and masterly account of the origin and actual condition of each; and Xenophon follows Thucydides in the same brilliant course. These three are universally esteemed the great masters and models of historical composition, yet we can scarcely conceive the possibility of greater diversity of style and manner than they exhibit in treating of these three portions of one consecutive subject. And posterity, which has been unanimous in ranking the three in the highest class of historians, has not yet determined to which of the illustrious trio the first place in the class should be assigned. Longinus gives the highest place to Thucydides, always speaks of him in terms of enthusiastic admiration, and turns the inversions of style and acknowledged obscurity of sense into so many topics of commendation; which certainly convinces of one thing, viz., that the admiration of Longinus knew no bounds. Cicero also, notwithstanding the confession that he was sometimes unintelligible, speaks of Thucydides as a writer who excels in the artful construction of his sentences, and who was, in one sense, so rich and copious, that he seemed to have a thought under every word; yet, in another sense, so terse and condensed in his style, that one could scarcely say whether the subject was more adorned



by the language, or the language exalted by the subject. And Quintillian, speaking of the Greek writers, observes :—

“Many have written history most admirably, but no one doubts that there are two who are to be greatly preferred to all the rest, and whose respective excellences have obtained nearly equal praise. Thucydides is close, and brief, and forcible—Herodotus sweet, and candid, and flowing : the one is better fitted for the lofty passions, the other for the gentle ; the one for oratory, the other for meditation ; the one for force, the other for pleasure. And that he who writes of war, should ‘sound the trumpet of Thucydides.’”

To all which we may add the note of Dr. Bloomfield, p. 456, on the speech of the Plataeans, lib. iii. c. 53 :—

“For, in the opinion of all competent judges, from Dionys. Hal. downwards, it has ever been regarded as one of the most consummate compositions, not only in our author, but in all writers, Greek or Latin. Thus Dionysius (jud. de Thucyd. p. 921) admires it beyond all the other speeches of Thucydides, praising it more particularly on the ground of not being tortured by art, not covered over with studied ornaments. So, too, the eminent critic Heilmann speaks of it in the following just terms : ‘Hæc oratio, me iudice, generis dicendi ad como vendos animos compositi præstantissimorum exemplorum unum est ex quo facile universa illius repetatur ars atque ratio. Mehercule Demosthenes merito novies Thucydidis scripta per legit et edidicit.’”

Of Herodotus it should be remembered, that besides the extraordinary merit of those compositions which have won for him the title of the “father of history,” to him we probably owe the existence of the works of Thucydides ; for it was in hearing Herodotus reciting that history at the Olympic games that the emulation of young Thucydides was first kindled. And this almost induces us to give Herodotus the highest place. Yet when we remember, on the other hand, with what intense admiration the compositions of Thucydides have been regarded, and that by his own countrymen—of him, a banished man, and writing in a strange land ; and, above all, when we remember that the first of Grecian orators—that Demosthenes, who wielded language with greater effect than any other uninspired man, and who has served as a model to all other orators, took Thucydides for his model ; nay, so laboured to acquire the very manner of Thucydides, that he transcribed the history eight times with his own hand—when we remember this, it is scarcely possible to withhold the place of highest rank to the historian of the Peloponnesian war. In giving us, therefore, as correct a text as possible of the history of Thucydides, accompanied by such copious notes, Dr. Bloomfield may be regarded as having rendered a most important service to the whole republic of letters.

The incident to which we allude is to be found in Marcellinus's "Life of Thucydides," who also states that the boy's emotion was not unmarked by Herodotus, but that he exclaimed to the father of Thucydides, "O, Olorus! thy son has a strong natural inclination towards science." And all the attendant circumstances, as contributing to form the character of Thucydides, and that also of all the ardent spirits of the age, and giving an impress of heroism to universal Greece, are too remarkable to be passed by without a brief notice. It was in the plains of Olympia that the *élite* of Greece contended for fame, and thither Herodotus repaired, to recite before that illustrious audience the history, which he had composed, of the discomfiture of the Persians, and the mighty deeds of their fathers, at Thermopylæ, and Marathon, and Salamis :—

"When the time for the great Olympic games drew near, Herodotus regarded it as the very opportunity which he had long desired, since it brought together all the most eminent men of Greece. He therefore entered the lists, and appeared before them, not as a spectator, but as one ready to contend in the games; and when he had recited the history, every one present was so enchanted that they distinguished each of the nine books of his history by the name of one of the muses; so that he became at once more distinguished than the Olympic victors themselves; for there were none who had not heard the name of Herodotus, either from being themselves present at Olympia, or hearing it from others who had been there. And wherever he appeared, men pointed him out, saying, 'This is the Herodotus who, in the Ionian dialect, wrote of the Persian war, and so nobly recorded our victories.'"—*Lucian*.

The ardour of emulation kindled in the bosom of Thucydides, by such an incident as this, opens to our view the most interesting and the most favourable side of the Grecian character. It is a very wide subject of meditation; but for our present purpose we would only remark, that such emulation as this often gave so strong a bias to the Greek as to produce self-abandonment, and entire devotion to that public whose applause he regarded as the highest and the only true reward. This led to all their attainments and all their excellences, and by means of a noble and generous emulation in which selfishness had no place; and it was met on the part of the public, to whom they devoted themselves, by a noble and generous applause. The author wrote not for hire—the sculptor wrought not for pay; but each because he felt within a conscious power of doing something worthy of his country's praise; he therefore bent the whole strength of his being and strained every nerve to the utmost in preparing for, and launching forth with matured and manly force, a something worthy of

that country which formed the chief object of his affection and his pride. And not only at home, in the midst of everything which he held dear, and when the applauses of his countrymen were yet ringing in his ears ; but even in banishment, when driven by ingratitude to a distant land, he loved his country still ; and though loaded with wealth and honours, like Themistocles, would rather die like Themistocles than cease to be a Greek, and carry arms against his country. The Greek could, even like Solon, condemn himself to banishment, so that his country were benefited thereby ; and like Ulysses—the skilfully drawn prototype of a character which every Greek desired to realize—could find himself everywhere a welcome guest—everywhere tempted and importuned to find another country and feel another home ; yet never would he admit to his heart a rival to his own sweet Ithaca, “ and drags at each remove a lengthened chain.”

Thucydides, though banished from his country by the faction of Cleon, devoted himself with singleness of purpose to the composition of such a history as should be a worthy continuation of that of Herodotus. The glories of Greece was the subject he had at heart, and perpetuating the spirit from whence those glorious deeds had arisen was the object before him ; so that there was no place in his mind for personal and party feelings ; but the banished man wrote with the same, and perhaps greater, impartiality, than if he had been still enjoying the favour of his countrymen and living in the heart of Attica. And it can scarcely be said that he did not enjoy their favour ; for as there was no acrimony in him towards them, so they felt such confidence in his honesty, and regarded as so important the work in which he was engaged, that they gladly furnished him with all the information he needed, and even their opponents did the same : hence it is probable that the history of Thucydides, so far from being less perfect in consequence of his banishment, was, in fact, greatly improved and enhanced by his admirable conduct under it, and the confidence which was inspired thereby.

Thucydides prided himself on the correctness of his information, and expressly declares that he thought it unfit to narrate, as matter of fact, things which he had only heard by random report of others, or things on which he had merely formed an opinion ; but only such things as he was himself personally acquainted with, or had heard from others so circumstanced, that he could investigate each fact as accurately as possible. (b. i. c. xxii. 2). And he, moreover, asserts, that he composed his history, not for any temporary purpose—not for the ambi-

tious display of his own talent—not for the momentary gratification of the ear of his auditory, but for an EVERLASTING POSSESSION *κτῆμα τε ἐς αἰ* OF USE FOR AYE.

This was the noble object which Thucydides had in view, and it is this lofty purpose, ever present to his thoughts, that gives such surpassing fire and dignity to everything he wrote. Thucydides ascertained his facts correctly, and threw his own ardour into the scene by making himself an actor in it, and thinking how he should have spoken and acted under similar circumstances. This he did without at all falsifying history, though the words may not be the very words used on the occasion; for the character of the speaker, as well as the actual state of things and the results, are all scrupulously attended to by Thucydides: and the words which he puts into their mouths are such as they might have used, and certainly such as all similar characters in similar circumstances would find it best to use, for the end in view. And, therefore, they have served as models for imitation in all succeeding time—models even for Demosthenes, the prince of orators—and for all who have sought, by fervid addresses, to produce an instantaneous effect.

But ardour alone is not sufficient for realizing any lofty purpose, or bequeathing to mankind an *everlasting possession*; labour and perseverance must second the ardour, that it may be crowned with success. The ardour of Thucydides neither superseded nor made him shrink from labour; it only cheered him under the necessary labour, and enabled him bravely to bear up and press on, by keeping the glorious goal steadily in his view. And though it was to futurity of fame that he looked, and for other generations he intended that his work should be an everlasting possession, yet he himself did not wholly lose a present reward; and in his old age, when his labours had nearly terminated, he was recalled with honour and applause to Athens, as the earnest and assurance of that future fame which mankind, with one consent, have since awarded to Thucydides.

We dwell on these things, not only to invite and rouse others to use this precious bequest, this everlasting possession, and to search into its hidden treasures; but also to stimulate them, by such an example, to propose to themselves some such noble object, and labour to render it an everlasting possession—a something which mankind shall not willingly lose—shall love, and prize, and cherish. It is the more necessary to avail ourselves of such opportunities for inculcating truths like these, and for pointing out the only path to excellence—the only road

to lasting fame; since this generation is especially characterized by impatience in all things, and disdain of that which it requires time to develope. As soon should we expect the oak of the forest to come to maturity in a single year, as that any everlasting possession should be a hasty product, or without deep thought, and long preparation, and patient laborious finishing of that which is rightly begun.

The notes of Dr. Bloomfield are very copious, and for the most part only critical; but some of them are amusing, and we extract, as a sample, a portion of one which refers to Cleon, the chief antagonist of Thucydides, through whose intrigues and popular harangues the excitable Athenian mob banished from Greece one who has so largely contributed to the Grecian fame:—

“The term *διαβαλων* has reference to the chief *ingredient* in the cup Cleon mixed up for the public taste, and the chief tool of his base purposes, *calumny*; and accordingly that is the epithet which is, in Aristoph. Eq. 247, applied to Cleon, of whom it is said, *παιε τον πανουργον και διαβωλωτατον τινα*. And at v. 44, of the same drama, he is styled *βυρσοδεψην παφλαγονα πανουργοτατον*, i.e., ready to perpetrate anything; or, as we should say, *up to anything*. With respect to the other term there, *παφλαγονα*, it has not (what might seem at first sight) any allusion to *Paphlagonia*, but is an adjective from *παφλαζω*, *ferveo*, *bullio* (a word used properly of the waves of the sea, in a violent state of agitation. So in Hom. Il. xiii. 798, we have, *κυματα παφλαζοντα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλασσης*.) just as our verb *to boil*, in an elegant couplet of Gay:—

‘Then headlong shoots beneath the dashing tide,

The trembling fins the *boiling* waves divide.’

In the above passage, however, of Aristophanes, it is used in a metaphorical sense, to denote, not what Mr. Mitchell understands *frothy* (for frothiness was not a characteristic of Cleon), but rather what we should express by *bullying*; so corresponding to the term *κεκρακτης* applied to Cleon in the same drama, v. 137 and 304. And, indeed, it may be observed, that our verb *to bully* comes not from *bulle* or *burly*, but from *bullio*, as that does from *φλυω*, cognate with *φλαω*, whence *παφλαζω*. The epithet is, indeed, one the more applicable to Cleon, because, as with us a *bully* means a *blustering* fellow with only the *semblance* of courage, so here there is an allusion to the *cowardice* of this demagogue, as of his counterpart in modern times, Robespierre. Thus he is described by Aristophanes as a bawling, bullying hector, yet at the same time an utter coward, and a fawner when he had any purpose of his own to serve; the terrorist of all classes, especially such as had anything to lose, turbulent and inquisitorial, rapacious and most unscrupulous. As to his *eloquence*, Bishop Thirlwall says, that ‘if he had any, it was impetuous and coarse, set off with a loud voice and vehement gesticulation.’ Perhaps, however, that may be going too far; since Cicero, after noticing the bad qualities of this demagogue, yet

adds, 'tamen eloquens grandis verbis, creber sententiis, compressione rerum brevis;' though, of course, merely with reference to his oratory as it stands in the speech of Thucydides. Eloquence Cleon must have possessed, otherwise he could not, as Mr. Mitchell says, have made himself master of the Athenian mob *by their ears*; but the eloquence was doubtless of a character adapted to the mob—not that of a Pitt, Fox, or Burke, but rather of a *Cobbett*, dealing chiefly in invective." (page 434).

The mode of taking the sense of an assembly, first by acclamation, secondly by division, is noticed at p. 137:—

"*βοη και ου ψηφω*. 'by shout;' the rudest but most ancient mode of voting, and therefore still retained among a people who clung to simple and ancient usages. See Plut. Lycurg. 26. Occasionally, indeed, it was in use even down to modern times, especially in tumultuous assemblies, such as the Polish diet. The particular mode at length adopted by the suggestion of Sthenelaidas, was not (as has been supposed) one novel and devised for the nonce, but such as had probably been before employed when that by shout was doubtful, and was now resorted to in order that the disposition of the assembly might be visibly displayed. The same usage, and for the same purpose, is found in Xenophon, Hist. ii. 4, 9. And Dio. Cass. 475. 12, *εκηρυξεν (δειξας το χωριον) τους μεν επι ταδε, τους δε επι θατερα αυτον απελθειν*. The custom became afterwards general, and is alluded to in the Latin phrase *discedere in sententiam alicujus*. *διεστησαν*. So we should say, 'they divided upon the question.'" (p. 138).

Dr. Bloomfield, in proof of the correct adaptation of the speeches in Thucydides to the character of the speaker, remarks:—

"The prudent counsels of Archidamas were too sober to suit the violent temper of the assembly, whose sentiments found their full expression in the ensuing speech (delivered *last*, in order to give it the greater effect) of the presiding Ephor, Sthenelaidas. The composition has every appearance of genuineness, from its being marked by the peculiar Spartan characteristics of laconic brevity, and that blunt, homely, and business-like mode of address (observable in two similar speeches in Livy, i. 32, and iv. 41, to which the historian applies the epithet *incomptus* and *horridus*), by which, coming at once to the point, he proceeds to advert to the injuries suffered by the allies of Sparta—injuries she was bound in honour promptly to avenge, by an immediate declaration of war against the aggressors." (p. 136).

Commenting on the bold figure of *war exulting* in the view of marshalled hosts, Dr. Bloomfield observes:—

"Thucydides has, *suo more*, ventured on one of those daring forms of expression which it is easier to account for than to justify. For certainly this use of *αγαλλεσθαι*, by which war is *personified*, is scarcely allowable anywhere except in *poetry*, and that lyric; war being thus, in poetic language, represented under the image of a warrior fully

armed and accoutred, and mounted on a prancing war-horse. And so in a passage of the Old Testament (Job. xxxix. 21), the war-horse is represented as *passing* the valley, and *rejoicing* (rather *exulting*) in *his strength*. I know of no other example of this bold imagery, except in a passage which, being of a high-wrought poetic character, fully admits of it—namely, Psal. xix. 4, 5, ‘In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun, which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race;’ or, rather, as it should be rendered, ‘And he is as a bridegroom going forth from his chamber: he *exulleteh* (Sept. *αγαλλιασεται*) as a strong man to run his course.’ This sense of *αγαλλεσθαι*, namely, ‘to rejoice, or exult for joy,’ in any thing, however rare, was, I suspect, the *primary* signification of the word. For I agree with Lennep ap. Etym, that the term *αγαλλεσθαι* signifies properly to *make oneself shine*; whence (like the Latin *renidere* as used for *lætari*, *gaudere*) it came to bear the sense *rejoice*, *exult*. On the other hand, from *αγαλλεσθαι*, ‘to make oneself shine,’ came the signification to *adorn oneself*, set oneself off; whence the figurative sense to *boast oneself*,” &c. (Vol. ii. p. 385).

And lastly, in the sentiments which he attributes to Alcibiades, Thucydides has very nearly expressed his own;—loving his country, though unjustly banished;—desiring to return thither if he might find, not oppression, but protection there;—and might repossess it as a citizen, not as a slave.

“My love of country I keep, not wherein I am wronged, but wherein I enjoyed securely the right of a citizen. The city or state of Athens is considered under two points of view—namely, one as his *protectress*, the other as his *oppressor*. The speaker means to say that he holds his patriotism for the former, not the latter. The sentiment is further developed in the next words, in which we have a refined way of expressing, that Athens, now his oppressor, is no longer his country, but that he is endeavouring to repossess himself of it as such—*i.e.*, as a protectress. He is a true patriot, not who, having been unjustly deprived of it (by banishment), forbears to invade it; but who, from his desire for it, endeavours in every way to repossess it.” (Vol. ii. p. 468).

There is not ground for supposing that Thucydides, under any circumstances, would have acted as Alcibiades did; yet the sentiments he imputes to Alcibiades are such, as, if so circumstanced, and constrained so to act, would have been the sentiments of Thucydides. And we only cite them as another evidence that the man who wholly lost his patriotism under any circumstances ceased to be a Greek; and that the uppermost thought in the mind of every true Greek was the love of his country.

The utility of this edition of Thucydides is greatly increased by a copious index of the Greek words and phrases which are explained in the notes; and a sufficient index of the matters,

both of the text and the notes. There are also very good maps of the seat of the war by Sidney Hall, and plans of Syracuse, Navarino, &c., on a larger scale, by Walker. All which are indispensable for any who desire to understand such a work as this, and being bound up with the volumes, render them complete in themselves.

But above all these secondary and subsidiary helps for understanding more clearly the important events which took place in Sicily in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the war, and led to the capture of Athens itself, we should notice the appendix, containing remarks on the topography of Syracuse by Colonel Leake, collected and put together with special reference to the expedition of the Athenians recorded in the sixth and seventh books of the history of Thucydides. These remarks are extracted from unpublished topographical and historical notes on Syracuse, and are of the very greatest value as the elucidations of a man who unites in himself the qualifications of a first-rate geographer and of a military tactician. From this combination of talent Colonel Leake is able to point out clearly, not only what the actual face of the country was, but what bearing this kind of country had upon the military operations mentioned in the history—wherein the strength of a position consisted, and why one mode of operation would succeed, and another most probably be ruinous. These military operations occupy fifteen closely-printed pages, and it is most interesting to follow in them the track of the events described by Thucydides, guided by the indelible features of the country, the same now as they were more than two thousand years ago. And it is no small proof of the accuracy of Thucydides, and his talent for seizing and portraying the leading features of the scenes he describes, that another kindred spirit should be able, after the lapse of so many ages, to discover all those features, and track him step by step through the country, by these sure indications. It would not be enough, nor to any good purpose, to extract detached portions of these notes; their value consists in their being one whole, each portion of which tends to illustrate one great operation, the catastrophe of which involved in it the fate of Athens itself. The plan of Syracuse and the environs has been “formed by the Colonel partly on an actual survey by order of Government, and partly on his own personal examination on the spot.”

Speaking of this edition of Thucydides as a whole, we certainly regard it as the most useful that has yet appeared, and as containing, in the materials and critical helps which it affords,



the germs of attainments and knowledge beyond what it actually imparts, and applicable to other writings as well as the history of Thucydides. We think that much is contained in this edition which tends and "can scarcely fail to impart a certain aptitude for critical disquisition, by placing the means of critical knowledge within the reach of *many*—whereas before it had been too much confined to a *few*." And we object not to the appearance of self-complacency with which Dr. Bloomfield reviews his labours, in saying, on bringing them to a close, "upon the whole, the editor cannot but avow that he shall think he has much mis-spent a larger portion of time and labour than has, perhaps, ever before been devoted to any ancient writer, if the *result* should not be *some* addition to the classical reputation of his country." But, on the contrary, we would sincerely wish that all his expectations may be fully realized in the increase of his own reputation, bound up in the anticipated reputation of his country.

#### ART. IX.—*The State Trials and the Irish Church.*

A STATE prosecution which has lasted for twenty-five days; a debate of nine nights' duration in the House of Commons, and one of two nights in the House of Lords; pamphlets and newspaper leading articles innumerable—some "written to-day from the learning of yesterday;" direct or covert attacks against the Church in Ireland; infallible specifics for the social ills of the people of that country, afford, together with some few ideas of our own, ample subject for the following pages.

When we last wrote we did not venture to predict either the acquittal or conviction of Mr. O'Connell and his fellow traversers. A verdict of guilty has since been recorded against them. It is true that they have not acquiesced in the law, as delivered by a unanimous court; and a motion, in arrest of judgment being passed on Mr. O'Connell and his associates, will be made on the 15th instant. Whilst a legal question of this nature remains undecided, we, even were we so qualified, will not comment upon it. Adopting the distinction, that it is the province of the judge to state the law, of the jury to find the facts, we confine ourselves to the latter, and do not touch upon what the law defines to be a conspiracy. The verdict of the Dublin jury was founded on evidence sufficient to satisfy them that Mr. O'Connell and the other traversers endeavoured

to "create discontent and disaffection amongst the Queen's subjects; to excite them to hatred of, and unlawful opposition to, the government and constitution; to excite disaffection in the army; to obtain a change in the laws and constitution by intimidation and the demonstration of force; and to bring the courts of justice into disrepute." Whether these proved endeavours amount to conspiracy is a legal question—whether they have been made or not is a question of fact.

We particularize Mr. O'Connell, as he was the *fons et origo mali*, and we sincerely believe the verdict against him to have been according to evidence, and a conscientious and a just one. We have no personal animosity to be gratified; we feel not the exultation of mere partizans; but we do confess that we rejoice, because the common law of England, under which it is our privilege to live, has been proved, when fairly and impartially administered, to be sufficient to convict the members of a most formidable and seditious association, and to protect the endangered and physically weaker portion of society.

It was not to be expected that those who have been convicted at the late trials would submit without a murmur; but it might reasonably have been anticipated that their Whig confederates would have sufficient respect for the constituted tribunals of their country, not to vilify and calumniate them. The ex-Solicitor-General of England, in his place in the House of Commons, has thought himself justified in stating that Mr. O'Connell and his associates had not "a fair trial," and Lord John Russell has echoed the statement; the jury are accused of bigotry and party bias; and Mr. O'Connell has said, that "since the days of Scroggs and Titus Oates, there never was a more one-sided charge" than that delivered by the chief justice; and a sedulous attempt is made to weaken the moral effect of the conviction, and to enlist the too kindly sympathies of the people of England on the side of men who are represented to be the victims of a tyrannical State prosecution.

The charge is so grave—the verdict would be so utterly worthless, so repugnant to the minds of Englishmen, if obtained by the exercise of a strained prerogative, a partial jury, and a corrupt judge: the just and impartial administration of the law is a right so dear and so valuable to us all; to have "that primeval institution, those inquests by twelve true men—the unadulterated voice of the people, responsible alone to God and their conscience, which should be heard in the sanctuaries of justice springing fresh from the lap of truth—become like waters constrained in their course by art, stagnant and

impure ;" would be so great a national calamity, that we are anxious to disprove accusations so terrible and so untrue. For the exculpation of the Government there are but two things necessary to be shown—first, that the trials were necessary ; secondly, that they were fairly conducted.

Every sensible and dispassionate man, who is as little influenced by the restless vanity of the demagogue as by the tyrant's arbitrary abuse of power, must admit that it was the duty of any Government, who desired to preserve the good order and tranquillity of Ireland, and to protect those who relied upon it for safety, to put down the agitation for a Repeal of the Union, as carried on in that country ; and every lover of liberty would prefer to see the attempt made by the use of the ordinary powers of the law, rather than that recourse were had, in the first instance, to an express legislative enactment.

Forty-one monster meetings, ostensibly summoned for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, but where Parliament was not petitioned, and in reality designed to overawe the Legislature by the demonstration of physical force—meetings at which language of a most exciting and seditious nature was addressed to hundreds of thousands of ignorant and inflammable people, who marched to them in martial order, with banners waving, and some of which were held in places known in Irish history as the scenes of old feuds, industriously falsified and magnified to embitter existing animosities—meetings arranged by a central and well-organized association, and for the purpose of obtaining an object most fatal to the prosperity of the empire—meetings at which class was goaded against class, and race against race—amply demonstrate the necessity for Government to interfere, and punish, according to law, those who devised them. So much for the necessity. It is worth noticing what marvellous rigour the Crown exercised preparatory to the trial, and what unheard-of hardships and inconveniences the accused were put to.

Happily for them the time has gone by when immurement in a dungeon preceded a State trial. On the present occasion, instead of armed men surrounding the intended prisoner's house, a polite letter was written to Mr. O'Connell, apprizing him of the fact that informations had been sworn against him, and requesting to know at what time it would be convenient for him to attend before Mr. Justice Burton, to give bail for his appearance at the trial. Accordingly, the next day bail was rendered. We do not stay to mention the various legal proceedings which occupied the attention of the court during the November term ; men of the highest legal ability (be it ob-

served, *en parenthese*, that eight out of twelve counsel were Protestants) were employed for the traversers, there can be no ground of complaint that they were not ably defended. When every expedient for delay had been exhausted, an application was made to postpone the trial, in order that a new special jury list might be formed. The Attorney-General, believing the application to be a fair one, at once acceded to a postponement of nearly two months. How was a portion of that time spent by Mr. O'Connell? What effect had the monster indictment upon his nerves and spirits? Just this—he went to his mountain-home to hunt with his beagles!

If our ancestors were to start from their graves, and be told that a man was indicted for offences but little short of high treason, against whom the grand jury had found true bills, and the day of whose trial was fixed; and yet that this same man was in his own home, “free of mountain solitude,” with the “wild winds of heaven” playing around his ruddy cheek, and “dressed in border fashion,” spending morning after morning out hunting, and declaring that he “never was in better wind in his life”—what would they think? Surely they must smile at the idea of persecution, and laugh outright at the charge of tyranny. They could never be brought to believe that the Government of the country was a very harsh and rigorous one.

But it is necessary to resign the sports of the field—the day of trial has arrived. On that occasion *the Lord Mayor of the Reformed Corporation of the city of Dublin* thought it not unbecoming his official station to conduct Mr. O'Connell to his place of trial in the civic coach, whilst a long line of carriages, filled with ardent sympathizers, swelled the *cortege*. The triumph was postponed until the “Castle lawyers” were outwitted—that procession was but an ovation. Such was the prelude to the trial, and up to this time there was no petty vindictiveness or harshness exhibited on the part of the law officers of the Crown. But these are exoteric matters; the specific charges against the Crown are, that the manner of the Attorney-General was captious, and that the jury was unfairly constituted.

With regard to the first, we think that, although dignity and courtesy are very excellent qualities in the conductor of a State prosecution, yet the absence of them militates more against the case he conducts, than injuriously affects the accused. If, indeed, they were personally interrogated, as in France, and browbeaten by an English *quasi Procureur du Roi*, the case would be different; but, according to our juster

laws, no such practice can exist, and we are not aware of any improper bearing on the part of the Attorney-General towards the traversers. The opening speech was neither vindictive nor abusive; there was no undue personal restraint exercised; they were only required to be present when it was absolutely necessary. Mr. O'Connell was but once prohibited from attending a repeal meeting, and then on the very proper ground that he should not be allowed to comment on proceedings which were pending in a court of justice. We are not, however, so partial as to find nothing reprehensible in the Attorney-General's conduct—there may have been exhibitions of irritability which should not have taken place; and the fact of his sending a challenge to a counsel on the opposite side whilst defending his client—no matter how great the provocation—was most highly improper, and as opposed to Christian principle as to Mr. Smith's civil duty. We should animadvert more strongly on such conduct, were it not that he has avowed his fault and expressed his contrition for it. Most sincerely should we rejoice to see the day when the guilty and absurd practice of duelling shall utterly cease. But whilst we so far reprehend, we can see nothing in the professional proceedings of the Attorney-General by which the minds of the jury were unduly swayed, or the accused unfairly treated.

The next charge relates to the improper constitution of the jury. Without entering into minutiae, it will be sufficient to state, that on the old special jury list there were but the names of twenty-five Roman Catholics—on the new there are one hundred and eighty-eight; that the panel was not made out by the Crown; that the unbusiness-like accident—for such we are convinced it was—of dropping a list on which were the names of twenty-four jurors, at the time magnified into fifty-seven, of whom the great majority were said to be Roman Catholics, occurred in the Recorder's office, through the negligence of a Roman Catholic clerk—no *employé* of the Crown, which had no control whatever over any of the proceedings connected with the formation of the jury panel.

But it has been said the Crown took advantage of the error, and thus became as culpable as those who committed it. The answer is most satisfactory. If the panel were to be treated as vitiated, the jury should either have been formed from the list of 1843, on which there were the names of only twenty-five Roman Catholics, or the trial should have been postponed until 1845. On the list, as formed, there were the names of upwards of seven hundred jurors qualified to act; and it would be strange indeed if a fair jury could not be obtained from

such a number of respectable men. The next charge is, that ten Roman Catholics were struck off by the Crown from the reduced list of forty-eight, from which number the jury was to be selected. The Roman Catholic body, both in England and Ireland, treated this as an insult, and tantamount to a declaration by the Crown that Roman Catholics were not to be believed on their oaths.

The answer of the Ministry is—they have offered no insult; they were obliged, by the provisions of the statute introduced by Sir Michael O'Loughlen, a Roman Catholic, and Attorney-General under the Whig Administration, peremptorily and *ex necessitate*, to strike off twelve names—so were the accused. In a legal point of view, the Crown need neither have explained nor justified their act. The broad ground of whether a Roman Catholic can violate an oath, and receive absolution for his offence, in consideration of the excess of good produced over the evil committed, is not brought into question. The very lax construction which some Roman Catholic members put upon their oaths, in voting on Church questions, was not adduced in justification of the course adopted. The Ministry generously overlooked the possibility of a Roman Catholic being swayed by his religious principles, and directed that no juror should be struck off on account of them. It is admitted, that eight out of the ten set aside were avowed repealers; and with respect to the other two, it was and is still believed by the Government, that they were subscribers to the funds of the Repeal Association, or had signed a requisition for a repeal meeting, and identified themselves with the agitation for that measure. It would have been indeed quixotic to have allowed men, who were in a minor degree accomplices, to have tried their associates.

We are sure that the Roman Catholic special jurors of Dublin, far from being offended, are rejoiced at their exclusion from the jury. A high-minded Roman Catholic would have been placed in a most painful position: had he stood out and prevented a verdict being given, there would have been a cry through the country of "violated oath, of party bias, and of Romish dishonesty;" if, on the other hand, he had joined in finding a verdict of guilty, he would have been a banned man by his own party, shunned by his friends, looked coldly on by his acquaintances, and detested by his co-religionists. To assert that, without a Roman Catholic being on the jury, there could be no fair and impartial verdict, is as gross a libel on the integrity of the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland as it is wholly untrue.

We assert that it has been satisfactorily demonstrated, that the charges are entirely unsustained against the Crown,\* and that their conduct was neither harsh, rigorous, nor tyrannical. Of the Chief Justice we know no more than that upwards of forty years ago he was called to the bar in Ireland; that for a great portion of that time he was universally reputed to be the ablest practitioner in the equity courts of that country, and during the whole of it his private character was as much respected and esteemed as his professional abilities were admired and applauded: and we have heard that he was not only a good but a religious man, and we therefore believe him to be incapable of acting from corrupt or wilfully from partial motives; it is not likely that he would tarnish the lustre of a long and honourable career by impure and partial conduct. Since his elevation to the bench, on a very important question, he decided, in opposition to the opinion of two of the judges of the same court, against the validity of a marriage of a member of the Church of England and a Presbyterian, when performed by a Presbyterian minister. That decision was appealed from, and the English judges last year—we believe unanimously—certainly there were not more than two dissentients—delivered their opinion that such a marriage was invalid; and very recently Lords Lyndhurst and Cottenham have given their judgments to the same effect. We mention this circumstance as some test of the ability of Chief Justice Pennefather.

During the progress of this very protracted trial—so far as we can learn from the newspaper reports of it, which we read with considerable attention—there does not appear to have been a syllable of complaint against his manner; on the contrary, it seems to have been most courteous, forbearing, and urbane: evidence was admitted, irrelevant columns of newspapers allowed to be read, which, to our apprehension, had no bearing whatever on the case, and counsel were permitted to continue their addresses day after day without a murmur or an impatient gesture. We have heard that he has never taken a very violent part in politics, and we collect from the charge that he favoured the Emancipation Act. At the commencement of that charge we find a sound exposition of the way in which he was to do his duty:—

“There were many observations made, both as to the law and the facts. On the latter subject they (the jury) were the constitutional

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\* We use the word “Crown” as inclusive of the Ministry, the Irish Government, and the law officers, and have so used it throughout.

judges to determine and to come to a just conclusion. The law of the case they would take from the court, the judges of which were constitutionally entrusted with the administration of that law, bound to administer it under the most solemn sanction, and independent alike both of the Crown and of the people. They (the judges), therefore, sat there under the same obligation as that under which the Queen held her crown—to administer justice with mercy, according to the laws of the land."

And throughout we find no violation of the constitutional principle, so well expressed; on the contrary, we read a clear exposition of the law—whether rightly or wrongly stated is hereafter to be determined—and a careful discrimination of the conduct of the respective traversers. For instance, Mr. Tierney did not join the Association until the 2nd of October; and although, legally speaking, by that junction he became involved in all the culpability of the preceding acts, the Chief Justice very properly put it to the jury to consider whether Mr. Tierney adopted them; and this gentleman was found guilty on some counts of the indictment only.

It is to be remembered, that from the immense mass of matter adduced, it was the office of the judge—having explained the law, on which we are free to admit a very decided view was taken—to state only what was relevant; and the onus of proof resting on the prosecutors, the obvious course seemed to be to lay their uncontradicted evidence before the jury, and let them determine on its sufficiency. We affirm that no more than this was done; and we ask, was it decency, or was it revenge—was it the desire of keeping the ermine of justice unsullied, or was it malice, that prompted the slanderous comparison made by Mr. O'Connell?

The character of Scroggs is thus touched off by Burnet:—

"The Lord Chief Justice at that time was Sir William Scroggs, a man more valued for a good readiness in speaking well, than either for reasoning in his profession, or for any moral virtue. His life had been indecently scandalous, and his fortunes were very low. . . . And it was a melancholy thing to see so bad, so ignorant, and so poor a man raised up to that great position. Yet he now, seeing how the stream run, went into it with so much zeal and heartiness, that he was become the favourite of the people. But when he saw the king had a low opinion of it, he grew colder in the pursuit of it; he began to neglect and check the witnesses. Upon which, they who behaved themselves as if they had been the tribunes of the people, began to rail at him. Yet in all the trials he set himself, with indecent earnestness, to get the prisoners to be always cast."

He was subsequently (in the year 1680) impeached by the Commons, and the eighth article runs thus:—



"Whereas Sir William Scroggs, being advanced to be Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, ought, by a sober, grave, and virtuous conversation, to have given a good example to the king's liege people, and to demean himself answerable to the dignity of so eminent a station; yet he, the said Sir William Scroggs, on the contrary, by his frequent and notorious excesses and debaucheries, and his profane and atheistical discourses, doth daily affront Almighty God, dishonour his majesty, give countenance and encouragement to all manner of vice and wickedness, and bring the highest scandal on the public justice of the kingdom."

There is not a point of similarity between the two characters. An honourably spent private life is often a sure proof of public integrity. Chief Justice Pennefather's reputation is so high, as to render it unscathed by any imputation of Mr. O'Connell's. The talismanic words to the jury, "was this argument, or was it threat?" were too fatal in their effect to that *gentleman*; his vengeance has found vent in the language of slander and detraction, both to be disregarded, coming from a quarter

"Whose praise is censure, and whose censure praise."

It remains but to dismiss the jury, which we do in a sentence. We have before expressed our opinion that the verdict was a just and a conscientious one; we now reiterate it, with the addition, that great credit is due to the intelligent and respectable jury who so faithfully performed a duty which required much firmness, intrepidity, and resolution. Some of the gentlemen composing it are accused of being violent partizans; but it is clear that no jury, who did not make themselves arbiters of the law and the fact, could have returned a different verdict; the facts were scarcely disputed, and what the law is the judges had to declare.

We have thus rapidly noticed and disproved the accusations made against the Crown, the Chief Justice, and the Jury; and, after mature deliberation, we are of opinion that the traversers had a fair trial. There may be an error in law, but if there be, it has originated neither from party bias nor corruption: it may be judge-made law; it may be the common law of England; or it may not be law at all: if the last be the truth, we shall indeed be much surprised.

In the preceding observations we hope we were moved not so much by party bias, nor the desire of giving a "thick-and-thin" support to the present Ministry, nor, though happy to be enabled to do so, of rendering justice to the character of an individual, nor yet of expressing our concurrence with the solemn sentence of twelve sworn men; but chiefly because we

were anxious to vindicate the purity of the administration of justice, and because we felt the attempt to cover it with obloquy to be an unworthy one, and the design insidious thus to shield convicted men. It is difficult to estimate the effects of the conviction. The Whig party, oblivious of coercion bills and of the large force they retained in Ireland, and who, indeed, know nothing of modesty, except the affectation of it, ask, "Is Ireland to be held as an occupied country, where the bayonet of the soldier will be seen as oft as the ploughshare of the husbandman?" If such should be the unhappy necessity, who are to blame for it? Those who honestly endeavour to maintain the laws, or the itinerant demagogues who seditiously teach how to evade them? Good effects are already discernible: the arbitration courts are abandoned; the editors of the *Pilot*, *Freeman*, and *Nation* newspapers have withdrawn from the Repeal Association; monster meetings are no more attempted; the *prestige* of Mr. O'Connell's legal reputation is gone; the peasantry, who believed that his ingenuity was superior to the power of Government, are undeceived; and, finally, the confidence of the loyal and Protestant portion of the people of Ireland in the Executive has been revived and re-established.

It merely remains to be considered whether, a verdict having been obtained, and supposing it not to be set aside, punishment should be inflicted. We bear no malice or vindictiveness against Mr. O'Connell and the other traversers; but for him and them we can have no sympathy—we are thoroughly convinced that by exciting class against class, and race against race—by stimulating an ardent and an ignorant people, under delusive expectations, to struggle for the attainment of an object which is impracticable—by desecrating the Sabbath by monster meetings convened for purposes of agitation—and by involving in a destructive and wicked movement the Roman Catholic priesthood, adding to the iniquity of the political step the aggravation of religious rancour, incalculable mischief has been done to the present well-being of Ireland.

Nevertheless, if we saw contrition for their past conduct; a respectful submission to the tribunals of their country; a mischievous agitation abandoned; and a determination never to renew it, expressed with a sincerity on which we could rely, then perchance, for the sake of that mercy "which is twice blessed," we might join in the demand for an amnesty. But if, on the contrary, there be no repentance for the past; if the cause of justice be vilified; if we hear the open—and we suppose we must believe it to be the honest—avowal that "a native Parliament is an inalienable right which cannot be abandoned;" if we see the coquetting of the Whigs ineffectual, no matter

how desperate may be their dalliance in the impure courts of Radicalism ; if there be a danger of a sympathetic agitation being extended to England, and the possibility of a junction between the Repealers and the Anti-Corn Law Leaguers ; and if we hear Mr. O'Connell, for the sake of such an union, at Covent-garden, preach free trade in corn, although at the Corn Exchange, in Dublin, he denounces the man who does not wear a frieze coat of Irish manufacture as an enemy to his country—then we can admit no plea for a remission of punishment. The law must be not only fairly, but equally administered. The simplest test is this—if men of humbler station were similarly convicted, would they not be punished? If there were no remission for them, why should those escape whose power of injury is greater, and who are so much more culpable from being better educated? We may regret that Mr. O'Connell, at his advanced age, should be imprisoned ; but we must lose sight of the individual in the offence. We have no apprehension of the consequences—there would be no outbreak. We have before stated that an Irish mob, to be opposed with success, has only to be opposed with vigour ; and, as reasoning men, we must know that, if, in apprehension of an insurrection, the traverser's imprisonment was not enforced, except we were prepared to concede everything they demanded, by such an exhibition of our weakness, we should only add to their confidence and increase our own danger.

We now dismiss the consideration of the State trials, and we ask, are we to conclude that there is no remedy for the miseries of Ireland—is she ever to be the estranged, and not the loving, sister of England? Unhappy country, whose own sons contribute to thy misery ; who, instead of soothing thy irritated frame, torture it to madness ; and, having lacerated and inflamed thy almost cancerous wounds, then, with a cry of affected innocence, throw thee, agonized and convulsed, upon others to heal !

It has been said, not only in the late debate, but over and over again, that the low condition of the people of Ireland is ascribable to misgovernment. A bad Government may retard the improvement of a nation, but cannot entirely impede it ; and it is much more true to state, that nations have a more powerful effect over Governments, than Governments over nations. A slavish people will have a tyrannical Government ; a people attached to freedom an enlightened one. The people of Ireland have scarcely ever had a strong one ; they cannot shift the odium from themselves—for their condition they are mainly to blame.

If, indeed, they stood without a parallel in Europe, there

might be entire truth in the assertion. Some truth there is ; but if we see a similar backwardness in people of the same race and of the same religion, as compared with the advance of their fellow-countrymen, and where the Government is not charged as the cause, we are led to consider that there must be an innate indisposition to improvement in such a people. We need go no further than Brittany for an illustration ; there, as in Ireland, the people are of the Celtic race, and the similarity of person between the inhabitants of the two countries is strikingly obvious. We pass from Normandy, which gave us haughty kings, proud nobles, and feudal laws, into the wild *landes* of Brittany, into which, centuries ago, wandered the out-cast race of Britons, and the contrast between the people of the two provinces is striking ; and yet the latter has been annexed to France for more than three hundred years.

In Basse Bretagne the inhabitants speak a language different from that of the rest of France, wear a peculiar dress, adhere to antiquated customs, and yield to the grossest superstitions. Though the province has been annexed to France for more than 300 years, the process of amalgamation is still incomplete : no two characters can be more distinct than the gay, mercurial, and neat Parisian, and the sombre, rudely-clad, and sluggish-looking Breton. Beggars are never, or but rarely, met in Normandy : in Brittany they are frequent ; children there do not seem to feel or be taught the degradation of mendicancy ; they will run after your carriage for miles for a couple of sous ; the sole amusement of the Breton peasant is to go to the fairs of the country and get drunk. Until the temperance movement in Ireland, attending fairs, drinking, and faction-fighting were the favourite pastimes of the Irishman. The very houses of Brittany remind the traveller of Ireland—dungheaps before the door, the stables and cow-houses close to the kitchen, the very furniture of which bears a resemblance to the Irish cabin. In both countries there is a profuse and indiscriminating charity ; the mendicant is rarely refused a share of the homely meal, or a place to lie in ; innate hospitality and physical courage also characterize the respective inhabitants. In one particular they do differ : the Bretons are heavy and sombre, the Irish vivacious and gay ; the latter, too, we think, are more patient of hardship and privation. M. Michelet gives this thrilling description of the people resident in the department of Morbihan and the adjacent islands :—

“ Nature is atrocious, man is atrocious, and they seem to understand each other. When the sea dashes in a vessel, men, women, and children fall upon their prey. Hope not to arrest those wolves ; they

would pillage tranquilly under the fire of the gens-d'armes. Nor do they always wait for a shipwreck—one is assured they often prepare it ; often it is said, a cow tossing with her horns a waving torch has conducted vessels to the rocks. God knows then the scenes of night. To tear a ring from the finger of a drowning woman they have bitten off the finger with their teeth.\* Man is hard on that coast. Cursed son of the creation, true Cain, why should he pardon Abel? Nature does not pardon him. Does the sea spare him, when in the terrible winter nights it draws from the rocks the floating sea-weed, which should enrich his barren fields?.....Here nature expires, humanity becomes blunted and cold ; no poetry, little religion—Christianity is but of yesterday. Michel Noblet was the apostle of Retz in 1648. In the isles of Batz, Sein, Ouessant, the marriages are sad and rude ; the senses seem extinct ; no love, no modesty, no jealousy. The girls without blushing make proposals for their marriage. Woman works more than man, and in the isle of Ouessant she is larger and stronger. She it is who cultivates the land—he remains seated in his boat, his rude nurse, shattered and beaten by the sea." (Vol. ii., p. 13).

This is strongly written, but by no unfriendly hand. Some fifty years ago the character of the Irish wrecker—indeed, our own shores have been peopled by beings of as savage and atrocious a nature—and the inland poteen-maker would not have been dissimilar to that portrayed in the sketch we have extracted. It may be said, that man in a half savage state is much the same in all parts of the world ; but it is the same obstinate clinging to semi-barbarism, while surrounding nations emerge from it, that shows the justice of the parallel. No doubt, in both countries, matters are improving ; in both the progress of civilization is slowly gaining ground. The French language in the one, and the English in the other, are fast pushing out and undermining, by their continual infiltration, the more barbarous Celtic dialect. The four French-peopled cities of Rennes, St. Malo, Nantes, and Brest, are gradually introducing French habits into Brittany : and wherever the Saxons abound in Ireland, there also is visible increased comfort and thrift. But both countries still obstinately struggle to retain their expiring nationality. In both, Roman Catholicism is dear to them as symbolic of that nationality, and it is adhered to with such desperate tenacity as much from its political as its religious influence.

To conclude the parallel : these two provinces, where almost the same language, blood, and religion prevail, are the most unimproved portions of the respective countries to which they belong. France is not charged with partial legislation towards Brittany, nor held responsible for its backwardness ; and Eng-

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\* M. Michelet mentions this anecdote without vouching for it.

land and her Government and legislation should not be considered solely to blame for the miseries and ills of Ireland.

It is easier, however, to exhibit the evils under which a country labours, than to show how they may be removed; yet something is gained if the true source from whence they spring can be traced: the next step will be to teach the people, that on themselves mainly depends the removal of their miseries. Unquestionably the people of Ireland can do more for their own advancement than any Government can possibly do for them; but yet a Government may materially aid their efforts—it may beneficially assist in the development of the agricultural resources and of the natural capabilities of the country. Where there are nearly five millions of acres of land unreclaimed, and yet reclaimable, and an abundant supply of cheap labour, there appears opened a vast field for the establishment of useful public works. We are aware that Lord Eliot, in 1842, passed a drainage bill, which gave facilities to the holders of property to raise money to reclaim the wastes adjoining their respective properties, but we fear it has been but of little practical utility; we have heard of but three applications preparatory to the commencement of any undertaking.

We perhaps dwell too long on this subject for the patience of our readers; we beg of them to bear with us, because we are satisfied that the miseries of Ireland are as much physical as moral, and that both are susceptible of improvement. It is too much the habit to consider everything connected with that country as monstrous; her meetings were monstrous, her State trials were monstrous for their duration, her orators are monstrous in their declamation, the debates are monstrous in their length—everything connected with her is overcharged; her Church is said to be a monstrous grievance, when she is a real benefit: it becomes us, therefore, to look, not through a magnified and false mirror, but with the single eye of truth. If the landlords of Ireland are either incapable, unwilling, or unable to reclaim their waste lands—if English capitalists are afraid to entrust their capital in private speculations of the kind, we conceive the Government would do well to, at all events, make the attempt, and if successful on a small scale, their efforts might be enlarged, and portions of the reclaimed lands might be distributed to the surrounding peasantry in allotments of such a size as to create a class a little higher than that of the labourer, and a power might be given to the occupiers, within a limited number of years, to purchase the fee at an equitable rate. We are aware that there are many obstacles to impede the Government, but they are not insuperable.

Nearly five millions of acres of reclaimable land ! Were even a fifth or a tenth of this quantity made fertile, what a glorious improvement ! It is computed that the produce of the soil at present cultivated could be quadrupled by a system of good husbandry : if so, and if the demon of political, social, and religious differences could be converted into a good spirit of emulation, for the improvement of the country, how infinitely better for the people of Ireland themselves and for us ! With this our Sicily, what fear need we have for Rome ?

Let us glance at the measures proposed by the Government, whose fate it would seem to be "to concede, yet not conciliate—to disturb, yet not to settle." They are about to increase the franchise. Of the merits or demerits of the measure we cannot speak positively, as its details are not stated, but we fear it is an ill-judged one. Political privileges are alone valuable to those who can use them with independence. The present 10*l*. test qualification is generally not enough to secure it ; and if the scale be lowered, a privilege will be conferred on a pauper class, who will be driven, like serfs, to the hustings, by their landlords or their priests. The landlord excuses his interference because the priest meddles, and because he believes that, if left free, the tenant would vote as his landlord voted. On the one hand, the tenant is threatened with temporal miseries ; on the other, with eternal and temporal also ; and thus baited on all sides, the franchise is a curse, not a blessing, to him ; he runs the risk either of being evicted from his holding, if his rent be in arrear, or of having his bones broken, or his house burned by the mob, together with his priest's anger ! We look, therefore, with alarm to the extension of the elective franchise in Ireland.

The Government are to double the grant to the National Board of Education. It is with great reluctance that we should oppose anything which has for its object the instruction of the ignorant, and, as an almost necessary consequence, the diminution of brutality and crime. But we have to remember that practically the national system of education is almost entirely in the hands of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and an important lever for instruction in the errors of Rome. We know how difficult it is to repeal a measure of a popular character when once passed, and how dangerous it may appear to the Ministry to withdraw a grant at a time of great national excitement, and how dear the system may be to the founder of it ; but we do hope that a Conservative and Church of England Ministry, if they think that the period be not suited to the re-introduction of the best possible system of education—a

scriptural one, as a general measure—will, under any circumstances, see that the increased grant be not allocated to Roman Catholic objects. On this and the next measure—the endowment of glebes for the Roman Catholic priesthood—we must suspend our judgment until the details are more fully stated and the precise objects explained. By the laws of England we know that all religions are tolerated which do not offend against public morals; but it is one thing to tolerate a religion which the State holds to be erroneous in its tenets; it is a second thing to place the professors of it in offices of civil trust and confidence, more especially when they acknowledge a foreign power superior to the sovereignty of the kingdom; and it is a third and a wrong thing to take the teachers of that religion under the patronage of the State and to endow them with its funds. This, however, we believe the Ministry will not do; and the privilege which they propose to confer on the Roman Catholic priesthood we think the law, to a great extent, already gave them, namely, the right for any individual donor to give or bequeath money, or lands when sold, to be laid out in the purchase of glebes.

In 1832, when a bill was passed placing the Roman Catholics in England on a parity with Dissenters, “in respect to their schools, places for religious worship, education, and *charitable purposes*, in Great Britain, and the property held therewith, and the persons employed in or about the same,” it was expressly enacted that no provision of the Mortmain Act, as it is generally termed, should be abrogated. There is no analogous Act in Ireland, and consequently a weak and enfeebled person can devise or bequeath lands for charitable purposes. This, in a Roman Catholic country, is a very dangerous power. In England, a Protestant one, no land, or money to be laid out in land, can be given, except by deed made a year before the donor’s death. It would surely be wise to extend this Act to Ireland; when we consider the enormous power possessed by the Roman Catholic priesthood over a dying and unabsolved man, it is no breach of charity to believe that many bequests for Romish purposes will be obtained by priestly influence. The design of Mr. O’Connell’s bill is to make every Roman Catholic priest a corporation sole, and place him on an equality with the Church of England clergyman.

The principles on which we want the Ministry to act are neither harsh nor unreasonable; we seek no oppression, no restraint by the temporal power over the exercise of conscience; we say, give toleration, but not favour, both on religious and political grounds. We object to an endowment of the Romish priesthood of Ireland, for we do hold it inconsistent for any earnest professor of Protestantism in the remotest degree to



extend the power of Popery; and more especially, on politic grounds, at the present time, is it unwise to lavish favours on men who are loud, deep, and earnest in their hostility to British connection, and will ever continue so whilst the Church of England is the Church of the State—men whose spirit of encroachment is incessant, who spurn our authority and do not recognize our power, and who avail themselves of every concession but as a precedent for further demand. It is this bit-by-bit and gradual extension of power to Romanism that we deprecate to a system which is at once so wily, yet so plausible; apparently so sincere, yet so profoundly dissembling; and we warn the Ministry to desist from conceding to a body whom no kindness can conciliate, and no contract bind.

If our anticipations be incorrect, and if it be indeed intended to purchase glebes for the Roman Catholic priesthood, then do we protest against such a measure; then do we say, that the people of England and the Protestant people of Ireland are deeply wronged and wounded, because struck by those in whom they trusted—by statesmen whom they loved, whose exertions for the maintenance of the Church of Ireland they hold in affectionate remembrance—by men whom they placed in power to walk in the light of the Constitution; not to fight for her a dubious battle, but they gave them a band, as strong in numbers as they hoped united in purpose, to resist the encroachments of Popery, and to maintain inviolate the religious as well as civil institutions of their country.

We wish to deal fairly with the Ministry, and therefore will not condemn them without a full hearing; we are not forgetful of their tried—let us hope, their steadfast attachment to the Church of Ireland; we well remember that it was because they could not assent to the alienation of her property to secular purposes that Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham severed some of the dearest and closest political connections of their life, broke through the trammels of party, and joined the ranks of the Conservatives. They still preserve a consistency of expression, and we believe willingly they would do nothing which would endanger that Church; but we fear their anxiety to conciliate, although it may leave them prepared for an open attack, induces them unwarily to let the enemy creep in, and thus admitted by the garrison (whose exertions are paralyzed by their misconduct), assail the Church with the weapons in an evil hour conceded by her own friends.

It requires no great political sagacity to predict, that if ever the Whigs shall come again into office—and we hope the day may be a distant one—a fresh assault will be made against the Church of Ireland. The Radical section of the house,

with whom Lord Howick has allied himself, are already determined in their opposition almost to her very existence; and it is only by their aid that the Whig party—small within the house and small without—can maintain their position. The overthrow of the Irish Church will never be an obstacle to their holding power—her sacrifice will cost them little. A second Lichfield-house compact will be more stringent than the first: that only affirmed the principle of spoliation; the next—if the time should ever arrive—will guarantee its being carried into effect. It is also useless to conceal from ourselves the fact, that it is her existence which animates the Roman Catholic priests in their struggle for a Repeal of the Union; she is odious to them, and they never will relax their exertions for her downfall. So long as the Union lasts they cannot hope to make Ireland an exclusively Roman Catholic country; with a domestic legislature, and a rabble and bigotted constituency, they might annihilate a Protestant Church Establishment; and their next step would be the casting off allegiance to a Protestant monarch. Political rights are their nominal plea—religious ascendancy their actual motive.

It behoves all, who have higher and purer motives for her preservation than the displacement of one Ministry and the substitution of another, or even than the union or disunion of the empire, to be prepared for any struggle that may come. The surest way to shun a danger is to see it; and it is our duty now, and at all times, to declare our determined opposition to any temporizing policy. Some may defend the Church of Ireland because she has imprescriptible right of property on her side, because that has been guaranteed by legislative enactment and by solemn compact; but these defenders, if there be an overpowering necessity, may believe it justifiable to break through the rules of property, to alter the law and to violate a solemn compact. We shall be told that one Parliament cannot bind a succeeding one, and that oaths, on the faith of the maintenance of which rights and privileges have been conferred, need not be taken, or if they be, may be construed differently from their ordinary sense by posterity. Her true defenders will not trust alone to muniments like these—unchangeable as they hold national faith should be, they will defend her because it is their duty, as citizens and as Christians, to do so, and because, as moral and accountable beings, they are bound to preserve that branch of the Church of Christ where the pure doctrines of God and Christianity are taught. If “we owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire those rights which they have delivered to our care—if we owe it to ou

posterity not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed," we do so especially, when not merely temporal, but eternal interests are at stake; and though a higher and Almighty arm will uphold his Church, yet we shall not be excused if we falter or abandon her. But whilst we write thus, we are not alarmists; we confidently believe that there is too much Christian principle amongst the Protestant people of Great Britain and Ireland to suffer that Church to be destroyed, or any of her rights and privileges to be impaired. We know her opponents, and it must be our inflexible purpose to keep them from acquiring power to molest her.

It is curious to observe the inconsistency of the arithmetic legislators; they say it is unjust to make the Irish people pay for a religion to which they do not assent: we deny that they do so. But what do these miserable financiers propose?—that the revenues of the Church, inadequate for the purposes to which they are applied, should be divided into three parts, and distributed amongst the three classes of religionists in Ireland; and thus, on their own principle, an injustice would be committed, for the landlords of that country, on whom, in reality, the payment of the rent-charge falls, and nine-tenths of whom are members of the Church, would be compelled to pay for the support of religious establishments to which they do not belong. But it is not our purpose to trace the inconsistencies of such senators: when the mind is once made up to the primary injustice of disturbing a property, more sacred than private, because sacred in its purposes, it is not to be expected that there will be an equitable adjustment of the mode in which it is to be applied. We regret that the Church of Ireland must be so unnecessarily made a topic for debate, and that the bitterness of political feuds should be excited against her; and particularly do we lament it at the present time, when she stands forth chastened, but yet strengthened from her late adversity—when we see the physical obstacles which beset her path gradually being removed—and when we indulge the hope that, with the increase of knowledge, the moral perceptions of the Irish people will be better enabled to judge of the purity of her doctrines, her discipline, and her worship. Never was there a time, humanly speaking, when she should be more strenuously supported: we do not place our hope on an over-hasty zeal for proselytism, but rather on the earnest, yet not intemperate exertions of her ministers; by the mild, patient, and assiduous discharge of their pastoral duties, and by the exhibition of a virtuous example in private life, by acting thus they will ensure the respect of their Roman Catholic

parishioners, and disarm them of their hostility. At present the Christian bearing of the Irish clergymen, their charity and their piety, must forcibly and favourably contrast with the partizan and fiery demeanour of a priesthood who turn their chapels into political conventicles. It is true that the mass of the people are not members of the Church; it is also true that they are only emerging from semi-barbarism; and we do humbly hope, that co-extensive with the spread of civilization will be the diffusion of true religion, and that this wretched, torn, and convulsed country will yet become happy, united, and Protestant.

Let the Government steadily crush pernicious agitation; let them unvaryingly carry out the laws for the preservation of life and property; let the landlords, if they now abandon their country through timidity, know that they will be protected, and let them reside at home; let their sons form their early friendships and local attachments where their lives should be spent, and let them see their fathers take a lively interest in the amelioration of the miseries of their dependents and in the lessening of their destitution, and gradually, even though slowly, the habits of the people will be improved. Above all, let there be no nostrums about the Church: with little alteration, we may say, in the words of Sir James Graham, "We regret all these nostrums. No measure has been proposed that is not inconsistent with the preference which the Protestant State of England has decided on adopting and maintaining in favour of the Protestant Church. The Protestant Church was framed at the Restoration—confirmed at the Revolution—sealed by the Act of Settlement—and ratified by the Act of Union: we hold that preference to be among the firmest foundations of our liberty; we believe it to be the work of the greatest statesmen, and that it will not be overthrown by any Repeal Association or by any public conspirators."

But whatever may be her future prospects, sunshine or storm, though foes should menace from without her pale, or friends should falter from within—let all who are members of the United Church of England and Ireland, received into her communion at infancy, taught by her in youth, who hope to live and die possessing and professing her doctrines—all who are proud of being called her sons, ever love, honour, and support her: in the day of her prosperity rejoice with her, and in the day of her adversity be ready to guard and defend her with indomitable perseverance.

## Ecclesiastical Report.

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### THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND THE CHURCH.

ON the 18th ult. the Earl Fitzwilliam presented a petition from Glasgow to the House of Lords, praying that the Romish priesthood of Ireland might be admitted to a participation in the temporalities of the Church of England; in reply to which the Duke of Wellington spoke as follows, in the most emphatic manner:—

“ My Lords, I must say there can be nothing more inconvenient than the discussion of such large questions as the noble lord has entered on in the speech which he has just delivered, upon the mere presentation of a petition. My lords, those questions related not merely to the topics contained in that petition, to the state of the Protestant religion of Ireland, or to the compacts that were entered into for the maintenance of that religion in Ireland, but they referred to the very foundation of the Reformation in this country; and the noble lord has propounded to your lordships a something, neither the nature of which, nor the period at which it is to be carried into execution, is he himself certain of. Something or other must be done; to that something this country must make up its mind: the noble lord does not state what it is to be; but it is, at all events, to involve the repeal of those laws upon which the Reformation in this country has been founded. My lords, I have already taken opportunities of warning your lordships against the assertion of such doctrines in this house, and I must again express a hope that you will observe and beware how they are introduced into it; because you may rely upon it, that there is not an individual in this country, be his religious opinions what they may, be his position what it may, who is not interested in the maintenance of the Reformation. Not only our whole system of religion, but our whole system of religious toleration, in which so many people in this country are interested, depends upon the laws on which the Reformation has been founded; and I therefore entreat your lordships to give no encouragement to doctrines that might induce a belief that there existed in this house any difference of opinion upon the subject of those laws. With respect to the Church of Ireland, I beg of your lordships to recollect that it has existed for a period of nearly three hundred years; that it was maintained in that country during a century of contests, rebellions, and massacres; that during a contest for the possession of the crown, the Protestants of that country encountered that contest and kept possession of that Church; that during another century it was maintained through much opposition and under difficulties of all descriptions: and that at the period of the union, the Parliament, who had the power either to consent to the union, or not to consent to it, decided that the Protestant Church of Ireland should be maintained, and maintained on the same footing as the Protestant Church of England in this country. My lords, the Parliament of Ireland had, under the auspices

of the king of this country, the power of either making or not making that compact. Your lordships entered into that compact with the Parliament of Ireland, and I entreat you never to lose sight of the fact. I entreat you not to suffer yourselves to be prevailed on to make any alteration in, or to depart in the slightest degree from, the terms of that compact, so long as you intend to maintain the union between this country and Ireland. It is the foundation upon which the union rests—it is a compact which you entered into with the Parliament of Ireland, and from which you cannot depart without being guilty of a breach of faith worse than those pecuniary breaches of faith which have been alluded to in the course of the discussion which took place in your lordships' house this evening upon another subject. I entreat you to listen to none of these petitions or speeches which tend to the injury or the destruction of the Church of Ireland. Do what may be necessary—do what it may be proper to do in order to render that Church more beneficial to the people of that country; but I entreat you to adhere strictly, and according to the letter, to the compact you have made, and not permit it to be supposed, in any quarter whatever, that you entertain the most distant intention of departing, in the slightest degree, from that arrangement. The noble lord says that the feeling of this country at the present moment is in favour of that arrangement. I sincerely hope that it is so, and that as long as there is a spark of honour in the country, the same feeling will continue to be evinced in every part of it. The noble lord has also stated, and truly, that before the mind of the country can change, so far as to induce it to depart from that compact, it must first be made up to undermine the foundation of the Reformation in this country. While waiting for the scheme which, according to the noble lord, is to be carried out—God knows when—I must again entreat your lordships not to think of violating the compact into which you have entered for the preservation of the Church of Ireland."

#### A SECESSION CHURCH.

An advertisement appeared in the *Record*, lately, calling upon all the clergy who were dissatisfied with the Church of England to give in their adhesion to a proposal for a new body or party, to be designated *a Church*. The object is to have an *Episcopal Church, unconnected with the State, and a revised Liturgy*. Such was the purport of the advertisement. For some time little was said or heard of the matter; but at length the *Record* gave expression, in its usual forward and dogmatical spirit, to its views on the subject. According to that journal none of the clergy called *Evangelical* can be implicated in the business, since they are the only true Churchmen. "*The Tractarians* (says the *Record*) are the only parties who could ever think of quitting the Church." Then, with a confidence and self-sufficiency which are truly surprising, and which, from any other quarter, would be deemed presumptuous,

the *Record* positively states that the scheme is only a trap laid by a *Tractarian* or a *Papist*.

Notwithstanding this assertion, we can state, on authority that cannot be questioned, that the proposal emanates not from a *Tractarian*, but from a man of extreme views of the opposite kind—a man of the school of the *Record*—a man whom the *Record* supports. Not only has this gentleman, with his *satellites*, advertised in the *Record*, but he has further printed circulars, which have been sent to many clergymen in the country, as well as in London. It seems they have been sent to all those men upon whom the parties hope to make an impression. We know, too, that certain clergymen have given in their adhesion to the scheme—clergymen, not of the *Tractarian* school, but of the school of the author of the scheme—men of loose principles in matters of Church government. These are the men who are caught in the trap.

Probably before these pages are printed the *Record* may discover its error. Why did the *Record* put forth its statements at random? It would not be possible for a *Tractarian* to fall in with such a scheme, because it militates against his principles. We have no sympathy, as all our previous numbers testify, with the writers of the *Tracts*; but we have a supreme regard for truth; and we know not how to characterize those who make assertions at random. Let it, then, be remembered, that the scheme originated with a man who for years has been more a Dissenter than a Churchman; and let it further be borne in mind that several persons of similar views have joined him in the business. Whether the originator intends to hold his post in the Anglican Church we cannot tell; but we are sure that his diocesan will interpose as soon as he becomes fully acquainted with the fact. To act as this gentleman has acted is *schism*. He has cut himself off from the Church, and consequently he cannot be permitted to officiate in our churches. These remarks are also applicable to all who have already joined him in his schismatical course.

It is most extraordinary that those men who are dissatisfied with the Church should not quit her communion at once. To be consistent, yea, to be honest, they must do so. They plead conscience for certain scruples, and yet have no conscience about their oaths. They “strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.” They cannot conform to certain rules of the Church because of their conscience, and yet they can break most solemn pledges without any compunction whatever. What can we say of such men? Honest they cannot be!

It is time for our prelates to interfere and prevent such per-

sons as the originator of this new scheme from tampering with their sacred pledges. The Bishop of London will, we trust, interpose in the case of the gentleman to whom we allude. As he resides in his lordship's diocese and holds his lordship's license, he may be silenced at any moment. The Bishop of London would never interpose on slight grounds; but we think that the act of which this gentleman has been guilty is as grave an ecclesiastical offence as could be committed by a clergyman. The name we do not mention, but it will be easy for any one to ascertain it.

But we must offer a remark on the plan itself. The parties propose to form an *Episcopal Church*, and consequently they wish to have bishops. When one of the party was asked how they intended to supply this deficiency, he replied that they should select certain clergymen and call them bishops, and that this would answer their purpose. Thus they mean positively to arrogate to themselves the power of creating bishops.

A Liturgy, too, they mean to have, and the Liturgy of the Church of England is to be revised for that purpose. By whom the revision is to be effected we are not informed. Probably the work will be undertaken by the originator of the scheme. But how long will the parties agree in the use of the revised Liturgy? Every individual will have an opinion of his own, and this bond of union will supply fruitful elements of discord.

With respect to a *revised Liturgy*, we may remark that the thing is already done for them, and they have only to adopt it. The Socinians and the Methodists have tinkered the Liturgy of the Anglican Church to suit their errors, introducing some things and altering others. Let the new seceders join one or other of these parties; that their principles will admit of either alternative is clear from their proceedings.

#### DECLARATION AGAINST TRACTARIANISM.

We believe that the *Declaration* to which we allude was signed by many persons without consideration. They never could have reflected on the statements which it contains, because they are flatly contradictory to those of the Church of England. The man who could sign it cannot believe the doctrines of the Church on the *sacraments* and the *ministry*. By this Declaration the sacraments are reduced to mere ordinary meetings; while the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, are set aside as unscriptural novelties. Yet the names of several clergymen are attached. We believe that it originated with a clergyman in London, whose views on such matters never were



in accordance with those of the Church, though he has pledged himself to the reception of all things contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Such a man cannot be honest, for he actually denies the things which he has subscribed. Several of the statements in the Declaration are at direct variance with the Articles, the Ordination service, the Catechism, and the other services in the Liturgy. Yet he continues to hold his license in this diocese by virtue of his subscription to doctrines which he rejects. We believe that the views would be pronounced heretical in an Ecclesiastical Court ; and we question whether proceedings should not be instituted against the parties. Whatever may be the errors of the *Tracts for the Times*, the statements of this *Declaration* are as erroneous. While the *Tracts* go to one extreme, this goes to the opposite, and both are equally dangerous, and consequently equally opposed to the Church of England.

The parties choose to call it "*A Declaration of the Ministers and Members of the Church of England respecting several controverted truths.*" We believe it originated with the author of the scheme for a *new separation*. They allege that certain truths are controverted ; but they themselves have done more in opposing the doctrines of the Church than was ever done by a body of clergy within our remembrance. They repudiate doctrines which the Church holds, and have displayed much ignorance of our formularies, as well as of holy Scripture.

#### THE SCOTCH NON-INTRUSIONISTS.

We notice the Non-intrusion question merely for the purpose of directing attention to some few clergymen who have been so inconsistent as to appear at public meetings in favour of the Scotch seceders. One gentleman we may mention, because he is well known in this metropolis, and because he seems to be a sort of leader in all irregular proceedings of this character. We allude to the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel. In Scotland he preached in the pulpits of the National Church—an act sufficiently condemnatory of his own recognized principles as a clergyman ; and now, with marvellous inconsistency, he attends Non-intrusion meetings—the meetings of men who denounce as a nuisance the very Church in whose pulpits he himself preached a few short months ago. How can the reverend gentleman reconcile his support of the Non-intrusionists ? The two parties are opposed to each other. By the Non-intrusionists the Church of Scotland is denounced ; yet Mr. Baptist Noel, in the exuberance of his liberality, can support both. Surely there must be inconsistency somewhere ? If he sup-

ports the Non-intrusionists, he certainly cannot consider the Church of Scotland as founded upon right principles. Such conduct almost leads to the conclusion, that, in the reverend gentleman's estimation, all creeds and all systems are alike.

It appears extraordinary that this gentleman should be the leader in almost every schismatic movement against the Church of England. His principles must be very lax, or he could never associate with all classes of separatists against the Church, which he is pledged to defend and support. He must know, for example, that the Non-intrusion principles are opposite to those of the Anglican Church; and that the latter must cease to exist as an Established Church if the former should prevail. Yet he is banding together with the enemies of the Church, instead of defending her from their attacks. The Non-intrusionists denounce her, and he unites with them. The reverend gentleman has no parochial charge, but we should very much like to know how he would deal with the various services of the Church. Would he mutilate and alter them? Or would he comply with the rubrics as the Church directs?

We have a remark to offer, too, respecting certain Societies which sometimes engage the services of the reverend gentleman. Especially would we allude to the Church Missionary Society. We have heard instances, in former years, of this gentleman's strange advocacy of the Society's cause. He has, when professedly engaged to give an account of the Society's proceedings, occupied the attention of the assembly for an hour in detailing the movements of the *London Missionary Society*—a Society of Dissenters. This we mention by the way. The circumstance occurred, too, before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had joined the Society. Since the primate and his lordship have given their sanction to the Society, we contend that this gentleman can never again be permitted by the committee to act as their agent, whether in London or in the country. To allow him to do so, would be an act of hostility to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his own diocesan. In future, therefore, let him confine himself to the *City Mission*, the *London Missionary*, the *Colonial Church* (as it is called) *Society*, and other kindred institutions. The man who can one day support a Dissenting Society must not be permitted to stand up to advocate the interests of an institution which must necessarily be conducted on Church principles.

#### SECESSIONS TO DISSENT.

No one can deplore more deeply than we do the secessions to the Church of Rome which have occurred during the last

few years ; but still we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that while several journals are parading the names of those who have gone over to Popery, they maintain the most profound silence respecting those who go over to Dissent. But it is a well ascertained fact, that for one perversion to Popery, there are several to Dissent. We know one city in which, within a few years, no less than six clergymen have quitted the Church, and are now preaching as Dissenters, while not one has gone over to the Church of Rome. Some of these persons have adopted the most awful heresies ; and yet nothing is said by those who raise such an outcry when a clergyman is perverted to Popery. We ask, why is not the one perversion to be deplored as well as the other ? There must be something very unsound in the teaching and preaching of some of those men from whose ranks these secessions occur. It is singular, too, that the parties who are guilty of the schism are spoken of with the greatest tenderness, while men of sound principles are traduced by the same persons as *Tractarians*. We repeat that there is a defect in the principles of some of the clergy, which arises from a want of proper views of the Church's discipline and the Church's government. Many clergymen are most unsound on those subjects, and at last they go over to Dissent. These men, indeed, were always Dissenters—at one time Dissenters within the pale of the Church, and at last Dissenters by an open separation.

The *Record*, with its usual unscrupulousness, alleged that Mr. Rees, the most recent seceder from the Church, was forced into his present course by the arbitrary conduct of the Bishop of Durham. The assertion, however, is undoubtedly false, as the *Record* might have known. But, instead of making any enquiry, this *religious paper* puts forth a statement of the most unfounded description, involving, too, the condemnation of two bishops of the Church of England. The censure of the *Record* will sit very lightly on the prelates in question ; but surely the Gospel of Christ is not to be promoted by such methods as these. So far from Mr. Rees being forced from the Church, he has several times been on the eve of leaving it, for no other reason whatever than his own caprice.

According to the *Record*, Mr. Rees merely preached a faithful sermon, and the Bishop of Durham withdrew his license in consequence. The statement is false ! Mr. Rees, as his own pamphlet shows, was guilty of such irregularities as no bishop could overlook. When the bishop interfered in the first instance, the rector begged his lordship to allow him to remain. This request was granted, and the bishop acted with the greatest

kindness, as is clear from Mr. Rees's own showing. Still this gentleman could not proceed in a simple course of doing good ; and at length the rector, who had previously interposed in his favour, was compelled, for the sake of his parish, to ask his lordship to withdraw his license. This was done. The bishop recommended Mr. Rees to live quietly for a time ; and had he done so, the bishop would have countersigned any testimonials. But instead of following this reasonable advice, Mr. Rees actually committed other irregularities, by opening his own house for preaching in the parish from which he had been removed.

Mr. Rees then went to Bath ; but the Bishop of Salisbury could not license him, because the Bishop of Durham did not countersign his testimonials. For this act the *Record* stands forward as the traducer of two bishops.

It should be remembered, that an individual, on entering into holy orders, pledges himself to conform to the ceremonies of the Church. He also promises to obey his ecclesiastical superiors. Bishops never interfere as long as a man observes his solemn vows ; they never interfere until they are compelled, and to do so is always a most unpleasant task. Mr. Rees admits more than enough to justify the Bishop of Durham in his course ; and every one knows that the Bishop of Salisbury could not license a man, who had been removed from one diocese without the sanction of the bishop of that diocese.

Mr. Rees's defence of his conduct, subsequent to the withdrawal of his license, shows the lax nature of his principles. He alleges that his irregularities did not come under the bishop's control, because he had no license ! But surely it was the bishop's duty not to permit him to be licensed elsewhere, until his irregular course was relinquished and deplored. It is preposterous to argue that a man, when unlicensed, may be guilty of irregularities, and that when he wants a license, these irregularities are not to be pleaded as a bar against obtaining it. There may be clergymen in London who are irregular in their practice and who are unlicensed. Suppose some such person should make an application for a license ; are we to be told that his irregularities are not to be made known to the bishop from whom the license is sought ? Such men ought not to be permitted to officiate. It is the bishop's duty to enforce conformity, and none but unreasonable men will censure him for doing his duty.

#### THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND THE LAY ADDRESSERS.

It has always struck us that all addresses on the doctrines and discipline of the Church are out of place ; we cannot see what end is to be attained. One party prepares an address ;

but what is this but setting an example to an opposite party to do the same? And where is the thing to end? Indeed, confusion and disorder must necessarily ensue were such a course to be general. On this account we are opposed to such courses; and we certainly did think that the Lay Address to the Chancellor of Oxford was altogether out of place.

From the Duke's answer, it is evident that he took the same view of the question. The document is really a most remarkable one: and we cannot but think that it is worthy, as being so characteristic of the Duke, of being inserted in the next edition of his Grace's *despatches*. We do indeed hope that the clergy and laity will relinquish the foolish practice of addresses and declarations: no good can possibly result from such courses. Dissenters and Papists are looking on, and they appeal to these things as evidences of our want of union, asking with triumph, can a divided Church stand?

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY AND SIR W. DUNBAR AND  
MR. DRUMMOND.

Sir William Dunbar and Mr. Drummond, the two clergymen who have so unnecessarily separated from the communion of the Scottish Episcopal Church, are secretaries of two Church Missionary Associations in Scotland. Many persons have been anxious to know what course would be adopted by the Society with respect to these gentlemen, who have now set up meeting-houses also themselves in that country. It seems that the Society has at length chosen its course. Clergymen are to proceed to Scotland as agents of the Society; as such they are to meet the parties in question, but they are not to preach in their chapels as agents of the Society.

We confess ourselves surprised at this course. It appears to us that the Society should cease to hold any intercourse with the committees in Scotland, as long as these gentlemen act as secretaries. The question is a very simple one. The Society is a Society founded on Church principles. Sir W. Dunbar and Mr. Drummond cannot be regarded as clergymen of the Anglican Church, because they are not under canonical obedience to any bishop. They have separated from the Church of Scotland, which is identical with the Church of England: and they cannot be regarded as Church of England clergymen in a country where our bishops have no jurisdiction, and where, too, there are bishops, who are recognized as such by our Church. They are just as much Dissenters as they would be were they to open chapels in defiance of bishops in England.

How, then, can the Society act with them? It is not sufficient to say, as Mr. Venn does, that the committee cannot

interfere with local officers: for, acting on Church principles, they ought to have no connexion with men who violate those principles. Besides, they have already departed from their former course, for their agents are not to preach in the chapels of the schismatic gentlemen. Why this paltry compromise? Why does not the committee declare that they cannot act with men who are acting in opposition to the principles of the Church? We feel sure that the committee will be compelled eventually to adopt this course, or many, we are persuaded, will separate themselves altogether from the Society. We must confess, too, that we are grieved at the equivocal language adopted by Mr. Venn, in his various letters on this subject. How much better would it be to act consistently, and cease to hold any communion with men who can pretend to be ministers of the Anglican Church, when, at the same time, they are under the control of no bishop. We fear that the laity and clergy in the London committee are tainted with the lax and mistaken notions of the day respecting the government and discipline of the Church.

#### DISSENTERS' BAPTISMS.

Again is this question likely to be agitated. It is certainly a hardship to compel the clergy to use the service of the Church over persons not properly baptized, when the Church herself does not allow the baptism of Dissenting preachers. A clergyman in the diocese of Ely has been proceeded against for refusing to bury a child which had been baptized by a Dissenter. Now the Church of England never allowed of the baptism of persons not of her own communion. It is not merely a question of lay-baptism, but whether a ceremony performed by a Dissenter can be regarded as baptism by the Church of England. Formerly she held the validity of lay-baptism in cases of necessity; but then the ceremony was performed by laymen of her own communion. The present case, therefore, is quite different: and we hold that the clergy ought not to be compelled to bury such persons.

We notice the subject for the purpose of pointing out to our readers the necessity of getting some decision in the matter. It is not to be endured that a clergyman should be compelled by a court of law to act in opposition to the Church: yet such is now the case. We would, therefore, recommend that the clergy of every diocese should petition their diocesan, and that they should persevere until the evil be redressed. Were they generally to adopt this course, something would be soon devised, and they would be relieved from their present unpleasant position. Cases will continually occur, and confusion will

ensue, until the clergy are permitted to act as the Church herself directs.

#### DR. HOOK'S SCHEME.

Our readers are acquainted with Dr. Hook's plan for the division of his most extensive parish. They are aware of the sacrifices which he is about to make in order that his scheme may be carried into effect. And it is not a little singular that the *Record* and the Dissenters are equally alarmed at the proposal. The former cannot allege a single thing against it; but it most ungenerously and unchristianly supposes that Dr. Hook has some sinister end in view in making what appears to the *Record* to be so great a sacrifice. We are grieved to see such a lack of charity and such an absence of Christian principle. The *Record's* charity certainly is not that which "hopeth all things." On the contrary, it *hopeth* nothing, but anticipates evil.

But though the *Record* and the Dissenters are equally alarmed at Dr. Hook's scheme, yet the latter are much more candid than the former in speaking of the individual. The *Record*, as we have stated, avers that there is a reason for such conduct which the public does not see—that Dr. Hook cannot be sincere, and the like. The *Nonconformist*, with more charity, but with equal apprehensions, asserts—

"The plan itself shows him to be above all sordid considerations. It has indeed been insinuated that he is an ambitious man, and that he is looking for elevation to the episcopal bench. It may be so, but we see no necessity for resorting to the somewhat uncharitable conjecture. Dr. Hook is a Churchman to the very centre of his being. With the welfare of the Church he identifies all his hopes and affections. The sentiments he professes to have received, he is ready, on all occasions, to utter—and with a consistency which does him honour, and which it were far better to imitate than suspect, he steps forth to prove his attachment to them by the sacrifices which he makes to promote them."

This is the testimony of an enemy, and therefore cannot be suspected. The advice might have been followed by the *Record*, and then the breach of Christian charity of which we have complained might have been avoided.

It is a remarkable fact, that Dr. Hook, though he has brought over from Dissent more individuals than almost any other man, is held in the highest esteem by Dissenters in consequence of his open and consistent conduct. They view him as an opponent, and they honour him as such.

Still they are alarmed at his plan; not on the grounds assigned by the *Record*, but because they know that it is calculated to promote the interests of the Anglican Church, the great

obstacle to their own success. They even view it in the same light as they viewed the *Factories Education Bill* ; but they admit that no plan can be better adapted to the circumstances of the Church. When Dissenters and such Churchmen as the *Record* are alarmed at any scheme, we may rest assured that it is really calculated to advance the interests of the Church of England.

#### PEWS IN CHURCHES.

This question has been agitated during a considerable period, and not without effect, since many churches are already thrown open to the poor ; or, at all events, the best portions are allotted to those who are from circumstances unable to pay. By no one, however, has the system been so powerfully assailed as by the Bishop of Exeter, who, at a recent meeting at Plymouth, pointed out its evils and its injustice in a manner that made a most lasting impression on the persons who listened to his lordship's speech. No doubt the evil is of the greatest magnitude : it is the very thing to make the poor become Dissenters. If they come to church, in many places, they are placed where they can neither hear nor see the officiating minister ; and what other consequence than total absence from church is to be expected ? On the contrary, in all churches, where a due provision is made for the accommodation of the poor, the great mass of the people attend, and Dissent does not prevail except in those districts in which the poor are passed over. We hope, therefore, that our bishops will interfere in all our large towns, where the evil is most experienced ; we hope that they will order the best parts of the churches, at least, to be thrown open to the poor. Why, indeed, should the rich object to such a course ? Why should they wish to be separated from their poorer brethren in the house of God, the only place where they can be on an equality ? We know an instance in which a bishop of our Church—a living ornament of the episcopal bench—went to divine service and took his place on the free seats, thus himself setting an example worthy of all imitation.

We strongly recommend the speech of the Bishop of Exeter to the attention of all persons who are interested in this question. It appears to us, indeed, that no justification of the present practice can be pleaded. The evil has sprung up since the Reformation ; and, consequently, the poor are in a worse state, with respect to their accommodations in church, than they were before that great event. It is high time that the system were abolished ; and with it we should also rejoice to see the abolition of another evil, and an anomaly in the Church, the system of proprietary chapels.



## THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS BILL.

On the character of the proposed bill we are not able to offer an opinion, but we shall be ready to discuss it in our next number. At present we may remark that we have the strongest objection to the Parliamentary adjustment of such questions. Some things there are, indeed, which properly fall under the cognizance of Parliament: this is the case with many things connected with our Ecclesiastical Courts; but we feel that matters of a purely spiritual character, and matters affecting the discipline and government of the Church, should be settled in an ecclesiastical assembly. The measure originates in the House of Lords. This is well; but it must go to the House of Commons, where it will be exposed to the scoffs and jeers of Papists, Dissenters, and Freethinkers. We contend that on this ground alone it ought not to be arranged in Parliament. Then the Church herself should be considered. Why is she to be so subjected to Parliamentary interference in her own internal concerns? Her members are fully competent to legislate for themselves. Her bishops and clergy are the best judges of the measures which the circumstances of the Church require. Even as it is, no measure will be carried unless it is generally supported by the bishops. Why, then, are not the bishops and the clergy permitted to act for themselves in an ecclesiastical manner? It is said that the present bill has the support of all the bishops. This is well; but still we argue that the measure should not be arranged in Parliament, but in Convocation; and we again call upon the clergy to come forward and pray the Crown, through the archbishop, to allow the Convocation to proceed to business, in order that certain important questions may be settled in a satisfactory manner.

## THE PAYMENT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS.

The Whigs, and even some Churchmen, are advocates for the endowment of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland. The plan is advocated by the *Times*; and were we to consider it apart from religion, we should certainly adopt the same view. We should regard it as a wise political scheme, which might probably separate the people from the priests, and consequently weaken the power of the latter. But we hold that the question cannot be viewed by Christian statesmen as separate from religion. In our opinion, therefore, no Protestant can consistently be the advocate of such a measure. With such views we cannot express the gratification we experienced from the declarations of several members of the Government on this very important question. It is most gratifying to find that no such scheme is contemplated. From the language

used by her Majesty's Ministers, we are convinced that they are not likely to entertain any such plan. They know well that it would rouse the Protestant spirit of the empire; and, though they might gain the support of the Whigs by such a proposal, they would lose that of their best friends. After the debate, therefore, on Lord John Russell's motion, we have no fears on the subject. Sir Robert Peel is too wise a Minister to propose a scheme which must be obnoxious to his Protestant supporters. The Roman Catholics themselves affect to say that they would refuse any such support: but we very much question whether the priests would not hail the measure with secret satisfaction, since it would make them independent of the people.

#### THE AGGRESSIONS OF DISSENT.

Some nominal Churchmen feel great tenderness for Dissenters, and cannot endure to hear them spoken of as enemies to the Church; they even pretend that Dissenters never speak against the Church, and that the clergy are very much in the habit of speaking of them in very strong language. Clergymen of this stamp should leave the Church and join the Dissenters, with whom they already are more united than with their own brethren. These squeamish gentlemen, too, are ever complaining of the Tractarians, and charging consistent Churchmen with Tractarian tendencies; they can also sit still while Dissenting speakers are heaping abuse on the Church under the plea of attacking Tractarianism. It is clear, therefore, that such men are Dissenters in heart, while they remain nominally within the pale of the Church.

We notice this subject for the purpose of exposing the hollow pretences of that class of clergymen to which we allude. It is not true that the Dissenters do not attack the Church. It is not true that the clergy attack the Dissenters. The clergy never speak of Dissent or Dissenters, except to defend themselves from gross misrepresentations and calumny. Is it not a notorious fact, that every Dissenter in the present day is denouncing the Church of England, in consequence of its connexion with the State? Can this fact be denied? If all Dissenters do not denounce her on other grounds, it is certain that all denounce her on this. How, then, can clergymen unite with Dissenters at public meetings, when they must well know that the fact is as we have stated it? One reason only can be given—the parties love Dissent better than they love the Church.

But we must add a few words on the conduct of Dissenters, just to show that the clergy to whom we allude are acting a

most dishonest part in pretending that Dissenters do not attack the Church. Let us hear the *Nonconformist* :—"It is not to be concealed that the temporary success of a State Church is but a retardation of the advent of Christianity in its power." All over the country meetings are held for the purpose of devising means to pull down the Church. But still further, besides the various Dissenting Societies formed for the purpose of opposing the Church of England, there has recently been formed a *Congregational Tract Society*. The avowed object is to destroy the Church. The Society comprehends the Independents and the Baptists, and indeed all classes of Dissent; since all adopt the same unscriptural system, designated *Congregationalism*. The tracts are issued to subscribers only; so that none but the poor among the members of the Church of England are likely to get hold of them. These wily Dissenters know that their assertions would not be received by persons who are competent to form an opinion on the subject; consequently they confine their exertions to the poor, and sell only to subscribers, that Churchmen may not be able to counteract their dark and insidious designs.

We take one of their tracts as a sample; it is entitled "The Bible and the Prayer Book." They place certain passages of Scripture in one column, and certain assertions, which they say are received by the Church of England, in the opposite; and they call upon their readers to decide. The closing paragraph is couched in the following terms :—"Thus the teaching of the Church of England contradicts the teaching of holy Scripture. Reader, which is right? Both cannot be. Consider which will best avail you for a dying hour and a judgment-day—the Bible or the Prayer Book?"

Now we scarcely know whether the falsehood or the hypocrisy of the parties who could circulate such a tract is the more to be detested. However, we have introduced the subject only for the purpose of exposing the inconsistency of those clergymen who pretend to be the friends of the Church, while at the same time they associate with Dissenters, and sit by while Churchmen are traduced as Tractarians. We are certainly of opinion that the present circumstances of the Church demand the interposition of our bishops, to prevent the clergy from uniting with men who openly avow their intentions of destroying the Church of England. We would not be uncharitable; but assuredly we think, that the men who can sit still while the Church is abused, and who can complain because her members defend her, are enemies in disguise—traitors within the camp, and, consequently, more to be dreaded than open foes.

## General Literature.

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*The Barons' War. Including the Battles of Lewes and Evesham.* By W. H. BLAAW, Esq. London: Nichols and Son.

THIS compact, well-studied, and well-arranged volume refers to one of the most interesting periods of our history; which, though not barren of contemporary records, has not been so thoroughly investigated as it deserves by preceding historians. It is a period full of interest, as to that age many of those rights, principles, and institutions, which are the proudest and most peculiar distinctions of England, may be traced if not absolutely and strictly for their commencement, yet as the time when they took a fixed and definite form, or acquired such solid establishment as to become permanent principles: while, in the work of bringing out those principles, characters were formed and developed whose beneficial example terminated not with that work, or their own generation, but, in the name they have left behind them, live still, as lights for all generations and incentives to future enterprise, in hope of results equally brilliant and memorable.

—“Always acting as if in the presence of canonized forefathers, the spirit of freedom carries an imposing and majestic aspect; it has a pedigree and illustrating ancestors; it has its bearings and its ensigns armorial; it has its gallery of portraits, its monumental inscriptions, its records, evidences, and titles.”—*Burke*.

Past struggles for freedom or power (it is well observed) are—

“Read with a traditional assent to the verdict of history, but with little scrutiny into the justice which has thus stamped some transactions with honour, and branded others with disgrace; has considered some conspicuous characters as patriots—others as rebels. This has been remarkably true as to the great events of the thirteenth century, which established the main principles of liberty in this land. Magna Charta now passes current everywhere as a household word—the hallowed type of a successful assertion of political rights; while the Barons' war and the battle of Lewes, though also great moral lessons of permanent influence occasionally forced upon monarchs, have dropped away, as if unimportant, from general remembrance.” (p. 2).

Upwards of thirty times did Magna Charta receive confirmation by the oaths of the kings of England, to be as often set aside when it suited their convenience; and it was only in proportion as the spirit of freedom became universal, and was thus invested with national power, which no king could subjugate, that the provisions of freedom were of such force that they

could not be disregarded. The contests between John and his barons, no doubt, had great influence towards diffusing principles of freedom; and the noble example of William Earl of Pembroke, Regent during Henry's minority, did more in advancing such principles; but they assumed their definite form and began to acquire stability only after the statutes of Oxford, and chiefly by their becoming national—an epoch especially marked by the English language being then, for the first time, employed in proclamations and public acts:—

“Owing to De Clare's dangerous illness, the formal proclamation of the Oxford statutes was deferred till October 18, 1258, when they were solemnly proclaimed, together with Magna Charta, in every county, with the unusual and striking circumstance of being in Latin, French, and English. The latter language, then just emerging into form, being now, for the first time, as far as we know, used in any public document, proves the anxiety of the barons to explain their conduct to the people at large. While the clergy were familiar with the Latin, and the Normans, living either at court or in their own feudal castles, naturally retained their own French, the country people as tenaciously had preserved their own Saxon.” (p. 63).

De Montfort, also, was an extraordinary man, and in many ways instrumental in promoting the cause of freedom, though he has scarcely had justice done to him, either as to his intentions or ability, till this volume appeared. He was the principal person in the barons' war, and therefore becomes the most prominent character of the present history:—

“The most remarkable person of his party was Simon de Montfort, a man of so much energy and talent in war and council, that although allied to the king and born abroad, his acknowledged capacity and honour overcame these disadvantages; and at a time when foreigners were universally odious and the court distrusted, the barons and people of England, with one accord, ranged themselves under this foreign courtier, as their leader for the recovery of their national liberties. There must obviously have been no common ascendancy of character to produce such a result. (p. 36).

De Montfort was a great master of the art of war, and to this superior skill his successes are to be ascribed. But in all such cases the adverse party get beaten into discipline, and learn by degrees to adopt similar tactics; and when a lofty spirit arises amongst them, he learns the same art, and turns it against the first master, or improves upon it, and practices the art in a wider range and for ulterior purposes. It was from De Montfort that our first Edward, when prince, learned the art of war, which he turned not only with fatal effect against De Montfort himself, but to the glory of the English arms in Scotland and in Wales. At the battle of Evesham it is observed, that—

"The example of the skilful tactics of Simon de Montfort on former occasions had been watched with profit by Prince Edward; and his army, though superior in numbers, was no longer conducted in its rapid march with headlong rashness, as at Lewes, but with all the precautionary discipline which had been then employed against him.....' They come on skilfully(said De Montfort), but it is from me they have learnt that method, not from themselves.'" (p. 245).

The first great demonstration to the English of the advantages to be derived over superior numbers, through military skill, was given by De Montfort in attacking the king at Lewes, defeating and making him prisoner there; and it was the first time that the standards of the several commanders and the bannerets of the inferior officers were employed to marshal and keep in order the divisions and subdivisions of the barons' army.

"A dense forest occupied most of the country through which this march was to be conducted; but such exact orders had been issued by De Montfort to each banneret, how to direct his own forces and to meet at the appointed spot, that all parts of this military movement were combined with a regularity quite novel in England." (p. 149).

On preceding occasions, and indeed from the very earliest times, the leader of every host had raised his standard; and that of the royal host, especially when the king was present, had generally been the dragon. Henry on this occasion unfurled the royal banner, which his goldsmith, Edw. Fitz Odo, had been commissioned to make twenty years before, and which had already been hoisted at Chester in 1257, and more recently at Oxford. It was made "in the manner of a standard or ensign, of red samit, embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear as though continually moving, and his eyes of sapphire or other stones, agreeable to him." De Montfort also unfurled his standard as leader of the barons' host, and practised a singular expedient to divert the attention of the royal army while he made his attack. He planted his standard on one of the heights overlooking the field of battle, under a strong guard, and placed there also, so as to be seen by the royalists, a car or covered horse-litter, in which he had been for some time obliged to travel in consequence of a fall; so that while the royal army was directing all its efforts to this point, where De Montfort was supposed to be, he, who was quite recovered, was in person directing the barons' attack against that part of the royal army which would be thus left exposed and weakened.

"As the general use of armorial ensigns had not been established before the Crusades, their first appearance during a great battle in England was probably on this occasion, and to a good soldier they must have been an efficient help in the marshalling and directing the move-

ments of an army. The scene must have been an animating one at this moment, when the barons, each under his own banner, were preparing themselves and their horses, on the broad expanse of the downs, for the approaching combat. *Barones erectis vexillis in declivitatem cujusdam montis quæ oppidum Lewense finitima a civitate disternit—*

Rich caparisons were there— Silks and satins brodered fair,  
On lances fixed gay pennons see, Many a banner flowing free;  
To distant ears his eager cry The neighing war-horse sends on high;  
On every hill and vale around The sumpter beasts and carts abound;  
Arms, forage, victuals scatter'd lay, With huts and tents in close array."

De Montfort also enjoined the private soldiers to adopt a white cross, as a badge of distinction:—

"They all put a white cross upon their dress, in token of the religious sanction stamped upon their efforts, and in order to recognize each other in the combat."

Nor did he omit appealing to the highest feelings of man when advancing to the battle; but when they arrived in sight of the royal position, De Montfort dismounted from his horse, and called upon the whole army to prostrate themselves in prayer to God for strength and victory.

The battle of Lewes is clearly described, the loss of which by the royalists was principally to be attributed to the impetuosity of Prince Edward, in pursuing too far that part of the barons' army to which he was opposed, and who, being almost all Londoners, were put to flight with ease by regularly-trained warriors. Edward's voluntary imprisonment to gain his father's liberty, and his clever escape by riding his attendants' horses out of breath, and then galloping off on a fresh horse of his own, with all the other events that led to the battle of Evesham, are also very well related, and confirmed throughout by references to cotemporary records. And as our author well observes,

"It is remarkable, that in the two first battles fought in England after the general usage of heraldic distinctions, they should have been converted into successful engines of stratagem, and they have probably never done so much mischief since." (p. 244).

Prince Edward, after his escape, lost no time in getting his friends together and attacking young De Montfort, who was hastening from Winchester to join his father at Hereford, and who had got as far as Kenilworth, or "Kellingiswurthe." There Edward surprised them, in complete disorder, outside of the castle, and lodging in the town, most of them were in bed and slain defenceless, or saved their lives by escaping, almost naked, at the backs of the houses. Edward followed up his advantage by turning upon De Montfort himself, before he should hear of his

son's disgraceful flight, and taking him by surprise under the appearance of friends, a semblance which the banners they had taken at Kenilworth enabled them to assume :—

“ The barons were preparing to mount their horses and leave Evesham, in pursuance of their plan (of hasting a junction with young De Montfort), when there came into view, issuing from the folds of the hill in the very quarter they looked for young De Montfort, a large army, advancing toward them in battle array, divided into orderly squadrons, and bearing in their van the emblazoned banners of their expected friends. The sight gladdened their eyes and hearts for a time, but it was to Prince Edward they gave this fatal welcome. The heraldic ensigns were his trophies snatched from the Kenilworth captives, and his approach had been purposely so contrived as to cut off all communication between the father and the son, and thus to appear in the direction most likely to give effect to the delusion.... In modern times a telescope would have revealed the fraud afar off, but in the absence of such instruments, the detection, when too late, was left to be made by De Montfort's barber, Nicholas, who happened to be expert in the cognizance of arms, and who, without even a surname for himself, was the earliest amateur herald upon record. Observing the banners while yet distant, Nicholas remarked to De Montfort that they appeared to be those of his friends, and the earl confidently answered, ‘ It is my son, fear not; but nevertheless go and look out, lest by chance we should be deceived.’ Ascending the clock-tower of the abbey, Nicholas recognized at length, among the banners of the host advancing on Evesham, the triple lions of Prince Edward, and the ensigns of Roger de Mortimer, and other notorious enemies..... At first only one division of his enemy, that led on by the Prince, had been seen by De Montfort, a small hill intervening to conceal the Earl of Gloucester's advance by a different line. When the whole danger was revealed to him, it seemed at once so overwhelming, that he gave free permission to his friends to take to flight, venting his prophetic apprehensions, ‘ May the Lord have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are in the enemy's power.’ ”

None of them, however, forsook the field; they gathered their forces into a dense body, and the contest, during the two hours it lasted, was obstinately fought. Simon de Montfort “ fought stoutly, like a giant, for the liberties of England,” and even when all the weight of the enemies' force was made to press upon him personally, he resisted their assaults like an impregnable tower, with his dearest friends crowding around, as if to defend him with the ramparts of their bodies. One by one they dropped in death; Basset and le Despenser, the most faithful of all his friends, at length sank to the earth near him. His horse had been killed under him, but though weakened by his wounds, he yet fought on with so much spirit, wielding his sword with both hands against twelve knights, his assailants, and



dealing his blows with so vigorous an old age, that, if there had been but eight followers like him, he would, according to an eye witness, have put the enemy to shame.....An angry multitude now pressed on De Montfort so fiercely, that, though fighting on to the last, sword in hand, and with a cheerful countenance, he at length fell when wounded by a blow from behind, overwhelmed rather than conquered. (p. 247).

"The physical power of the barons, whether for good or evil, was shattered to pieces by this shock; but though the chance of war had decided so far, yet the moral effects of their brief government were destined to be more permanent. While preparing to mourn over the violent suppression of this attempted reform in Church and State, at the cost of blood and misery, the historical observer may perceive the principles of liberty, which the barons had asserted, surviving their manly struggle, and springing up afresh with the quick germ of life. The representative system, whose expansion they had encouraged, had taken too stout a hold to be extirpated, and from this root remaining unharmed the branches of national freedom throve henceforth with vigorous enlargement, strong in its own vital influence, upheld by the will and nourished by the love of the people. Within thirty years (in 1297) even a successful warrior, Edward I., was obliged formally to renounce the claim of tallage without the consent of Parliament. The help of the principal Churchmen and nobles mainly influenced this progress, although there were indeed many of all classes at the time anxious for civil liberty, the liberty of person and property, which was the only species then sought for or secured." (p. 253).

The lands of the vanquished barons, who were regarded as rebels, became forfeited, and were bestowed on the adherents to the royal cause:—

"The king's second son, Edmund, afterwards surnamed Crouchback, profited most of all by the grants arising from these events. His father gave him all the estates, and the office of high steward, lately belonging to 'our enemy and felon, Simon de Montfort, by whom war was excited in our kingdom,' and to these were added also the earldom of Derby and the estates of Nicholas Segrave. The Queen, in 1291, enriched him further with the palace of Savoy, and these ample grants ultimately so raised the family importance of this prince, afterwards Earl of Lancaster, that in the fourth generation the inheritor of his wealth and title was enabled to depose Richard II., and to usurp the throne." (p. 267).

An error in "*Hallam's Middle Ages*" is corrected in a note on this passage, and we may observe that many errors of Hallam, and innumerable errors of Hume, in points regarding the names and the genealogies of the great personages who figured in these events, are corrected in the notes which are found at the bottom of almost every page of this volume. In these notes also extracts are given from the contemporary chronicles, amounting

to forty, the titles and repositories of which are enumerated at the beginning of the work. The pedigrees and arms of the principal personages are also recorded; and there are a considerable number of very good wood-cuts, from seals, windows, and monuments; and two sketches of Lewes, to enable us better to understand the description of the battle.

On all these accounts we can strongly recommend this volume to the lovers of antiquarian and heraldic lore; and to the lovers of history, and those who merely seek for amusement, it is not void of attraction, presenting many pictures of the domestic manners, and the mode of living in those early times, which we have not seen so well and so authentically given anywhere else; some of which we should have been glad to extract, had not our limited space forbidden it.

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*The Natural History of the County of Stafford: comprising its Geology, Zoology, Botany, and Meteorology; also its Antiquities, Topography, Manufactures, &c.* By ROBERT GARNER, F.L.S. London: J. Van Voorst. 1844.

THE name of *Van Voorst* on the title-page of a book is sufficient guarantee that the work is presented to the reading public with every possible attraction that can be given to it, by splendid illustrations, clear paper, and elegant type. These attractions particularly distinguish Mr. Garner's pleasant volume, upon which we are now called to speak a passing word. Right glad we are that that word is one of commendation, as to the treatment of the wide subject selected by him. As to the subject itself, in the way of topography, he could not have chosen a more pleasing one. The county is one of the richest in England, whether for houses or heroes; it produces the best alabaster and manufactures the best nails. The plague itself was stopped in Staffordshire by the firing of a Lichfield cannon; and the county has produced English saints enough to furnish Mr. Newman with a whole Hagiography. Such a book cannot be less popular than the subjects of which it skilfully treats.

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*Is Dissenters' Baptism recognized by the Church of England?* London: Burns. 1843.

THE question is answered in the negative; and we concur in opinion with the writer. An opposite conclusion would be most fallacious. The Church never, even though she may have allowed of lay baptism, admitted that of persons in a state of separation,

*Mariolatry ; or, Facts and Evidences demonstrating the Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary by the Church of Rome.* By the Rev. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D. First American, corrected and enlarged by the Author, from the second London edition, and edited by the Rev. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D.D., LL.D. Hartford. [Connecticut] 1844. pp. xii. 98.

A NEAT reprint of Mr. Horne's treatise on "Mariolatry," which we introduce to our readers in order that we may have the pleasure of announcing the extension of its usefulness in the United States, where such a manual of evidence against Popery was really wanted. It appears from the preface that the author, knowing that his little work would be reprinted in the United States, furnished various corrections and additions to his friend, the reverend and learned editor, Dr. Jarvis. We extract the following new particulars respecting the German version of *Saint Bonaventure's Psalter of the Blessed Virgin*, the publication of which, as *his* genuine work in a Popish country, furnishes additional evidence (if further evidence were wanting) of the idolatrous worship paid to the Virgin Mary in all countries where Popery is dominant:—

"A German translation of this Psalter was published at Vienna in 1841, entitled 'Guldener Psalter des heiligen Bonaventura, Cardinal-Bischofs zu Albano und Kirchenlehrers. Zu ehren unserer Lieben Frau, in allen Nöthen und Anliegen zu bethen. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von J. P. Gilbert. Zweite Auflage. Wien, 1841: Bei J. H. Wallishausser.' That is, 'The Golden Psalter of Saint Bonaventure Cardinal-Bishop of Albano and Doctor of the Church. In honour of our dear Lady to be used in prayer in all troubles and necessities. Translated from the Latin by J. P. Gilbert, second edition. Vienna 1841, [published] by J. H. Wallishausser.' 12mo. pp. 180; with a Madonna and child for frontispiece."

The following is the German version (with an English translation) of the first and thirtieth of Bonaventure's Psalms. Our readers will find the original Latin, with an English and Italian translation, in the ninth volume of our *Review*, pp. 425, 426:—

"PSALM I.

"Selig der Menech der deinen Namen liebt, o heilige Jungfrau Maria! Kräftigen wird deine gnade seine Seele.

"Gleich wird sein Herz seyn einem wohl-bewässerten Erdreich; reichliche Früchte der Gerechtigkeit werden darin durch deine Milde aufsprossen.

"Gesegnet bist du unter den Weibern durch den treuen Glauben deiner heiligen Herzens!

"Hoch überglänzt die Schöne deines

"PSALM I.

"Blessed is the man that loveth thy name, oh Holy Virgin Mary! Thy grace shall strengthen his soul.

"His heart will be like to a well-watered ground; abundant fruits of righteousness, through thy goodness, will spring up therein.

"Blessed art thou among women, through the faithful belief of thy holy heart.

"The beauty of thy Virgin counte-

jungfräulichen Antlitzes das ganze Frauengeschlecht; hoch die Erhabenheit deiner Heiligkeit, alle Engel und Erzengel!)

"Der ganze Erdkreis ertönt von deiner Barmherzigkeit und Gnade. Die Werke deiner Hände hat der Herr gesegnet.

"Ehre sey dem Vater, etc."

"PSALM XXX.

"Auf dich, o Herrin, habe ich gehofft, nicht zu Schanden werde ich werden in Ewigkeit; nimm mich auf in deine Gnade.

"Du bist meine Kräfte und meine Zuflucht, du mein Trost und meine Beschirmung!

"Zu dir, Herinn, rief ich auf, als mein Herz in Trübsalem schmachtete; und du erhörtest mich vom Gipfel der ewigen Hügel!

"O erledige meine Füße von den Schlingen die sie vor mir verbargen; denn du bist ja meine Helferinn.

"In deine Hände unsere Liebe Frau, empfehle ich meinen Geist, mein ganzes Leben und den letzten meiner Tage.

"Ehre sey dem Vater, etc.

nance surpasser in brightness the whole of woman kind. The elevation of thy holiness far outshines all angels and archangels!

"The whole earth resounds with thy mercy and grace. The works of thy hands the Lord hath blessed.

"Glory be to the Father, &c."

"PSALM XXX.

"In thee, oh Lady, have I hoped, I shall never be put to shame; receive me into thy favour.]"

"Thou art my strength and my refuge, my consolation and my defence!

"To thee, oh Lady, did I cry, when my heart languished in misery, and thou heardest me from the summit of the everlasting hills.

"Oh deliver my feet from the net that they have privily laid for me; for thou art surely my helper.

"Into thine hands, our dear Lady, do I commend my spirit, my whole life, and the last of my days.

"Glory be to the Father, &c."

The American editor resided in Italy for a considerable time, and from his own personal knowledge has corroborated the accuracy of Mr. Horne's documentary statements. "With regard to this grand corruption in the Church of Rome" (the idolatrous worship of the Virgin Mary), Dr. Jarvis states, that he "does not know a better or more useful compend than Mr. Horne's 'Mariolatry.'.....All [the facts adduced] go to show, that where the system of the Roman communion is fully acted upon, THE WORSHIP OF THE VIRGIN HAS ALMOST SUPERSEDED THAT OF THE HOLY TRINITY." (*Preface*, p. ix.)

*A Letter respectfully addressed to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., on the Restoration of Suffragan Bishops.* By the Rev. THOMAS LATHBURY, M.A. London. 1844.

Most persons, whether they agree in opinion with the author or not, will admit that the question he discusses is a very important one. We believe that something of the kind must be adopted, unless the Government should consent to a division of dioceses and the admission of more bishops into the House of Lords. Our readers will find the question argued in the pamphlet:

*A Word in Season. A Series of Subjects addressed to the flock committed to his charge.* By the Rev. J. HOOPER. London: Painter. 1844.

THESE tracts are simply, what they profess to be, pastoral addresses from a minister to his flock and they are intended to form a course of plain instructions and exhortations on all those fundamental articles of our faith which are essential to salvation and prepare for the kingdom of heaven; such of them, at least, as are of universal importance, and come within the capacity and sphere of knowledge, of a country congregation. The intention of the writer is thus stated in the preface:—

“Though the ministry of God’s word in his house, and private instruction in your dwellings, are the chief means of conveying the knowledge of divine truth to your hearts, I have thought it good also to commit to writing some pastoral instruction for your reading and meditation, especially as many of you are often hindered from attending God’s house. The subjects on which I have written will, I hope, by God’s blessing, afford you spiritual strength and consolation, and advance you in the knowledge and love of the Father and of his Son Jesus Christ, whom truly to know is life eternal ..... And as these subjects contain nothing but Catholic truth—such truths as were preached by our Lord and his apostles, and have been held by the universal Church in all past generations—none other things than are read or acknowledged by the Church at large, and especially that portion of it which is established in this land—they will not, I trust, be unprofitable to any of God’s baptized people into whose hands they may fall.”

It may seem to be a bold assertion for any man to make concerning his own writings, that they “contain nothing but Catholic truth;” yet, when religion is made a matter rather for the heart than the head, as it must be in dealing with a country congregation, such an assertion may with confidence be made. For the pastor, whose heart is in the Bible and in the Church, gets the truth he needs for himself as a living reality; and knowing from his own experience what other men need, and how that need is to be satisfied, can speak with confidence to them of truths which he has himself received and found to be all-sufficient for the wants of mankind. When men are in earnest, and have it at heart to know the ways of God, in order to walk therein, we do not think it so difficult a thing to discover Catholic truth as some would represent it to be. The ways of God are plain, and those who are in earnest, however poor and illiterate, shall not err therein; if any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine. That the poor should have the Gospel preached to them is the especial characteristic of the Christian dispensation, as it was the especial work of Christ when on earth.

Eighteen tracts are promised, commencing with the respective duties of pastor and people, and proceeding with reading the Scriptures, the Trinity, the Sacraments, the constitution of the Church, the Sabbath, and various other topics, concluding with the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth, and the nearness of the Lord's Advent. As yet we have only seen the first six of the tracts, which carry on the series as far as the Lord's Supper, and these promise well for the remainder.

The third tract is upon the Trinity, and handles very ably this most important and difficult subject; beginning with the faith as contained in the creeds, and regarding the Athanasian as—

"A mighty rampart raised up against heresies; or, as Luther calls it, 'a bulwark to the apostles' creed.'" (p. 48). "It is here declared what 'the right faith is,' against those who would impair his manhood, deny his godhead, confuse the two natures, 'the substance of the Father begotten before the world, and the substance of his mother born in the world'—or who would limit the actings of the Son, by bringing the Infinite and Incomprehensible within the bounds of space, instead of lifting the creature into the Infinite, wherein, in truth, the glory of man's redemption consisteth."

There are very judicious remarks made upon that part of the creed which declares, that none can be saved who do not keep this faith whole and undefiled:—

"This is nothing more nor less than to affirm, that man cannot be saved in his own way, but in God's way ..... that salvation standeth in the knowledge of the one living and only true God." (p. 51).

And after showing how this must be so by various arguments, it is added:—

"Still the sentence might seem harsh if it were only certain holy laws, golden precepts, that he were misinterpreting and perverting. It is not so: it is with the living God he has to do; it is God's character he is misrepresenting; it is his actings he is falsifying—his dealings with man that he is overturning. Yea, he refuses to hold the Head; he cuts himself off from the body of Christ; he rejects the Holy Ghost, and he gives up his standing as a son." (p. 54).

This, we think, puts the question in its true light and force. And the remainder of the tract brings out the doctrine from the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament.

The Sacrament of Baptism occupies two tracts—the first of which treats of what baptism in itself is; the second treats of regeneration, or what baptism accomplishes:—

"As *circumcision* stood at the *threshold* of the Jewish Church, so does BAPTISM stand at the *very entrance* of the Church of Christ. 'Jesus answered, Verily, I say unto thee, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*' If there were no other passage respecting it in the New Testament

but this, it would be sufficient to establish the important truth, that *baptism is the divinely instituted ordinance for admission into the Christian Church*; but it is confirmed by many others. When our Lord sent forth his disciples to preach the Gospel.....He said, 'Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations,' baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'..... In the Gospel according to St. Mark it is added, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.' And the fact of baptism being the only ordained instrument or means whereby, coming in faith, we are received by Christ into the Church, is the point argued in the first of these tracts. And that 'faith cannot be substituted for it: faith is a prerequisite to receiving it. But baptism is an act of God's own hand planting us into the mystical body of his Son.'" (p. 77).

But baptism, it is shown, brings with it the responsibility of walking before God in newness of life; otherwise, it not only is attended with no blessing, but rather adds to the guilt and increases the condemnation. And it being incidentally mentioned in the first tract, that conversion and regeneration are not to be confounded, since conversion is promised to faith without an accompanying sacrament, but regeneration is not promised except through baptism as well as faith; the second tract discusses what regeneration truly is, to all who are true Christians:—

"Regeneration, or the being born again, implies, so far as it respects man, not only his recovery from the fall and its evil consequences, but also the reconstitution of his being after such a wonderful and gracious manner as to constitute him *a new creation*..... Into this new standing in Christ Jesus we are brought by baptism—*buried* with him in baptism, wherein also ye are *risen with him*, through faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead."

And after showing that the *water*, the *word*, and the *Holy Ghost*, combine in this sacrament, and all necessary to its efficacy is added:—

,"Such are the means ordained of God in his Church for effecting the regeneration of man. By the eye of man nothing is seen but water in the hand of a man. By the ear of man nothing is heard but the sound of words from the lips of man. And how poor and insignificant do such means appear! How utterly inadequate to so mighty a work! But faith realizes, in these sanctified waters, the presence and the operation of the word and spirit of the living God, whereby the soul is quickened into life, and, through *union* with its risen and living Head, made a partaker of the divine nature, having the fellowship of that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested to us by the Son.'" (p. 94).

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is explained in the sixth tract, and, first, in what way it is generally necessary to salva-

tion, as laid down in the Catechism. The sense also in which it becomes the body and blood of the Lord, yet without the error of transubstantiation, is explained; chiefly following Hooker's views. But we pass these to extract a passage concerning the double nature of this sacrament considered as sacrifice and communion, and partaken at a place which may be regarded both as an altar and a table:—

“There are two emblems used in the Scriptures with reference to the Lord's Supper, which are an *altar* and a *table*. The first has more immediately in view the *sacrifices* offered thereon—the latter, the *communion*, or feeding upon that sacrifice; though both are included in the term *altar*, as the priests under the law partook of some of the sacrifices which were offered on the altar. The term *altar* is rightly retained in the Christian Church, because in Christ's Church sacrifices are offered; and they are *spiritual* sacrifices. St. Peter says expressly, speaking of our Lord Jesus Christ, ‘To whom coming as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God and precious; ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up *spiritual sacrifices*, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.’ (1 Pet. ii. 4, 5).

“The sacrifice which we offer on the Christian altar is *spiritual*, and not a repetition of that sacrifice which Christ offered on the cross. It is not *another* offering of the Lord; for then must he needs often suffer. But this cannot be in the nature of things..... Neither is a repetition of Christ's offering required. He needed to be offered only *ONCE*..... Now if, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there was anything like *another* offering of Christ for our sins, it would be a giving up all that baptism conferred—a forsaking of our standing in Christ, and of our present actual possession of eternal life, and of the grace and spirit of adoption; for these blessings were actually sealed to us in the sacrament of baptism through the one offering of Christ, who is at the right hand of God for us. Therefore the sacrificial offering which we make at the altar of our Lord is, after a spiritual and heavenly manner, by way of REMEMBRANCE and memorial, and not as a *repetition* of that which Christ has already accomplished for us. This is clearly expressed in the prayer of consecration, stating, as it does, that ‘we receive the creatures of bread and wine, according to our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in *remembrance* of his death and passion.’ The same truth is expressed in the Catechism, which teacheth that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was ordained for the *continual remembrance* of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby.” (p. 125).

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*An Humble, Earnest, and Affectionate Address to the Clergy.*  
By WILLIAM LAW, A.M. London: Darling. 1843.

THIS is a reprint of a very useful work by William Law. Anything from such a quarter must be valuable: we are glad, therefore, to see the present reprint.



*The Primitive Church in its Episcopacy; with an Essay on Unity, and Counsel for the Present Times, &c.* By the Author of "Doctor Hookwell." One vol. Bentley.

THIS work has just appeared, from the pen of the author of "Doctor Hookwell," and this second literary and theological effort demonstrates that there yet remained an abundance of substantial pith and matter in the author's mind. In this book any objection to the *novel* species of writing would be removed, for it is written in short chapters, in a way that, while fiction is excluded, the interesting narrative is yet excellently sustained. Its object appears to be to prove from Scripture, from the practice of the primitive Church, and from the sentiments of the Reformers, as well as from the unfulfilled wishes and opinions of the foreign Reformed Churches, that the Episcopal pattern has been instituted and preserved in the Christian Church—in short, that it was founded and established by Christ and the Holy Ghost, and never willingly departed from, except in cases of gross schism and heresy, springing out of perverted passion and ambitious desire. This is the object of the work, and it is nobly achieved under the laborious endeavour of minute and searching investigation. We predict it will be a sore blow to the Presbyterian and *free* Presbyterian Churches of Scotland; and we may safely put this volume into the hands of Drs. Chalmers, Candlish, Macfarlane, or Cook, and say, in very vulgar language, "Come, crack me that nut." We call upon all who are beguiled by the fair speeches of those free Presbyterians who so cannily cling yet to the Establishment principle, and ask them to read these arguments before they part with their pounds, shillings, and pence; and we call upon those also in the true Catholic Church of England, who may so absurdly speak of setting up a separate Episcopal Church, to regard seriously the silly dilemma into which they would hastily place themselves. They will find that the battle of the Church of England is contested on grounds, perhaps, never dreamed of by them, as regards the extent and stability of the scriptural and primitive argument; and, moreover, we can heartily recommend the work as being written in a learned, Christian, and thorough sensible tone—for the author seems to have taken as his motto, "*que va doucement va loin*;" and we are sure this is the only way to convince, when mere scolding and abuse will surely fail. The writer himself says (page 3), "though firmness in the cause of *the faith once delivered to the saints* may guide the writing in these pages, yet nothing shall be stated which ought to offend the feelings of the strictest Dissenter." And this promise, it appears to us, is unflinchingly kept from the commencement to the end.

At the same time that the utmost amiability and tenderness of thought and language is shown, yet the author makes a stand, firm as a rock, for the essential truths and character of his Church. In the seventh and sixteenth pages he propounds the fact "that the Church of England is a portion of the Christian Church, and that Jesus Christ, if now upon the earth, would only teach and preach in connection with the Church of England, will appear from our scriptural statements as we duly proceed." The Church of Rome is deprived of her right arm, for the ground of Catholic antiquity is cut away from under her; and surely, if a right of supremacy over the whole Church had been vested in St. Peter and his successors, we should have seen something of it alluded to in the veritable epistle of Clemens Romanus, but the very contrary is most apparent; and we are furnished with a polished armoury indeed against the usurpations and novelties of Popery.

We feel we must be brief in speaking of this book; and while we would call for enlargement of some positions, especially of the fourth chapter, we feel ourselves irresistibly attracted by such a passage as the following, on the respect and regard due to antiquity:—

"Thus does ancient history greatly assist and confirm the representations of Scripture; and no man is justified in speaking lightly of antiquity, whose very dust is golden dust, when from it so many important facts are derived. In other transactions, our learned men are encouraged to dive into antiquity; the judges of the land, committees of the House of Commons, and writers of various branches in literature, are compelled to cull evidence from its treasures in various ways. And if a Christian refuses to look deeply into the records of ancient and primitive Christianity, or to encourage and exhort others to do so, it is very clear that he is either unlearned and indolent in a righteous cause, or that he fears lest a scrutiny into the views, and customs, and facts of the Christians of a primitive and purer age should contradict his modern notions and assumptions, and drive him to the extremity of surrendering opinions which serve his own notions and station, but which are not agreeable with the dictates of reason and historical evidence." (p. 64).

The author is very felicitous, after the able argumentation in his pages, in writing thus:—

"There is a private satisfaction in the acquisition of laborious learning which is indeed sweet; and there is a private satisfaction of the most consoling kind in knowing, and feeling, and proving that our engagements to the Established Church are in best harmony with the most rigid and conscientious attachment to the requirements of vital religion. We then feel that it is in Christ's Church that we are best advancing Christ's religion. We are keeping 'the pearl of great price'

in a casket of his own manufacture. This is inward satisfaction indeed ; but still the nobler end of all our labour is public edification. If we are not to shrink from our profession generally of the Christian religion, neither are we to hide under a bushel the good profession of our souls to the maintenance of the Catholic Church."

We recollect hearing a very amiable Whig member of Parliament once say, that if he could firmly be persuaded that the Church of England was the veritable Church of Christ, nothing on earth should tempt or compel him to give one single vote in favour of any Dissenting schemes. Here, we think, is a book that would have fully convinced him ; and he, in common with others, would have felt with Mr. Gladstone, that "the idea of inheritance, with all its at once ennobling and subduing effects, is perfectly realized in that body alone, where we are the heirs, not merely of antiquity, but of inspiration ; and the long line of Christian generations brightens, instead of fading, as it recedes."

Time presses, and want of space confines us, or we would enrich our pages with copious extracts from "The Primitive Church in its Episcopacy." Any one who takes up the book will perceive the richness of its *materiel* from the table of contents ; and we must say that the counsel for the clergy in the present times is so discreet and honest as at once to ensure our warmest approval ; for it is ably shown, not in words, but in substance, that the terms "High Churchman" and "Puseyite" are by no means convertible. This, is in every part, a most admirable and convincing work, and we feel assured it will not only be read and cordially regarded by thousands, but it will inevitably become a standard publication by the side of Bishop Hall and Archbishop Potter. It is replete with the most amiable feelings and the most sterling enlightenment ; and if the Church of England was destined to perish while under such able and benevolent advocacy, she would fall like the sandal tree, which sheds perfume on the axe that fells it ! But the pure apostolic Church of England cannot fall, for we cannot imagine this country ever becoming in such a tiger-like and antichristian state—and we predict that this book alone will strengthen and stablish many a waverer, reclaim and cherish many a wanderer from the holy fold, and chasten the ire and persecution of many an inveterate and malignant foe. Let the clergy only follow the counsel offered them, and there must be an increased tone of piety around the hearth of every home, a marked and decided alteration in every parish, however populous, and a general tone of moral and spiritual elocution observed throughout the kingdom at large.

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*Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest, with Anecdotes of their Courts; now first published, from Official Records, and other Authentic Documents, Private as well as Public.* By AGNES STRICKLAND. London: Colburn. 1843.

It was a happy thought to bring together the lives of the queens of England, and it is fortunate that a lady could be found qualified to undertake the composition of such a work, requiring, as it does, research and literary ability, yet to which justice could scarcely be done except by a lady, whose feelings would all be warmly enlisted in a cause which brings so much honour to the female sex, and whose natural tact and discrimination as a woman would enter into, and more truly appreciate, those peculiar or finer and more delicate shades which adorn the female character. And it is a stirring subject, and raises in every patriotic bosom the most interesting reminiscences, when we think of the queens of England, so many of whom have been as greatly distinguished by their virtues and heroism, as by their rank—shining as worthy consorts of one of the most illustrious lines of kings. Matilda, called by her subjects the good Queen Mold, and for whom she was continually entreating the Beauclerk's love. Eleanor, so devoted to her husband, and whose monumental crosses still attest the return of her devotion by the first Edward. The heroic Philippa, partner of him who added the Fleurs-de-lis to the arms of England, and mother of the Prince of Chivalry; she, who could not only defend her consort's dominion in his absence, but add the Bruce of Scotland to John of France as captive kings, to grace the triumph of him who was called "*decus Anglorum, flos regum preteritorum, forma futurorum*;" and who enjoyed the singular honour of looking idly on while his son won the field of Crecy, and at a time when his queen was discomfiting the too presumptuous northern invaders of his realm. And she, whose gentleness was equal to her courage, and who interceded for the citizens of Calais, whose resistance had too much exasperated the fiery Edward. And, above all, when we think of the lion-hearted Elizabeth, who closed with so much glory the history of England as a separate kingdom, to unfold a new page in its history as the monarchy of Great Britain, and to exhibit in her whole reign a new title and a better foundation for the British crown, in the faith as well as the hearts of her subjects—when we behold her, together with her people, rejecting Papal dictation and foreign interference with equal scorn, as incompatible with her own and her people's rights, and see her thus laying a foundation for the just exclusion of all those who, however near in

blood, might attempt to violate either the faith or the independence of Great Britain, we feel that it is a stirring subject. And when we remember that the rights then asserted are the very principles in consequence of which a queen, who emulates the good and noble deeds of her predecessors, now sits on the British throne, and is become, in like manner, enthroned in the hearts of her people—the past becomes part of the present, and daily duties and practical acts of loyalty are invigorated by our historic reminiscences. It is a wide and fertile subject, and Miss Strickland appears to have used great diligence, and done her best to turn it to good account, by bringing before her readers all that could be collected from authentic sources, and presenting it in an agreeable form. It is not often that we find so much research in the productions of the female pen, but they almost always are easy and agreeable in style and taste; though sometimes redundant, and not always accurate in the use of words; and frequently introducing expressions which are not strictly congruous with the rest of the sentence.

As a favourable specimen of Miss Strickland's style we may extract the commencement of the last volume, which begins the history of Elizabeth; and being, after five preceding volumes, the work of a practised hand, and from the subject it opens being also maturely weighed and carefully put together, must be regarded as one of the fairest selections that can be made, viz :—

“ We now come to the most distinguished name in the annals of female royalty, that of the great Elizabeth, second queen-regnant of England. The romantic circumstances of her birth, the vicissitudes of her childhood, and the lofty spirit with which she bore herself amidst the storms and perils that darkened over her during her sister's reign, invested her with almost poetic interest, as a royal heroine, before her title to the regal succession was ratified by the voice of a generous people; and the brilliant success of her government, during a long reign, surrounded her maiden diadem with a blaze of glory which has rendered her the most popular of our monarchs, and blinded succeeding generations to her faults. It is not, perhaps, the most gracious office in the world, to perform, with strict impartiality, the duty of a faithful biographer to a princess so endeared to national pride as Elizabeth, and to examine by the cold, calm light of truth, the flaws which mar the bright ideal of Spencer's ‘Gloriana,’ and Shakspeare's ‘fair vestal throned by the west.’ Like the wise and popular Augustus Cæsar, Elizabeth understood the importance of acquiring the good-will of that class whose friendship or enmity goes far to decide the fortunes of princes; the might of her throne was supported by the pens of the master-spirits of the age. Very different might have been the records of her reign, if the reasoning powers of Bacon, the eloquence of Sidney, the poetic talents of Spenser, the wit of Harrington, and the genius of

Shakspeare had been arrayed against her, instead of combining to represent her as the impersonification of all earthly perfection—scarcely, indeed, short of a divinity.

“It has been truly said, however, that no man is a hero to his *valet de chambre*, and it is impossible to enter into the personal history of England's Elizabeth without showing that she occasionally forgot the dignity of the heroine among her ladies in waiting, and indulged in follies which the youngest of her maids of honour would have blushed to imitate. The web of her life was a glittering tissue, in which good and evil were strangely mingled, and as the evidences of friend and foe are woven together, without references to the prejudices of either, or any other object than to show her as she was, the lights and shades must sometimes appear in strong and even painful opposition to each other; for such are the inconsistencies of human nature—such the littleness of human greatness.” (Vol. vi. p. 1-3).

This passage, though carefully written, and pleasing in flow of language, has many of the inaccuracies to which we have just alluded. “To perform with strict impartiality the duty of a faithful biographer” is a redundancy: for “strict impartiality” and “faithful” mean the same, and one or other should be omitted. Then “impersonification” is a bad word; it should be impersonation, or personification, not both words combined. But the whole of the last of these sentences is one mass of incongruities—“a web of life” being first a “glittering tissue,” then a strange mingling of good and evil, then turning out to be the evidences of friend and foe, woven together by Miss Strickland, and lights and shades in painful opposition, and inconsistencies of human nature, and littleness of human greatness—truly it is a very strange tissue indeed! But as it is altogether a sort of opening flourish for an attack about to be made upon Elizabeth, we think that the sentence just preceding it should be changed a little; for as *young ladies are very easily made to blush*, it would greatly heighten the climax, and put the folly of Elizabeth in a much more striking point of view, to say that the *oldest* of her maids of honour would *blush*.

But, in all seriousness, we warn Miss Strickland to mind what she is about, lest she be flattered or entrapped into an attempt far above her strength if it were just, and above the power of any one if unjust—the attempt to deprive Elizabeth of her long established fame: we warn her, lest she herself should become the victim, and by such indiscretion should sacrifice at once all her present reputation and all her former labours. She allows that the fame of Elizabeth is sustained by the pens of the master-spirits of that brilliant age; and she may rest assured that her pen—no, nor all the pens of the present generation, can write down such men as those who have identified their names with

the fame of Elizabeth, and who rather follow in her train than she in theirs.

When the blockhead James II. carped at Elizabeth, and attributed all her success to the choice of her councillors, whose wisdom he allowed to be great, "Please your Majesty (was the ready reply), did you ever know a fool that chose wise ones?" And so the woman who bore herself with this "lofty spirit" before she was queen, and governed with such "brilliant success during a long reign," so as to become the most "popular of our monarchs," will never be regarded as anything less than an extraordinary person, and one who well knew her duty as a queen, let Miss Strickland say what she pleases.

The first duty of a queen is to promote the welfare of her subjects: the people are the best judges of this—they know when they are well off; and universal England proclaimed at the time, as with one voice, that Elizabeth well performed this her highest duty. And that they were right is attested by the still enduring institutions of Britain's grandeur, the foundations of which were more broadly laid and more firmly cemented in the days of Elizabeth than at any other period of our history. As long as Great Britain continues to be independent and Protestant—that is, long as civil and religious liberty shall exist—so long shall Elizabeth be "the most popular of our monarchs." The people knew the difference between Mary and Elizabeth, and knew what they were doing in preferring the latter; and even at a later period, and when they had no Elizabeth to look to, but when the principles of Mary were countenanced by the last of the Stuarts, the people of England would not have those principles established at any rate, but would rather submit to the rule of a foreigner and stranger, as William might be called, than see a Stuart ruling them on principles so degrading and hateful. Miss Strickland has successfully vindicated Mary from some of the charges which party spirit had falsely brought against that queen; let her not fall into the spirit of the opposite party, so as to cast aspersions on Elizabeth—she is welcome to praise Mary, but not at the expense of her sister; and she may rest assured that such an attempt would recoil on herself, and destroy all her own reputation.

Except for this continual tendency to the depreciation of Elizabeth, there is much instruction to be derived from these vols. as she enters, far more minutely than any other kind of history could do, into the private life of the queen, and enables us the better to trace to their origin, in the child and the woman, many of the great qualities which became, in after life, the ennobling characteristics of this most distinguished queen. The details

of Elizabeth's childhood are very interesting, some of them we extract :—

"Elizabeth's governess in childhood was Lady Brian. Much of the future greatness of Elizabeth may reasonably be attributed to the judicious training of her sensible and conscientious governess, combined with the salutary adversity which deprived her of the pernicious pomp and luxury that had surrounded her cradle while she was treated as the heiress of England. From her cradle Elizabeth was a child of fairest promise, and possessed the art of attracting the regard of others. Wriothesly, who visited the two princesses when they were together at Hertford Castle, Dec. 17, 1539, was greatly impressed with the precocious understanding of the young Elizabeth, of whom he gives the following pretty account: 'I went then to my lady Elizabeth's grace, and to the same made his Majesty's most hearty commendations, declaring that his highness desired to hear of her health, and sent his blessing; she gave her humble thanks, enquiring after his Majesty's welfare, and that with as great a gravity as she had been forty years old. If she be no worse educated than she now appeareth to me, she will prove no less honour than beseemeth her father's daughter, whom the Lord long preserve.'" (p. 12).

Elizabeth, from her earliest years, not only attracted the notice, but won the affections of all who approached her :—

"The feelings of jealous dislike which the Princess Mary naturally felt towards her infant rival were gradually subdued by the endearing caresses of the innocent child, when they became sisters in adversity. .... Anne of Cleves, when she saw Elizabeth, was charmed with her beauty, wit, and endearing caresses; she conceived the most tender affection for her, and after her divorce said, that to have had that young princess for her daughter would have been greater happiness to her than being queen. .... Elizabeth found no less favour in the eyes of her new stepmother, the young and beautiful Katherine Howard. .... Katherine Parr was well acquainted with Elizabeth before she became queen, and greatly admired her wit and her manners. On her marriage with the king she induced him to send for the young princess to court, and to give her an apartment in the palace of Whitehall contiguous to her own, and bestowed particular attention on her comforts." (pp. 14, 15, 17).

This disposes of the question concerning Elizabeth's popularity, and whether she practised deception to acquire it. She could not but be popular; her very nature was attractive and engaging, before she was of age to form a purpose or gain an end. And then, regarding the taste for literature which Elizabeth professed, this also began at too early an age to be set down to affectation; it was imbibed in her childhood, and had become inwrought in her character, and a part of her being :—

"Elizabeth was at that time a child of extraordinary acquirements, to which were added some personal beauty and very graceful manners.



.....At the age of twelve she was considerably advanced in sciences, which rarely indeed, in that era, formed part of the education of princesses. She understood the principles of geography, architecture, the mathematics, and astronomy, and astonished all her instructors by the facility with which she acquired knowledge. Her hand-writing was beautiful, and her skill in languages remarkable.....She was an accomplished Latin scholar.....French, Italian, Spanish, and Flemish, she both wrote and spoke with the same facility as her native tongue. ....When about sixteen, Elizabeth had Ascham for a tutor, and read with him nearly the whole of Cicero's works, Livy, the orations of Isocrates, the tragedies of Sophocles, and the New Testament in Greek.' (pp. 18, 28).

This disposes of the *twaddle* about the policy of Elizabeth in imitating the wise Augustus, and understanding the importance of acquiring the good-will of literary men. Like loves its like; Elizabeth loved literature for its own sake, and men of letters loved her for liking what they liked. The tastes of the girl were not lost by her becoming queen, though they became more conspicuous thereby. And if they enabled her to forecast her future destiny, and if they added grace and dignity to the high station when attained, who shall blame her? Others had forecast it at this early period; for Katherine Parr often said to her, "God has given you great qualities—cultivate them always and labour to improve them; for I believe that you are destined by heaven to be queen of England."

Miss Strickland will not allow even the taste of Elizabeth to be natural, but ascribes even this to ambition or policy, overcoming natural vanity: and she ill-naturedly brings in the fantastic extravagance of Elizabeth's old age to give a colour to the supposition; forgetting that it tells more strongly against her favourite Mary, who at this very time wore these ridiculous dresses, which were, in fact, the folly of the age, and which Elizabeth alone had the good sense and good taste to avoid.

"The Elizabeth of seventeen had a purpose to answer and a part to play, neither of which were compatible with her natural vanity..... The part which she was ambitious of performing was that of the heroine of the Reformed party in England, even as her sister Mary was of the Catholic portion of the people.....Lady Jane Grey, when urged to wear the costly dress that had been presented to her by Mary, said, 'Nay, that were a shame to follow my lady Mary, who leaveth God's word, and leave my lady Elizabeth, who followeth God's word.' The first opening charms of youth, Elizabeth well knew, required no extraneous adornments, and her classic tastes taught her that the elaborate magnificence of the costumes of her brother's court tended to obscure rather than enhance those graces which belonged to the morning bloom of life. .... At a later period of life, Elizabeth made up, in the exuber-

rance of her ornaments and the fantastic extravagance of her dress, for the simplicity of her attire when in the bloom of sweet seventeen." (p. 59).

This is very spiteful, and it is very silly also, to make the follies of age a criterion to determine the motives of youth. Elizabeth at this time had confessedly the taste and the courage to be singular in not following the foolish dress which was then in fashion; and this is set down to ambition overcoming her natural vanity, because, forsooth, she did in after life follow the fashion, and this showed that she was always inordinately vain.

But it is in situations where the two sisters come into direct comparison that the unfairness of Miss Strickland towards Elizabeth is most manifest, because then it is that Elizabeth appears to the greatest advantage. Such is her account of their arrival in London:—

"On the occasion of Mary's triumphant entrance into London, the royal sisters rode side by side in the grand equestrian procession. The youthful charms of Elizabeth, then in her twentieth year, the majestic grace of her tall and finely-proportioned figure, attracted every eye, and formed a contrast disadvantageous to Mary, who was nearly double her age, small in person, and faded prematurely by early sorrow, sickness, and anxiety. The pride and reserve of Mary's character would not allow her to condescend to the practice of any of those arts of courting popularity, in which Elizabeth, who rendered everything subservient to the master passion of her soul, ambition, was a practised adept. In every look, word, and action, Elizabeth studied effect, and on this occasion it was noticed that she took every opportunity of displaying the beauty of her hand, of which she was not a little vain." (p. 68).

Persons must be very hard driven for an objection to Elizabeth who would make her beautiful hand an objection, and who make personal vanity the dominant passion in displaying it, when just before ambition is made supreme; and in a preceding extract, which we have given, the indulgence of her natural vanity is said to have been incompatible with the part she had to play. Are personal attractions, then, to be imputed as a fault? Is it a blot upon Elizabeth that "the majestic grace of her tall and finely-proportioned figure attracted every eye?" Or would the partizans of Mary put out the eyes of men? And as to the pride and reserve of Mary, and the arts of popularity in Elizabeth, there is no mystery in the matter. It was Mary's natural character on the one hand—it was Elizabeth's natural character on the other. No efforts on the part of Mary could have rendered her equally popular with her sister, because it would be seen to be against the grain: no effort was needed on the part of Elizabeth to become popular—she had been so from her

childhood, and it was against the grain to be otherwise. And the preference of the English for Elizabeth was seated far deeper than these external personal things—it was a preference of principle, of the heart and spirit of a people who had drank into the spirit of the Reformation, and who knew that Elizabeth had been brought up in Protestant principles, and was thoroughly one with them in faith. For Miss Strickland immediately adds:—

“Within one little month after their public entrance into London, the evil spirits of the time had succeeded in rekindling the sparks of jealousy between the Catholic Queen and the Protestant heiress of the throne. That Mary, after all the mortifications that had been inflicted upon her at Elizabeth's birth, had had the magnanimity to regard her with sisterly feelings, is a fact that renders the divisions that were effected between them the more deeply to be regretted. .... But it was not only on those to whom a sympathy in religious opinion endeared her that Elizabeth had succeeded in making a favourable impression, for she was already so completely established as the darling of the people of England, that Pope Julius III., in one of his letters, adverting to the report made by his envoy Commendone on the state of Queen Mary's Government, says, ‘that heretic and schismatic sister, formerly substituted for her (Queen Mary) in the succession by their father, is in the heart and mouth of every one.’ (p. 68).

As religion was the great bond of affection between Elizabeth and the people of England, so against her, as the head of Protestantism, the Papal enmity was especially directed. This was the spring of all the many plots instigated by concealed or avowed Romanists during her reign; and whensoever, in after ages, there has appeared anything like a hopeful movement in favour of Rome, it has been uniformly accompanied by attempts to cast aspersions on Elizabeth and the great men who surrounded her—the champions of the Reformation—the harbingers and precursors in the glorious career of England—the pride and the boast of all true patriots. There has been of late a movement in favour of Rome, which seemed more hopeful to them, more ominous to us, at the time when the last of these volumes was written, than at the present time: and to this we attribute the unreasonable praises of Mary and the discreditable depreciation of Elizabeth. The history of Elizabeth is not yet completed—another volume has yet to be published; and we hope that it is not yet too late for Miss Strickland to redeem her own character by doing justice to Elizabeth. She has only to let truth, consistency, and common sense have their fair play, unwarped by factious and party prejudices; when she will perceive that even in the present volume her picture of Elizabeth is very much of such an one as the sovereign of a

great and free people ought to be, and with this extract we close our remarks:—

“By thus showing herself so freely and condescendingly to her people, she made herself dear and acceptable unto them. Well indeed had nature qualified Elizabeth to play her part, with *éclat*, in the imposing drama of royalty, by the endowments of wit, eloquence, penetration, and self-possession, joined to the advantages of commanding features and a majestic presence. She had from childhood upwards studied the art of courting popularity, and perfectly understood how to please the great body of the people. The honest-hearted mechanical classes, won by the frank manner in which she dispensed the cheap, but dearly-prized favours of gracious words and smiles, regarded her with feelings approaching to idolatry; and as for the younger nobles and gentlemen of England who attended her court, they were, almost to a man, eager for the opportunity of risking their lives in her service; and she knew how to improve the love and loyalty of all ranks of her subjects, to the advancement of her power and the defence of her realm.” (Vol. vi., p. 179).

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*Spirituality the Test and Duty of Christ's Church.* A Sermon preached at All Saint's Church, Hereford, Sept. 24, 1843.

By the Rev. J. SYMONS, M.A., at the Ordination of the Candidates of the Lord Bishop of Hereford. London: Seeleys.

WITH much in this sermon we most cordially agree. It is earnest, affectionate, and fervent. The preacher enforces certain truths with much zeal; but we cannot agree with him when he designates Mr. Beamish “an able preacher of our Church.” In an ordination sermon he should scarcely have so termed a man who, though remarkable for his devotedness in his ministerial work, cannot be held up as a divine of any note, or a representative of the doctrines of the Church of England. We have no sympathy with Dr. Pusey, as former numbers abundantly testify; but, at the same time, we feel that Mr. Beamish is not qualified to enter into controversy with him. There are passages in the sermon which we think are open to objection, but we forbear.

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*Serious Dissuaves from Popery.* By ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON, and BISHOPS HALL and JEREMY TAYLOR. With Introductory Essay, by the Rev. EDWARD NANGLE, B.A. London: For the Protestant Association. 1844.

OF the writings of Tillotson, Hall, and Taylor, against Popery, we need say nothing—they are well known to our readers. They have been long resorted to as armouries in this warfare: and they will be resorted to as long as the warfare shall continue. The reprint, therefore, is most seasonable, and we are sure that it will prove very useful.

*Tracts for the Last Days.* Vol. I. London: Painter. 1844.

WE have twice noticed these Tracts already, during the time that they were being published one by one; and on the last occasion spoke *collectively* of such of them as had evident marks of belonging to one subject, if not of being written by one individual, since they all bore the same title, "the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," and were connected together by references at the beginning, to the page where the subject was last broken off, to be continued. That subject seems to have been exhausted, as no more Tracts under that title have appeared since we last wrote, and we have nothing more to say concerning that portion of these Tracts. And concerning the other Tracts, we forbore from expressing any decided opinion, from not being able to find any consistency or fixed purpose—any bond of unity, in short, by means of which we might deal with them as one whole. They seemed to unsettle everything, and yet to present no nucleus, or new centre, round which the scattered elements might be arrayed in better order, and with a prospect of stability for the future: and we were in hopes of finding this bond of unity in the present volume.

But, alas! the preface to this volume increases our perplexity; it tells us that everything everywhere is wrong; all the Churches are equally and irremediably bad—nothing can be done: therefore, let every one stay just where he is, and wait for he cannot tell what. Really it seems very like mockery to render men discontented with their present condition, and then to tell them we have done this only to encourage you to remain quiet where you are, for there is no remedy. We did not understand what this portion of the Tracts was driving at, and we still less understand the statements made in the preface to the volume. It states, that "the conclusion to be drawn from the whole series of Tracts may be summed up by saying, that it shows the whole state of Christendom to be perfectly remediless by the operation of any machinery now in existence." Where, then, we ask, is the use of writing Tracts, or taking any other step? And it is also said, that "the individuals who have written these Tracts differ on other subjects as widely as do the different churches, portions, or sects of Christendom in which they have been educated." Which leaves us very much in the dark as to what are the things in which they agree, and in what they still differ; and is a strange way of endeavouring to give us confidence even in those things wherein they seem to be agreed. And of the various Churches, Greek, Roman, and Protestant, it is said, "all have their good and bad, mingled in nearly equal proportions; for in the parts in which there is most good, there is also most evil, and the parts which are the most free from evil are equally

deprived of the good." Such assertions are either sheer paradox, which are not to be taken literally and in sincerity, or they are the bitter experiences of one who has been tossed about everywhere and found rest nowhere. We sympathize not with such despondency, and regard such paradoxes as dangerous, tending to confound the distinctions between right and wrong, assuming that good and evil can co-exist, and each be most abundant where the other most abounds; and heaven and hell, in like manner, might mingle, by carrying the paradox a little further. We maintain that good and evil are antagonists—essentially repulsive, and cannot co-exist; and that the strongest motive we can present to churches or to individuals for resisting evil of every kind is, that its coming in is most assuredly the proof of the absence of that antagonist grace, that opposite good.

But these gloomy exaggerations and morbid paradoxes explain, or rather account for, the extreme statements which, as appearing in the Tracts, were quite unintelligible, as we could not suppose any persons to hold such opinions as it now appears from the preface are held by some of these writers. Some of the Tracts had dealt out most sweeping wholesale condemnation on the Reformation and Evangelicalism as the apostasy of the last times. Other Tracts, professing to give hard hits at Rome, dealt very gently with her in reality, and gave exaggerated praise to many things exclusively Roman, in contrast with Protestant practices. This, we presume, may now be explained on the hypothesis that the Reformed Churches, being "most free from evil, are equally deprived of good;" and that the Papacy must needs have "most good," because "*there* is most evil;" that Rome, in short, is equally and most exemplarily pre-eminent in both good and evil.

The same condemnatory spirit and paradoxical turn of mind is seen in many of the doctrinal statements of these Tracts, especially in the last, concerning justification by faith. This Tract appears to us a mere piece of flippant impertinence from beginning to end—beginning with accusing Luther of the grossest dishonesty! and ending with asserting, that "the preaching of the Evangelical system is subversive of the best interests of man!" Of Luther's comment on the Galatians it is written, "that a more dishonest piece of dealing with the words and arguments of another man cannot be found." It is probably the first time that the charge of dishonesty has been brought against Luther, except by zealots blinded by their Roman prejudices. We may leave the fair fame of Luther on the sure foundation of three centuries of approval by the wise and the good, undisturbed by the peevish remarks of an anonymous

Tract; and the Evangelicals will no doubt bear with becoming meekness their share of the reproach, since it equally falls upon Luther, and is bringing them into very good company.

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*The Epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Epistle to Diognetus.* Edited from the text of Keple, with an Introduction and Notes, by ALGERNON GRENFELL, M.A., one of the Masters of Rugby School. London: Whitaker. 1844.

WE quote the first sentence in the introduction to this little volume because it contains a most important sentiment—one which is too frequently lost sight of in the present age. “The following pages contain the letters of those who received their instruction in the Christian faith immediately from the apostles.” Many shallow and conceited persons, however, imagine that they know much more than the early fathers, though the latter were taught by the apostles themselves. Ignorance is generally the shield of such persons. They know nothing of the fathers, and consequently they hold them in no estimation.

Happily, however, the clergy, and all who think deeply on the subject, are disposed to look back to the ancient writings of the Church. We are glad, therefore, to see the present volume, since it places the writings of the apostolical fathers before the public in a convenient form.

The introduction and notes by the editor will be read with interest and profit by those who devote themselves to this sacred study. Next to the Scriptures, surely the Christian will feel pleasure in reading the works of those who lived in the time of the apostles of our blessed Lord.

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*The Position of the Church of England in the Catholic World; suggested by a perusal of No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times.* By the Rev. JAMES R. PAGE, M.A. London: White. 1844.

THOUGH not so entitled, this work is, in fact, an able examination and refutation of the jesuitical doctrine announced by Mr. Newman in the ninetieth number of the so-called *Tracts for the Times*. Mr. Page's previous publications have evinced his thorough knowledge of the Romish controversy, which knowledge he has brought effectually to bear upon Mr. Newman's publication. Had we not already devoted so large a portion of our *Review* to the Oxford Tracts generally, and to No. 90 in particular, we could have transferred to our pages several passages of this work, which we recommend to the attentive perusal of our readers.

*Thoughts on the Revival of Convocation.* By a WILTSHIRE INCUMBENT. London: Seeleys. 1844.

THE author deprecates the revival of Convocation, because he supposes that the articles and formularies would be tampered with. Why he should arrive at such a conclusion we cannot imagine. We are much more apprehensive of such a result from Parliamentary interference, if Convocation should not be permitted to assemble. It is certain that the author mistakes the power of Convocation, or he would never have taken so much for granted. Unless a change should be made in its constitution and character, it could not tamper with the Articles and the Book of Common Prayer without the suggestion and concurrence of the Crown—a most unlikely event certainly. Before he came to a conclusion he should have ascertained the nature of an English Convocation. He goes on the supposition that it is something very different from what is really the case—on the supposition, indeed, that, if permitted to meet, there is no restraining power; whereas the Crown, or the Archbishop, can interpose at any moment. He ought also to have known that the Convocation, when assembled, could not entertain the proposal of altering the Liturgy or the Articles, unless it were submitted to them by the Crown—a thing of most unlikely occurrence. In short, the author, like many others, creates difficulties, and then treats them as though they really existed. Many of those which are enumerated by our author exist only in his own imagination; and had he spent a little time in making himself acquainted with the lawful powers of an English Convocation, he might have spared himself the trouble of writing this pamphlet. But the strangest of all the author's notions is his readiness to allow Parliament to interfere in ecclesiastical matters. He is afraid of Convocation, but he has no fears respecting a Parliament. If the Church be destroyed as a national establishment, she will be destroyed by the prevalence of such opinions as these, and not by Convocation. We cannot but regret that a clergyman should express his readiness to leave matters to "*the wisdom of Parliament!*"

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*Foxe's Book of Martyrs.* Edited by the Rev. J. CUMMING, M.A. Part XXX. London: Virtue.

WE have so frequently expressed our satisfaction at the progress of this work, that we need now do no more than cordially recommend it to the notice of our readers. When completed, the work will form a valuable volume for family use and for parochial libraries.



*Discourses for the Festivals of the Church of England. With Notes.* By the Rev. J. B. MARSDEN, M.A., Rector of Tooting. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1844.

It is gratifying to find, amid the general neglect of some of the ordinances of the Church, that many of her clergy are becoming more alive to the necessity of following out those plans which she recommends. By many persons the observance of the festivals of the Church is regarded as Popish. The objectors are ready enough to commemorate the day of some political demagogue, but they cannot hear of the commemoration of a festival. Nor is this feeling confined to Dissenters. There are clergymen who start back with horror at the mention of *saints' days*. How such men can remain in the Church we cannot imagine. They have declared that the Prayer Book enjoins nothing but what is consonant with holy Scripture; and yet they regard the observance in question as Popish. We are, therefore, thankful to Mr. Marsden for the present volume; we are thankful on two grounds—the one, the character of the volume itself; the other, because we regard it as an indication of a healthy state of feeling among the clergy.

Mr. Marsden very properly remarks that the Dissenters have their festivals, though they denounce the Church of England as Popish, for observing those which are appointed in the calendar.

“It is (says he) obvious, that those religious communities which are the first to censure us display the same tendencies themselves. Their anniversaries, centenaries, funeral eulogies, and the like, are of the nature of Church festivals—with this singular disadvantage, that their number is unlimited, their objects frequently indefinite: and that they are more open to objection, on the ground of an undue exultation of the dead, than those few and sober festivals which the Church of England retains.”—*Preface*.

All this is perfectly true. Undoubtedly the Dissenters are most inconsistent in condemning us, while they do the same thing. We cannot, however, agree with Mr. Marsden in the following passage:—“Indeed, our greater festivals are practically adopted by almost every communion of orthodox Dissenters.” This is not the fact. None of the festivals, as far as we are aware, are observed by Dissenters—we mean, that they are not observed as festivals.

In the sentiment of the ensuing extract every sound Churchman must cordially concur:—“There is a mine of spiritual wealth in the Book of Common Prayer, which even now is but imperfectly explored: and no wonder, since it contains the treasured devotions of the Church of God slowly accumulating for

fifteen hundred years. Had we always appreciated its spirit, it is hard to think that the lethargy which wrapped us in its cold embrace so long would ever have befallen us. As we revive, year by year to a sense of our duties, we discover in the Prayer Book a provision for each emergency." It is pleasant to quote such a passage, and it will be perused with pleasure by our readers.

There are twenty-nine discourses in the volume. Each saint's day is comprehended, besides other special days. Having said so much in praise of the volume, we need do no more than commend it to the notice of our readers. This we do most sincerely, because we feel that Mr. Marsden has conferred a service on the Church by this seasonable publication.

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1. *A History of British Fossil, Mammalia, and Birds.* By RICHARD OWEN, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c. Part I. London: J. Van Voorst. 1844.
  2. *Geology: Introductory, Descriptive, and Practical.* By D. T. ANSTED, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S. Part I. London: J. Van Voorst.

THESE are just the kind of works which are most needed at the present time for the real advancement of geology; they are accurate and full, without being so expensive as to be out of the reach of those practical men to whom every science is indebted for its advance; and they deal principally with facts, and not with theories and idle speculation.

The first is a masterly work in its kind—close, terse, clear; not a word unexpressive, not a word too many; being the mere transcript of a mind fully possessed of the subject, and laying it out in the same simple and lucid order which high attainment in any science produces, and of which mastery it becomes the index. And the wood-cuts by which it is illustrated are among the very best we have ever seen, for precision, feeling, and taste; indeed, they appear perfect in their kind, and better for such a work as this than copper-plate engravings—an excellence, no doubt, attributable to the drawings and wood-cuts having been executed under the direct superintendence of Professor Owen. The work is to consist of eight parts, published monthly, and this first part treats of mammalia, as monkeys, moles, bats, and marsupial and insectivorous animals. Among these the jaws from the Stonesfield oolite are classed, and the most striking part of this number is that which assigns the reasons for placing the amphitherium and its congeners among the mammalia, beginning as follows:—

"The high importance of the question, touching the antiquity of mammalian organization, calls for a due notice of the foregoing statements relative to the most interesting fossils which have yet been discovered ; and the more imperatively in this place, since they are peculiar to Great Britain, and, despite the numerous objections, are here admitted into the series of its fossil mammalia." (p. 39).

The second of these publications is also to consist of eight parts, and is designed by the author to serve as a class-book for his pupils, and also as a foundation for the detailed labour of the field geologist. And—

"The object of this work is to give an account of the condition of geological science at the present day, and to exhibit, in a form interesting to the general reader as well as instructive to the student, the nature of the investigations of geologists, and the results of those investigations, so far as they have yet extended."

The first number gives the whole of the introductory part, and explains the principles on which geology rests and the kind of observations on which it proceeds, describing the terms, which are also illustrated by figures. The second, or descriptive part, then begins and proceeds as far as the sixth chapter, in which we find ourselves carried as far as the upper Silurian rocks, which form a peculiarly interesting group, as it was long supposed that no organic remains were to be found in the red sandstone; and modern researches, especially those of Mr. Murchison, have detected enormous masses of strata, abounding in animal remains, in the oldest or deepest beds of the red sandstone. And these fossils have, therefore, been ascribed to a Palæozoic period.

"Up to the year 1830, geologists were not aware of the existence of any complete series of stratified rocks below the sandy beds which underlie the mountain limestone formation, and which were called 'old red sandstone;' and although there were certain limestones of greater antiquity than any of those of the carboniferous system, still no regularly deposited and continuous formations had yet been described." (99).

We shall watch the continuance of these publications with great interest, not doubting that, from the character of the authors, they will be as well conducted throughout as the present numbers promise, and hoping to bring them before our readers more systematically when the series is completed.













